BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN'S

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME III

THE CLASSICAL AGE

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

THE CLASSICAL AGE

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FOREWORD

By Dr. K. M. Munshi

There has been some delay in publishing this volume because of the heavy demand for Volume II, the second edition of which had to be published soon after the first. It is now planned to publish Volumes IV and V simultaneously, and the Bhavan hopes to put them on the market by June 1954.

This Volume covers the period of Indian History from A.D. 320, when the Gupta Empire was founded, to about A.D. 740, when Yaśovarman of Kanauj died. The period can suitably be divided into two; one, from A.D. 320 to c. A.D. 467 when Emperor Skandagupta died, and the other, from A.D 467 to c.A.D. 740.

I

Rightly called the 'Classical Age' of India, this period saw a springtime efflorescence in all spheres of life The creative urge of the time has contributed both character and richness to the evolution of the national mind in every succeeding century. With the rise of the Imperial Pratīhāras in the West, the Pālas in the East and the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the South about the middle of the eighth century, there began the next distinctive period dealt with in the next volume.

Empires rise, decline and fall; communities and nations integrate or disintegrate; the latter either develop a collective mind, outlook and will, or lose one or the other only to lose them all eventually. In the one case they evolve an articulate personality; in the other they cast it off and disappear.

The integration and disintegration of human aggregates form the basic patterns of history as viewed through continuous time. To study them, however, they must be viewed in sections, as in this volume If such a study is to have any meaning, the volume and direction of the flowing stream must be constantly borne in mind

As I stated in my Foreword to the First Volume, "It is not enough to conserve, record and understand what has happened: it is necessary also to assess the nature and direction of the momentous forces working through the life of India in order to appreciate the fulfilment which they seek."

Throughout the history of India, the process of integration comprises two simultaneous movements: one owes its origin to Aryan Culture and operates by virtue of the momentum which the values of that culture possess; the other works itself upward

from the way of life of the Early Dravidian and other non-Aryan cultures in the country into the framework of the Aryan Culture modifying its form and content, though not the fundamentals, weaving a harmonious pattern continuously. The first movement provides vitality and synthesis; the second contributes vigour and variety. But it is the harmonious adjustment of both that gives to India, age after age, her strength, tenacity and sense of mission.

The adjustment made against the background of racial fusion is symbolised by the sacredness accorded both to the *Nigama*, the Vedic tradition, and the *Āgama*, the Dravidian tradition; by the equal ritualistic importance of the Vedic *homa* and the Dravidian *pūjā*; to the inseverable Godhood of the Aryan Vishṇu and the non-Aryan Śiva. It must never be forgotten that Vyāsa, the founder and prophet of *Ārya-dharma*, and Śrī Kṛishna, the World Teacher, whose message is its fundamental scripture, are both sons by high-browed Aryans of non-Aryan mothers

Vedic culture, the culture of the Vedic Aryans, brought an increasing number of people within its fold as it spread through the country. Sweeping changes were made in the religious, social and cultural outlook and institutions of each successive age. But the vitality of the central ideas and fundamental values was never so lost as to bring about complete disintegration. In some periods, however, the two movements produced adjustments at many, if not all, levels; the vitality was converted into irresistible vigour; full nourishment was drawn from the soil of race memory and tradition. At such times a great Age, like the Age of the Guptas, would dawn in India. On the other hand, when the two movements failed either by external or internal maladjustments to support each other, conflict between the two became inevitable, growth ceased to be vigorous; disintegration began as in the beginning of the eleventh century, when the raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī overwhelmed parts of north India, the Age of Expansion ended, the Age of Resistance began.

II

The evolution of India, during the period of the Magadhan supremacy, dealt with in the Second Volume of this series, began with the dawn of history in India in the seventh century before Christ. But long before this, Indians, who had adopted the Aryan way of life, had developed a common way of life; and their sense of unity preserved by tradition and activated by race-memory, recaptured in each generation, was expressed through common action. By vitalising the fundamental values of their culture, they had created vigorous adjustments necessitated by the conditions of each age During this process, the best elements in the society had, from the

earliest times, developed a ruling purpose—the fulfilment of *Ṛita* or *Dharma*—which gave them the capacity to will themselves into a well-defined and vigorous social organism.

The Magadhan Period closed with the invasion of the Yueh-chis. Disintegration followed in northern and western India and was accentuated by the break up of the Kushāṇa Empire which they had founded. The process of integration was also hindered by Buddhism which was not organically rooted in race memory and race tradition, and stood, in many respects, in antagonism to them. But it was an expansive movement and naturally attracted foreigners; in India, it stimulated the national mind and culture by impact rather than by inspiration. The Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhana conquerors however drew strength from its roots.

The third century after Christ is still shrouded in obscurity. But, according to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, northern India was undergoing a period of disintegration Nāgas ruled in Champāvatī and Mathurā; Ābhīras ruled in Saurāshṭra and Avantī; in the region of Ābu and Mālava the rulers were devoid of culture 'like unto the *mlechchha*'. In Sindh, on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā, in the land of Kunti in Kāshmir, the Śūdras, Vrātyas and the *mlechchhas* ruled. These rulers, the author says, lacked the power of the Spirit, disregarded *Dharma* and Truth, and were 'contemptible and irascible'—*phalgudāḥ tīvramanyavaḥ*. His only hope lay in the new rulers, Viśvasphani in Magadha and Vindhyaśakti, a Brāhmaṇa, ruling on the banks of the Narmadā.

But there is little doubt, that by the beginning of the fourth century, the forces of disintegration had lost their momentum. In Southern India the old forces were being given new forms and directions.

In spite of unsettled conditions, India was free from foreign attentions. The race memory looked back with pride on those times when *chakravartī-samrāṭs*, or universal emperors like Māndhātā and Bharata held sway over the whole world. The notion of a universal emperor, supported by a universal church, so popular in mediaeval Europe, was basically different from this concept. The *chakravartī* was the political and military counterpart of *Dharma*; like Mahāvarāha—the great Boar—he was the saviour of *Dharma*, and the supporter of the fundamental law of the *Dharma-śāstra;* like Paraśurāma, he was the repressor of the lawlessness of kings, *rājyochchhettā*. He was able to conquer the world but only as the *chakravartī* of Āryāvarta.

The popular conception was expressed by *Vāyu-purāṇa* thus:

"The *chakravartis* are born in each age as the essence of Vishṇu. They have lived in ages past and will come again in the future. In all the three ages—past, present and future—even in the *Tretā* age other *chakravartis* have been and will be born.

"Strength, *Dharma*, happiness and wealth, these wondrous blessings shall characterise these rulers. They will enjoy wealth, plenty, *Dharma*, ambition, fame and victory in undisturbed harmony.

"They will excel the Ṛishis in their power to achieve results, by their lordliness, by providing plenty and by discipline. And they will excel the gods, demons and men by their strength and self-discipline."

The conception of Āryāvarta, the sacred land of the Āryas, was a living one; for it was impregnated with an abiding veneration for the fathers who had lived and died so that it might live, great and eternal

The *Vishṇu-purāṇa* expressed the eternal hope of the Indian heart: "Even the gods sing thus: 'Blessed are the men who live in the land of Bharata, which is like unto the high road to Heaven and to Liberation; for they are higher than gods themselves.' "

In India the concept of *Dharma* was primarily related to Āryāvarta. Bhāratavarsha, *Karmabhūmi*, was the land of *Dharma*, and it stretched from the oceans to the Himālayas In the popular mind, however, the boundaries of Āryāvarta extended far beyond those defined by the early *Dharma-śāstras* Āryāvarta was the region where Āryas flourished and where the *mlechchhas*, if they overran it, could not abide for long. It was Āryāvarta, without any frontier, geographical or political. Medhātithi, a great commentator on Manu, was to give expression to this idea some centuries later: "A king of meritorious conduct could conquer even the land of the *mlechchhas*, establish *chāturvarṇya* there, assign to the *mlechchhas* a position occupied by the *chaṇḍālas* in Āryāvarta and render that land as fit for sacrifice as Āryāvarta itself."

III

In the beginning of the fourth century, the powerful Pallava king Śivaskanda-varman in southern India celebrated the *aśvamedha*. About A.D. 320, Chandra-gupta I, the founder of the Gupta Empire, revived the *chakravartī* ideal in northern India. His marriage with Kumāradevī, the Lichchhavi princess, probably resulted in the union of her principality with Magadha and launched him on a career of wide conquests. Fortunately for him, there was no other

rival for imperial supremacy in northern India at the time and no foreign invader threatened the country from the north-west.

Placed between A.D. 335-380, Samudra-gupta, the next emperor, laid the foundation of an irresistible military machine which probably included a navy. With his large standing army, he wiped out the feeble kings and effete republics of the Gangetic basin. The territory from Hardwar to the borders of Assam was consolidated into a compact homeland which he directly administered under a system which, with suitable modifications, was soon adopted in many parts of the country and persisted in some form even up to the British period Samudra-gupta's sacred horse, followed by his army. extracted tribute from the kings ruling in most parts of the country and served to bring about friendly relations with the Shāhānushāhi kings of the north-west. He reached the zenith of his power when he performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice and gave munificent donations.

Politically, this was the age of integration in India. After more than three hundred years of fragmentation and foreign domination, northern India was again united under the vigorous rule of a powerful monarch of versatile talents. A brilliant general, a farsighted statesman, a man of culture and a patron of the arts and letters, he became the symbol and architect of a mighty creative urge among the people which, while drawing vitality from tradition and race-memory, took on a new shape and power.

Samudra-gupta was succeeded by his no less brilliant son, Chandra-Gupta II, known as Vikramāditya, acclaimed as the greatest of the Gupta Emperors In his reign, which is placed between A D 376 and 414, the last vestige of foreign rule disappeared from the land and the direct sway of Pāṭaliputra extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The country to the south of the Narmadā was dominated by two friendly powers—the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas—who shared the Gupta emperors' enthusiasm for strengthening *Dharma*. The dominions of the descendants of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti extended from Bundelkhand to Hyderābād. A daughter of Chandra-gupta II was married to one of them, and she ruled as regent for thirteen years; and till the dynasty disappeared, the Vākāṭakas continued in subordinate alliance with the Guptas. The Pallavas, who held unquestioned sway in the south, maintained friendly relations with the Guptas, even when they were not subject to their hegemony.

Under the leadership of Chandra-gupta II, the Gupta eagles flew over parts of Balkh across the Hindukush. Peace, plenty and power.

associated with an all-pervading moral sense, were, in his reign, integrated with an intellectual and cultural efflorescence, and to the mind of the succeeding generations, it symbolised the fulfilment of the highest national aspirations

Even in A.D. 1944, India, then under foreign rule, spontaneously held the second millennial celebrations of the reign of a Vikramāditya around whom the glorious memory of the great Gupta Emperor had created a halo. It was a unique tribute of posterity to this great Vikramāditya who, in the Collective Unconscious of India, symbolised the highest aspirations of national greatness.

IV

Chandra-gupta was succeeded by his son, Kumāra-gupta (A.D 415 to 455) and, later, by his grandson, Skanda-gupta (A.D. 455 to 467) who inflicted a defeat on the invading Hūṇas Both of them stabilised what their predecessors had acquired and consolidated These one hundred and fifty years of Gupta rule can rightly be called the Golden Prime of India

The Gupta emperors upheld *Dharma* in all its aspects and, in consequence, its content was enriched and its scope enlarged. An overarching law of life, though it existed from Vedic times, it received under them the form which in the main it still retains. They drew their inspiration from it, and in so doing carried the people with them Historical continuity and conscious unity were preserved by a faith in the Vedas as the source of all knowledge and inspiration Within the framework of this faith, myths, traditions and rituals, language and literature, the canons of conduct, ideals and modes of life, became integrating agencies Through the *Purāṇas*, which sang of sacred legends, of rivers, mountains, cities, of royal houses, and of semi-divine heroes and sages, the past remained a glorious heritage to inspire the future with fresh vigour.

In this age, the most powerful integrating force was the *Dharma-śāstras* They provided the basis of Aryan society and the mode of social adjustment; prescribed laws of inheritance and of civil and criminal justice; and laid down rules to govern all major situations from birth to death Of them all, *Manu-smṛiti* was held in the highest sanctity throughout the country, not only in the north but in South India as well. The Tamil kings upheld its authority; one of the oldest classics of Tamil literature bears the clear impress of its great influence.

Theoretically, according to the *Dharma-śāstras*, the social structure envisaged a four-fold order of social groups, *chāturvarṇya;*

in fact, it was a hierarchy of such groups ranged according to the standard of culture attained by each, with intervening groups to accommodate products of racial fusion. The Brāhmaṇas stood at its head as devoted to learning, culture and self-discipline. The hierarchy was cultural, not a racial one. Outsiders were allowed to enter and benefit by it, but not so fast as to destroy the social equilibrium. Opportunity was thus given to those who were aliens to Indian culture to rise in the scale of life, but never so rapidly as to endanger the stability of the existing social order.

The bed-rock of social organisation inherited from the Vedic Aryans was the patriarchal family. The father was its head; the mother, its mistress; all members of the family including the helpless had a secure asylum in it. As a corollary, the devotion of wife to her husband and to the family was imperative. Her position has never been more beautifully described than in Kanva's advice to Śakuntalā in Kālidāsa's play.—

"Wait on thy betters, act the part of darling friend
unto ev'ry fellow bride
Tho' by thy husband treated ill, in wrathfulness
do not rend awry thy face;
Be vastly courteous unto them that on thee wait,
in thy fortunes take no pride
thus turn to housewives, women young, while those perverse
are the bane of all the race."

(*Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* iv, 8)

Castes mixed in marriage with comparative freedom; *anuloma* marriages were very common; the *pratiloma* marriages were by no means rare.

The *Dharma-śāstras* were not enforced at the point of the sword. Even the backward and the immigrant classes dropped their group customs and usages, and cheerfully adopted the social system prescribed by them. Thus, Aryanisation of India was not achieved by the fiats of rulers or mass coercion by superior classes, but by the willing acceptance by all those who realised that the dynamics of the *Dharma-śāstra* provided, for the age, the best conditions for social, spiritual and cultural uplift.

Sanskrit, a living language, elastic in structure and rich in expression, possessing a rich, varied and beautiful literary achievement, was the living embodiment of the *Dharma* and a powerful integrating force. Inscriptions began to be written in Sanskrit, even in the far South. A new thought or a new literary masterpiece in the language attracted the attention of all the intellectual

centres. For instance the works of Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya, became the models of literary beauty throughout the country within a few years of his death.

Under the Gupta emperors, the *Mahābhārata* acquired a unique position as an integrating psychological force. It immortalized the proud and joyous manhood of *Bhāratavarsha*, and provided a common source of inspiration in courts, schools and in society as a whole.

The cultural uprising was based upon the central idea underlying *Dharma* from early time. It predicated an unalterable faith in human endeavour, self-restraint (*saṁyama*) and self-discipline (*tapas*). Emphasis was laid on individual experience and *becoming* rather than on belief and the scriptural word; it was reached only when a man could shed his limitations and become divine in this life. Running through a diversity of religious beliefs and social outlook, it also laid an emphasis on the observance of the great vows—*mahāvratas*—of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession as essential steps in progress. All conduct, in order to be worthy of respect, had to be harmonised and regulated by ethical and spiritual values calculated to help the fulfilment of this ideal.

The four Gupta emperors,—omitting, of course, the ignoble Rāma-gupta,—in maintaining the ideals of a *chakravartī*, made the state at one and the same time, powerful, stable, dynamic and happy. The age saw the speculative thought among others of Vasubandhu and the Nāyanmārs; the perfect lyric and drama of Kālidāsa; the astronomical discoveries of Varāhamihira; the iron pillar of Delhi; the beginnings of the structural temples; the beauty of the early Ajaṇṭā frescoes; the rise of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism; the completion of the *Mahābhārata* and the composition of *Vāyu*- and the *Matsya-Purāṇas* The empire was not merely based on conquests or administrative efficiency; its greatness lay in its integral outlook. Its strength was based as much on military strength as on internal order and economic plenty; the sap of its vitality was drawn from the roots of ancient tradition and race memory which they maintained, re-interpreted and replenished. The upsurge of the Kshatriya hierarchs of Madhyadeśa and Magadha, loyally pledged to stability, constituted the steel-frame of the imperial structure. Nor was the splendour of the empire an isolated phenomenon surrounding the individuality of the rulers. The people, having discovered in their traditional way of life something noble and splendid, only saw it reflected in the greatness of their rulers. The Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas of the far south, the two

other dominant powers in the country closely allied with the Guptas, joined in availing themselves of the agency of the Brāhmanas, the missionaries and instruments of *Dharma*, by lavish generosity

The Gupta emperors became the symbols of a tremendous national upsurge. Life was never happier, our culture never more creative than during the Golden Prime of India.

V

In the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era, something resembling a volcanic eruption took place in the history of the human race. The Hūnas, like a veritable stream of lava, issued from their homeland on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and spread over Europe and Asia. Homeless and lawless, they rode their horses awake and asleep. Their fierce yells spread terror wherever they were heard They engaged all the civilized peoples of the world in fearful cataclysmic wars; and, wherever they could, they killed, destroyed, burnt and devastated with demoniac ruthlessness In Europe, Attila the Hun brought about the downfall of even the powerful Roman Empire.

About A.D. 455, the Hūnas began to enter India Emperor Skanda-gupta drove them back by a supreme effort Twelve years later, he died. The outposts of the empire, already weak, could offer no further resistance The barbarian hordes, after passing through Persia and destroying the Kushāna rulers of the north-west began to pour into India.

A war of succession appears to have followed the death of Skanda-gupta, weakening the empire in the hour of its danger Next in order of succession, five emperors including Narasimha-gupta Bālāditya, between A D. 500 and 570, held precarious sway over parts of the empire, which in spite of its decadence was still a name to conjure with Many parts of the empire outside the bounds of the compact core of the empire became independent In Saurāshtra, a province of the empire, the Maitraka general practically threw off his allegiance on the death of Skanda-gupta.

By A.D. 512, the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa, overran north India up to Eran in the Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh Toramāna's son, Mihirakula, a veritable terror, spread fire and carnage from the Punjāb to Gwālior and by A.D. 525 became the master of a vast territory.

Northern Indian soon recovered from the shock of the barbarian impact and resisted Mihirakula. The records which have survived are much too vague and fragmentary to indicate the nature and

extent of this war of liberation. But the names of two great liberators have come down to us.

Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana, who was possibly an ex-feudatory of the Empire, fought the Hūṇas grimly. His swift victories arrested the progress of Mihirakula, and enforced allegiance. Mālwā, which included central parts of what is modern Gujarāt, once a province of the Empire, when liberated, formed part of the domains of Yaśodharman, and his conquests are described as having covered the territory from the Himālayas to the Ganjām district.

Mihirakula met with no less heavy reverses in his eastern campaigns. The challenge was taken up by Īśāna-varman Maukhari, a quasi-independent feudatory ruling over Madhyadeśa represented by modern Uttar Pradesh. He barred the progress of the Hūṇas to the east and in the course of several encounters inflicted a shattering defeat upon them.

Emperor Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya, the ruler of the Eastern Empire, dealt a final blow to the Hūna and sent him reeling back to his dominions on the North-West Frontier only to find, according to Hiuen Tsang, that his brother had seized his throne. Mihirakula then fell back on Kāshmır which he captured, and died soon after.

Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana blazed a meteoric brilliance and vanished into darkness. In A.D. 533, Mālwā was being ruled by the governor of Īśāna-varman, the Maukhari conqueror. Two years later, Kumāra-gupta III, son of Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya, re-established the imperial sway in Mālwā and declared himself 'Lord of the three seas'. But the empire decayed rapidly, and though Gupta sovereignty was recognised by the Maitrakas till about A.D. 550, and acknowledged in Kalinga even as late as A.D. 569, it is clear that the emperor had become a *roi fainéant*.

Īśāna-varman, the great liberator, possibly overthrew the descendants of Yaśodharman, conquered the Śūlikas of Āndhra, and on the death of Kumāra-gupta III emerged as the unchallenged master of Madhyadeśa and Mālwā. He kept the Gauḍas at bay and established himself at Kanauj which, thereafter, was the imperial capital of north India for close upon five centuries. Śarva-varman (A.D. 576-580), the successor of Īśāna-varman, maintained the supremacy of his dynasty.

The Hūṇas disappeared as they came The Gupta Empire, grown very weak, was dissolved; the virile Maukharis emerged victorious. But with their rise began a new phase in Indian History. Kanauj emerged as the symbol of a new order.

The Golden Prime of India became a thing of the past; the military superiority of Magadha disappeared. Out of the welter emerged a set of new dynasties: the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Pushpabhūtis of Thāneswar, the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The Pallavas of Kāñchī alone among the old dynasties continued to flourish. In the west, the warrior clans of what is now Rājasthan, living in the region of Mount Ābū and descended from Brāhmaṇa ancestors, emerged from obscurity as a closely knit hierarchy with the Pratīhāras at their head.

VI

Due to the exaggerated eulogies of his biographer, Bāṇa, and the enthusiastic Hiuen Tsang, Śrī Harsha has been given more than his share of importance. No doubt he preserved the unity of Madhyadeśa, but he suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin II of Bādāmi and had to make terms with the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The territories he conquered were neither as extensive as the empire of the Guptas who preceded him, nor that of the Pratīhāras who followed him; nor did he leave behind an empire.

We learn from the Chinese pilgrim that Śrī Harsha not only followed Buddhism but also had a marked antipathy to the Brāhmanical religion. But the seals, which refer to his elder brother as Buddhist, describe him as a devoted Śaiva.

Śrī Harsha, unlike the Guptas, was not able to release a new integrating impulse. The Emperor, with a large army, had conquered far and wide, staged spectacular festivals, made generous gifts; his character stood high. But he left no hierarchs and no successors; on his death the fabric he had erected, fell to pieces. The causes which led to this sudden collapse of Kanauj may be found not only in the circumstances that brought him to supremacy, but also in his personal character. The old Kshatriya houses in Madhyadeśa, who had supported the Gupta Empire, were exhausted or hostile; Śrī Harsha could infuse no new hope or strength in them. Kanauj and Thāneswar, though friendly states, were rivals. When Kanauj was faced with extinction at the hands of Śaśāṅka, Śrī Harsha was called in as a matter of military urgency to a joint rulership over both states. But his hold over the two states was personal; the hierarchs of both kingdoms possibly hated each other. Śrī Harsha failed, where Chandra-gupta I, the founder of the Gupta Empire, had succeeded so well; he was unable to create a common hierarchy which could carry forward his work.

At the height of his career Śrī Harsha was an ardent Buddhist. In all probability, he held himself aloof from his ministers, and

the leaders of society, superior and self-righteous. He could not restore the life-blood of the old social organisation, for he could not identify himself with its urges, nor could he revive the *chakravarti* tradition. The secret of establishing a military power founded on traditional strength, was not his; nor did the mass of the people feel that the conquests of Śrī Harsha were their own triumph The internationalism, for which Buddhism stood, negatived the building up of a compact unity rooted in the land He could conquer, he could not build. The way of the Guptas was, therefore, barred to him

The empire he had won simply disappeared. After Srī Harsha, his daughter's son, Dharasena IV, the ruler of the comparatively small kingdom of Valabhī, assumed the pretentious title of an emperor Within fifty years of Śrī Harsha's death, Yaśovarman, a powerful ruler and the patron of Bhavabhūti, restored Kanauj to its glory—but for a while.

But the strength and vigour of India, between A D 550 and 750, was found in the South While the Maukharis were founding an empire which had its seat at Kanauj, Pulakeśin I, of the Chālukya family (A D 550), had already founded a kingdom in the Bijāpur district of Bombay with its capital at Vātāpī, modern Bādāmi. About the end of the sixth century, his son, Kīrtivarman, embarked on wars against the kings who ruled to the north of the Godāvarī.

Pulakeśin II, who had already subdued the Pallavas of Kāñchi, repelled the invasion of Śrī Harsha in c A.D. 620 and adopted the style "Lord of the three Mahārāshtras containing 999 villages' He annexed Vengī, modern Godāvarī district, and appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana as its governor on the east coast Four years later, Vishnuvardhana became virtually independent and founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas Pulakeśin with his warriors and elephants which 'marched to victory while intoxicated' founded the empire of Dakshināpatha. After a rule of about two centuries, during which the Chālukyas provided the greatest stabilising influence in the country, they were replaced by the Rāshtrakūtas

The great Pallava king, Mahendra-varman I (A.D. 600-630) at one time defeated even Pulakeśin II and captured his capital. Though the Chālukyas avenged this defeat soon after, the Pallavas remained the most powerful kings in the far south

Throughout the period of over four hundreds years from A D 320 to 750, India was administered by well organised governments. The political interest during this time is primarily confined to the history of northern India This was due mostly to the power

and extent of the Gupta Empire. But the contribution of the Chālukyas and the Pallava kings in stabilising the country and fostering the integrating forces should not be under-estimated.

VII

Conditions in the north and the west zones of India, from and inclusive of Afghānistān (then a Hindu territory) up to the Narmadā, were thrown into confusion. Within a few years of the death of Mihirakula, however, a new and vigorous impulse is also visible; an impulse to revive *Dharma*, to relate it to the new life, to fashion values to new conditions, not only in the affected zones, but in other parts of India as well, and particularly in the south. The foundations of life, shaped during the Gupta period, remained unshaken in a large part of the country; its pattern, however, soon underwent a change

Some aspects of this new impulse, the home of which was in the south, can be easily traced. The *Purānas*, some of which were redacted or newly written in the Gupta times, were the popular gospels of the new impulse. They did not serve merely a religious purpose They revived the glories of the distant past; they invested new places in the country with stimulating sanctity, weaving the unity of Bhāratavarsha; they also re-interpreted old values in the light of new conditions, giving them a new vigour.

Śaivism, a popular cult long before the rise of the Gupta Empire, became a very vigorous integrating movement. The worship of Śiva as Paśupati is as old as Mohenjo-daro The new cult, which Śankarāchārya called Lakuleśa Pāśupata had spread over the country, and was the most influential protagonist of *Dharma* and the formidable opponent of Buddhism and Jainism.

In spite of the Gupta Emperors being devoted to Vishnu, the worship of Śiva was more popular. Mihirakula, the Hūna king, like some early Kushāna kings, was a devotee of Śiva; and so were most of the members of Śrī Harsha's family; and so were the Maitrakas of Valabhī and most of the rulers of the South, including the Vākātakas. Mahendra-varman, the great ruler of the Pallava dynasty, became a convert to Śaivism, and built magnificent temples in his kingdom. Kāñchī became a great centre of the faith and his successors identified themselves with the renaissance associated with Śaivism. Many Śaiva Nāyanmārs who flourished during this period pressed even Vedānta into the service of Śaivism. Mānikkavāchakar's *Tiruvāchakam* became the highest Śaiva scripture in the Tamil language.

VIII

The Gupta Emperors were very catholic in their religious outlook; Buddhism was not only tolerated, but like other religions, lavishly supported. The lay Buddhists were an integral part of society regulated by the canons of the *Dharma-śāstras*. Therefore, when Śaivism and Vaishṇavism became powerful integrating forces, Buddhism which at best was a protestant movement, never an integrating force, began to lose its hold over the masses. Its content progressively approximated to Hinduism. Its spiritual nihilism, when exposed to the Bhakti movements, tried to approximate to the latter at least in its external aspects, and finally came to be absorbed in the wide fold of Hinduism; and later when Buddha was accepted as the *avatāra* of Vishṇu, no trace of its separate existence as a rival was left. As a cult, however, it continued for a few more centuries

After A.D. 500 the Bhakti cults gave to the religious movements the emotional content, which, for centuries, remained of immense significance in Indian life; it helped to form enduring values which gave strength to the Age of Resistance after the cataclysmic disaster which the Turks brought in their wake. The Āḷvārs of Tamil Nad were simple-hearted *bhaktas*, they loved and wooed their gods and expressed their feeling with a directness hardly surpassed in emotional content and ardent faith in the religious literature of the world

Sanskrit continued to be the language of religion and ritual; of state-craft, learning and science; of the law texts which regulated social conduct; and of literature, thought, poetry and drama. It was the national medium of intercourse. The Sanskrit speaking world was one, all-Indian. It was with its aid that in the next century Śaṅkarāchārya, a Brāhmaṇa from Malabār, in all too short a life, was to organise religious institutions, dominate the speculative thought of the country, and inaugurate a sweeping religious and intellectual movement throughout the country.

The *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* continued to be the source of countrywide unity. The Puranic literature remained simple and direct; its growth as an influence could be measured by the evolution of the literature from the meagre recitals of *Matsya* and *Vāyu-Purāṇas* to the richly magnificent *Bhāgavata*, again a contribution of the south. The *Kathā* became the most powerful educative and integrating force. The Paurāṇikas were the missionaries of the new age; an agency of social uplift which brought an ever-expanding circle of adherents into the fold of Aryan culture.

In North India, the dialects, which the higher classes spoke, were not far removed from Sanskrit. But in the south the Dravidian languages continued to develop on their own lines, no doubt in-

fluenced and enriched by Sanskrit. Elements in the population speaking dialects, not of Indo-Aryan origin, also began to find a place among the higher classes in large numbers. Cultural influences were therefore spread not only through Sanskrit, but percolated to the masses through the medium of the growing dialects which acknowledged the supremacy of Sanskrit and became subsidiary forces of integration.

Chāturvarṇya was called upon to bear a severe strain due to the need of absorbing foreigners and of Aryanising non-Aryans who were given a place in it. A change therefore came over it altering the structure of society. *Varṇāśrama* took the shape—though not yet distinct—of an organisation of interdependent castes, not a four-fold social order. Society thus lost the freshness of out-look which the *dvijas* of India, as a class fundamentally one, had imparted to it. The history of the following centuries shows how, as the social structure grew inelastic, the political sanction of a *chakravartī* was denied to cultural and social solidarity, and the people ceased to have an expansive outlook.

The leading role as a highly trained and purposive agency in integration was played by Brāhmaṇas: men of learning and teachers; literary men and religious preceptors; 'svāmins' who specialised in the sacrificial lore; the Pāśupatāchāryas who, feared and respected by the people, wielded vast influence over kings and founded temples and monasteries, all of which became the centres of the new socio-religious movement of power *Smārta* Brāhmanas were not only interpreters, commentators and lawyers, but also expounders of *Dharma* The influence of the Brāhmaṇas was felt throughout the country They slowly reclaimed and raised millions of backward people. Under their inspiration, communities were uplifted and the cultural and spiritual elevation of the individual secured.

During this period, the system of education did not change appreciably from what it was in the preceding age. Universities like Nālandā, great centres of learning, came into existence.

IX

The Āryāvarta consciousness, as stated before, had three aspects; Āryāvarta was the land of *Dharma* in which no *mlechchha* could abide; *chāturvarṇya*, the social basis, was its eternal law; the *chakravartī* was to maintain both. The sentiment that no *mlechchha* could abide in India was deep-rooted and active; equally active was the belief that *Dharma* prevailed in Bhāratavarsha. The *chakravartī* idea, however, clearly lost its meaning; *Dharma* could not, and therefore need not, be linked with the duty of maintaining the whole

country within its fold. Wars of conquests lost their spiritual significance; they were not, as in the earlier periods, an expression of a people and a culture on the move; they were undertaken only for dynastic ends or, more often, to curb the aggressive intentions of neighbouring kings. People and culture were one; the *Smriti* law was the universal *Dharma;* but *chāturvarṇya* became a social pattern in its own right. Āryāvarta consciousness, in consequence, receded into race memory.

The Kshatriya community was no longer a compact military caste of Madhyadeśa dominated by a single cultural tradition. It came to be infiltrated by the foreign, aboriginal and other non-Aryan groups, not yet acclimatized to *Dharma*. Inter-marriages between the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas became rare; the Kshatriyas busied themselves with wars and saw no justification for undergoing any rigorous intellectual training

The segregation of *dvija* castes into water-tight compartments and difficulty of social fusion, therefore, became disintegrating factors

An empire could only be built on the shoulders of a hierarchy Such a well-knit hierarchy had helped to found the Gupta Empire in the days of the early emperors, it had been interested in maintaining the authority of the emperor, howsoever weak or helpless against ambitious neighbours or recalcitrant feudatories in the interest of a common purpose which they shared with the masses. The change in the social structure created conditions in which such a hierarchy, homogeneous in culture and looking forward with faith to the political unity of Āryāvarta, could not be brought into existence

In spite of the conventional encomiums contained in the inscriptions, conquerors were continuously emerging from obscurity who cared more for dynastic power than for *Dharma*.

After the Guptas, conquest on a large scale became increasingly difficult. The army, from ancient times, was divided into four sections: the elephants, the cavalry, the infantry and the chariots During the period under review, as attested by *Harsha-charita* and as recorded by Hiuen Tsang, chariots were sparingly used in warfare A king rode to war mostly on an elephant; and a king bent on conquest had to maintain a large number of elephants. Cavalry was used largely, but the horses were generally maintained by the feudal chiefs who brought them to the battle-field for use, just as they did their own footmen Usually, the army consisted of Kshatriya feudal chiefs who had their own estates, their regional attachments and their code of honour prescribed by the *śāstras* and the traditions. In the hands of powerful leaders, they could be heroes, but not mercenaries

They were generally rewarded by grants of land, and their leaders were mostly connected with the ruling dynasty by blood. The petty king, even in war, was no more than "the head of inter-related over-lordships." Unless, therefore, a conqueror had sufficient means to have an effective elephant force and a paid army of his own, he had in practice to depend on his feudal chiefs and could scarcely aspire to be a *chakravartī*.

According to an old tradition inherited from the era of small kingdoms, it was not open to a conqueror to overthrow the ruling dynasty of another territory and annex it to his own. He had therefore to find a loyal chieftain who could command the loyalty of the important Kshatriya families of the conquered territory. The Kshatriyas slowly became rooted in their own region. The successful merger of conquered territory necessarily implied the uprooting of the local chiefs and their replacement by the feudal chiefs of the conqueror and his dynasty. This involved the re-distribution of fiefs in the conquered territory among the feudal chiefs of the conqueror ready to be transplanted to a new and uncongenial soil; and, the capacity in the conqueror to support his newly planted chiefs as his instrument of power without weakening his own military efficiency. These factors appear, during the period under review, to have worked against the political consolidation of states.

Many conquerors tried to disregard these factors; most of them failed. Samudra-gupta succeeded because he ruthlessly extirpated the small states of Northern India and could rely upon the military classes of Madhyadeśa. With the fall of the Gupta Empire, North India split into smaller units. With the humane traditions of India, attempts at extirpating a regional hierarchy could scarcely be made except by ruthless conquerors; in consequence, the regional attachment of the Kshatriyas increased; and with their patrons, the Brāhmaṇas who depended on them also developed regional loyalties. The kingdoms became smaller, and small-state-mindedness became a part of the national mind.

The only exception, in the period under review, was the emergence of the Pratīhāra, the Chāhamāna and the Chālukya clans, closely allied in marriage and tradition; the Paramāras and the other warrior clans of Gurjaradeśa were either off-shoots of these three branches or were absorbed in the hierarchy in course of time. That was why the Pratīhāras were able to found an empire.

In this climate large scale wars resulting in large scale displacement of populations were out of the question. Groups tended to be rooted in the region.

X

The third community, that of the Vaiśyas—at least in north India—belonged to the same class as Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas; Śrī Harsha himself was a Vaiśya; his daughter, however, married Dhruvasena II, styled Bālāditya, the Kshatriya king of Valabhī. But they were a dynamic element in the social organisation. Between the members of the community *inter se* there was more equality of cultural attainments. Foreign trade and the needs of commerce brought them into close contact with common people, both Indian and non-Indian. Naturally, therefore, they were less fastidious in taste and outlook In many parts of the country, Buddhism and Jainism, with their sympathy for the masses, had a greater appeal for them.

The fourth community, the Śūdras, were not a race of lower men, but what may be termed 'the rest'. They were the redeemables of *Dharma* and formed an essential part of society, not looked down upon but only needing attention. Marriages between Śūdras and the members of 'other classes' were common Bāṇa, the Brāhmaṇa friend of Emperor Śrī Harsha, had himself a brother born of a Śūdra step-mother.

A vital movement in the social organisation of the country enabled one little connubial group, which did not originally form part of the Aryanised society, while undergoing the necessary cultural discipline, to rise from a lower to a higher status, to the Aryanised class. The movement of groups from one order of castes to another, or from aboriginal or foreign classes to recognised castes was not difficult. Intermarriage led to a free admixture of blood and prevented an impassable cleavage of cultural ideas Only when a lower group attained the status of a higher caste, as was common, it became difficult for the group or the family to attain the high standard of culture demanded of a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya except after some generations.

The administrative machinery, introduced by the Guptas in consonance with the *Dharma-śāstras* and adopted in the advanced parts of the whole country, continued to function. During the succeeding centuries, the administration did not depart very much from the canons laid down during the Gupta times which, with some changes, and mostly in rural areas, continues in some form even now.

For all practical purposes, administration continued to be in the hands of the same class of people and was regulated by age-old tradition and generally accepted canons of social conduct. Its efficiency continued to be enforced, less by official pressure than by the en-

lightened opinion of respectable members of the community, who were guided by the leading Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas of the locality.

XI

About the end of the period under review, the Arabs appeared on the Indian scene, but for the first time in their meteoric rise the progress of the 'world conquerors' was arrested. The naval raids against Thana, Broach and Debal were repulsed. The attempts to reach India through the Khyber Pass, then guarded by the Hindu states of Kābul and Zābul, failed. Though some sort of Arab suzerainty was established with difficulty for a brief period (A.D. 700-714), for the next century and a half, Kābul and Zābul maintained their autonomy practically unimpaired.

The Arabs also tried to enter India through the Bolān Pass. but the strong Jats of Kikān or Kikānān, though often defeated, never yielded, and that Pass remained sealed to the invaders.

The Arabs then attempted to advance through the Makran coast Their army was equipped on a lavish scale; troops were requisitioned even from distant Syria Sindh had just emerged from civil wars, Dāhar, the ruler, had probably gained control over southern Sindh only a few years before the invasion. Very little resistance was offered to the Arab fleet carrying military equipment. Nehrun and Siwistān, the two main strongholds of southern Sindh, opened their gates to the invaders The unpatriotic character of the Buddhists, the general superstition of a section of the people, and the want of loyalty towards the family of royal usurpers, left the issue in no doubt Sindh was conquered in A.D. 712.

The conquest of Sindh was not the outcome of the military superiority of the Arabs; in fact, this was their first and the last achievement on Indian soil. After this conquest whenever they came in conflict with powerful Indian States, their spell of victory was broken. About A.D 725 one Arab army, sent to invade north India, met a disastrous setback at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa I of the Imperial Pratīhāra line; another, which had entered Lāṭa (South Gujarāt), was destroyed by Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya in a battle which took place near Navsāri. In spite of unremitting pressure, exerted for over two centuries, the Arabs were only left with the two petty states of Mansura and Multān in the ninth and tenth centuries When compared with their dazzling victories over the contemporary states in the Middle-East, in Europe and over Persia, this insignificant result obtained in India was a tribute to the superior military strength and political organisation of the Indians.

XII

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PREFACE

BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

General Editor

The period of history described in the preceding volume drew to a close amid chaos and confusion. The great empire of the Mauryas and the political unity of India which it brought about vanished, and the hordes of foreign invaders who dominated over large parts of India gradually lost their political power. A number of new peoples and states emerge out of the political chaos, but dislocation rather than settlement seems to be the order of the day. The abundant records of the Maurya age give place to the scantiest historical materials, so much so that the third century A.D., with which Volume II closes, has been described by some historians as "one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history."

With the present volume we enter upon a period which offers a striking contrast to the one immediately preceding in almost all these features. The main theme of its political history is the foundation of the Gupta Empire which, at full maturity, once more brings unity, peace and prosperity over nearly the whole of Northern India It was far less extensive than the Maurya Empire, but was more enduring, and we can study its gradual growth in much fuller detail. The historical records grow larger in number and more varied in character. The darkness of the third century passes away and we are brought into a fuller light. What is more, for the first time we get a clear outline of the political history of India in a definite chronological setting which has continued unbroken to the present day

The volume starts with the story how the descendants of a petty chieftain named Gupta acquired and maintained and then lost an empire which was bigger than any that flourished since in Ancient India It covers the first six chapters.

During their rule of more than two centuries the Guptas established their sway over nearly the whole of Northern India and the Imperial writ was obeyed from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The dynasty produced a succession of able monarchs who were both capable administrators and successful generals. One of them, Samudra-gupta, carried his victorious arms as far as Madras in the south, if not further beyond, and has been deservedly styled 'Indian Napoleon' by an eminent European historian. His son Chandra-gupta advanced probably beyond the Sindhu river, as far as Balkh, and finally extinguished the last vestige of foreign domination in India

by defeating the Śaka chiefs who had been ruling in Gujarāt for more than three hundred years. Skanda-gupta, the grandson of Chandra-gupta, was faced with the terrible ordeal of a Hūna invasion. The Hūṇas, notorious for their ferocious cruelty, were at that time the most dreaded scourge of humanity. They carried fire and sword over Asia and Europe, and their leader Attila was 'able to send equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople.' About the time when the two Roman Empires quailed before them the Hūnas appeared at the frontier of India. But the Gupta Emperor inflicted such a crushing defeat upon them that for nearly half a century they dared not cross the Sindhu. When later, they appeared once again, the Gupta Empire was crumbling, but the heroic tradition of old days still inspired the Indians, and no less than three contemporary rulers, including the last great Gupta Emperor, claim to have defeated the Hūnas. Whether the three heroes acted singly or in concert we do not know. But it is certain that after a brief spell of success the Hūnas ceased to be an important political power in India, far less a threat to its safety and security Judged in the context of the history of the then world, this definite check to the nomadic barbarian hordes must ever redound to the credit of the Gupta Empire.

The Gupta rulers were versed in arts of war as well as of peace They established an efficient system of administration which became the model for succeeding ages They ensured peace and prosperity to the people to which even foreign visitors paid eloquent tribute. During their rule India witnessed a wonderful outburst of intellectual activity and a unique efflorescence of culture to which detailed reference will be made later There are good grounds to believe that the political system set up by the Gupta rulers and the personality of some of them played a large part in bringing about this momentous change. The Gupta Age was mostly a product of the Gupta Empire

The Gupta Empire perished, but the memory of its greatness continued for centuries. This was echoed in the popular legends, the most famous of which is that of Vikramāditya. Whether there was an historical king Vikramāditya before the Guptas is a matter of dispute. But there is no doubt that the legend owes much of its vitality and inspiration to the lives and achievements of the Gupta Emperors, no less than three of whom actually assumed the title Vikramāditya. Like his great contemporary Śālivāhana, the legendiary hero Vikramāditya is to be regarded as the personification of a group of rulers rather than an individual. The cycle of Vikramāditya legends, which has been a cherished tradition of India for many centuries, may thus be looked upon as a fitting tribute to the glory of the Gupta Age of which it was a product.

The history of the Imperial Guptas cast into shade that of several contemporary dynasties which enjoyed great local importance These are dealt with in two separate chapters (VIII, XI). One of them, the Vākāṭakas, received an undue importance on account of some fanciful conjectures of the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, so much so that a recently published volume in a comprehensive history of India, planned in 20 volumes, has been styled the Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age. As a matter of fact, however, the political influence of the Vākāṭakas hardly ever spread much beyond the Deccan, and for a considerable period their state was an appendage to, if not a vassal of, the Gupta Empire. The same may be said of most other states which enjoyed a nominal independence. Few of them can really be said to have been quite beyond the sphere of influence of the Guptas.

Among the states that succumbed to the Gupta Imperialism special reference must be made to those ruled by republican or oligarchical clans. These formed a distinctive feature of the Indian political system since the days of Buddha, if not much earlier still, and some of them like the Lichchhavis, Śākyas and Mālavas played an important rôle in the political and cultural history of India. The existence of these states with their republican tradition of freedom was always a thorn in the side of Imperialism. The Maurya Empire, true to the imperial policy enunciated by Kauṭilya, swept them away. But these clans appeared again, and indications are not wanting that many of them took a leading part in the struggle against the foreign hordes who dominated India. But the Gupta Empire made a clean sweep of them all. Some of them submitted to Samudra-gupta and continued for some time as vassal states. But with the growth of the Gupta Empire they gradually fade out of existence never to appear again. We cannot clearly trace the last stages in the dissolution of the republican system after more than a thousand years of recorded activity in Indian politics. But it is certain that Gupta Imperialism was the main cause of its final extinction.

The history of the Gupta Empire carries us to the middle of the sixth century A.D., when India is once again divided into a number of independent states. Then follows a long succession of individual military geniuses who seek in vain to re-establish the empire that fell from the grasp of the Guptas. Yaśodharman, Śaśāṅka and Harsha-vardhana, in the seventh century, and Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya in the eighth,—all achieved conspicuous success in this direction and exercised sway over vast areas, but their empires perished with them. In the meanwhile the main interest in political history shifts to the Deccan and South India where the Chālukyas and the Pallavas establish powerful empires of long duration. In the second

quarter of the seventh century A.D. the three natural divisions of India, viz. North India, Deccan and South India, developed into three well defined imperial zones respectively under Harsha-vardhana, the Chālukya king Pulakeśin and the Pallava rulers Mahendra-varman I and Narasiṁha-varman I. The rivalry and the struggle between the first and the second and the second and the third form the main theme of the history of this period. The brilliant political and military career of Pulakeśin must have excited the admiration as well as the envy of his two neighbours He inflicted a defeat upon Harsha-vardhana which forced the latter to give up for ever all designs of conquest of the region south of the Vindhyas The success of the Chālukya king against his Pallava rival Mahendra-varman I was even more complete, and, for a time, the Pallava kingdom almost collapsed before his mighty army But the dazzling progress of the Chālukya Emperor was cut short by Narasiṁha-varman I, who fully avenged the defeat and disgrace of his father The tables were completely turned The Pallava ruler overran the Deccan; the great king Pulakeśin was defeated and slain, and for thirteen years his kingdom lay prostrate before the hated enemy. The struggle continued throughout the next century till, exhausted by the strain of long-drawn wars, the Chālukya dynasty went down about the period with which this volume closes But it had established an offshoot in the eastern coast between the mouths of the Krishnā and the Godāvarī which under the name of Eastern Chālukyas, continued the name and fame of the house till the Chālukya power was restored by the main line or a collateral branch more than two centuries later The Pallavas continued to dominate South India beyond the period covered by this volume and were not finally ousted till the Cholas emerged from obscurity and became a great political power in the tenth century

To modern students Harsha-vardhana looms large in the post-Gupta period of Indian history Early European writers in their ignorance, set the fashion of describing him as the last empire-builder, and this has been blindly followed by many modern writers who had far less excuse for this historical blunder. But the limit has been reached by V A Smith, the I C.S historian of India. To him the history of India after the death of Harsha-vardhana is merely "bewildering annals of petty states," and its only value lies in the notion it gives "of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again, if the hand of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn." The moral that V. A. Smith sought to convey need not be seriously discussed to-day when his

theory has been put to the severe test of actual occurrence. We are more concerned with the justification of the historical observation that Harsha-vardhana's empire was the last in Hindu India after which her organised political life completely broke down. In the first place, Lalitāditya, and possibly also Yaśovarman, ruled over an empire which we have no ground to believe was inferior in any respect to that of Harsha-vardhana. Further, the empires of the Pālas and the Pratihāras, to be described in the next volume, were undoubtedly far greater in extent and far more lasting, and the latter was far more closely knit. Still later flourished heroes like Chandella Yaśovarman and Kalachuri Gaṅga and Karna whose empires were as ephemeral as that of Harsha, and probably not less extensive. As V A. Smith includes even the Deccan and South India within the scope of his observation we might refer to the mighty Rāshṭrakūṭa empire under Dhruva and Govinda III, the Later Chālukya empire under Vikramāditya VI. and the great Choḷa Empire of Rājendra Chola extending from the mouth of the Gaṅgā to Cape Comorin and even over territories beyond the Bay of Bengal. With such examples before us it is a travesty of history to describe Harsha-vardhana as the last empire-builder of India,—even of North India,—and to credit him with a performance which was beyond the power of those who followed him.

The fact remains that Harsha-vardhana owes his high renown as much to the writings of Hiuen Tsang and Bānabhatta as to his intrinsic greatness The flattering account of his character and achievements by these two over-zealous friends was available to historians when little else was known of the history of ancient India. They were therefore in no mood to be critical and accepted, at its face value, almost everything that was said about Harsha-vardhana by these two writers. The result was a highly overdrawn picture of his life and achievements which has passed current as history ever since. An attempt has been made in Chapter IX to reconstruct his true history by a critical sifting of all available evidences. The case of Harsha-vardhana teaches us that while normally the heroes make history, sometimes history also makes heroes.

Curiously enough, while the historians have unhesitatingly accepted all that has been said of Harsha-vardhana by a court-poet and friendly chronicler, they have been unduly sceptic about the conquests made by Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya as recorded respectively by Vākpati, the court-poet of the former, and Kalhana, the great historian of Kāshmir. There is no reason to believe that the accounts of these two are less reliable than those about Harsha, and it is difficult to justify the differential treatment accorded to them by some eminent historians. Thus V A . Smith, who gives a detailed and

highly exaggerated account of Harsha's conquest and empire, which is not always justified even by the biassed sources, does not say a word about the conquests of Yaśovarman, and only very briefly refers in vague and general terms to the military expeditions of Lalitāditya in distant lands. The entire historical outlook of the period after Harsha, as envisaged by V. A. Smith and his followers must be thoroughly changed before we can hope to understand, in their true perspective, the momentous political events of the last half-a-millennium of Hindu rule in Northern India.

So far as this volume is concerned, the chief interest in the political history of India, therefore, centres round the rise, decline, and fall of the Gupta Empire, and the reorientation of the history of the succeeding period. Although the history of India beyond the Vindhyas occupies a place of only secondary interest, it has an importance of its own that needs special emphasis. The Chālukyas and the Pallavas ably continued the work of the Guptas. They achieved that political unity in the Deccan and South India which was the most valuable gift of the Guptas to Northern India. Henceforth the federation of these three regional units came to be regarded as the political ideal which was never entirely lost sight of in succeeding ages. Moreover, under the Chālukyas and the Pallavas, we find the further development of that remarkable renaissance of culture which was ushered in by the Guptas and characterised the entire period which is consequently known as the Gupta Age.

The Gupta Age, which forms the subject-matter of this volume, has been described in rapturous terms, as the 'Golden Age', the 'Classical period' of Indian history, *etc* And fully does it deserve these appellations. It was during this period that Indian intellect reached its high watermark in most branches of art, science and literature, and Indian culture and civilization reached a unique stage of development which left its deep impress upon succeedings ages. For the detailed justification of this claim the reader is referred to the volume itself, particularly Chapters XV and XIX It will suffice here to state only a few broad facts The period witnessed the highest development of Sanskrit literature, alike in prose, poetry and drama. It was the age of Kālidasa who stands unrivalled, even unapproached, as poet and dramatist. It was also the age of Daṇḍin, Subandhu, and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the greatest writers in Sanskrit prose. The six systems of Philosophy, which some regard as the greatest intellectual contribution of India to the stock of human knowledge, took final shape mostly during this period, which also produced great Buddhist philosophers like Vasubandhu. It was also the age of Amara, the greatest lexicographer in Sanskrit. In the field of science, we have

the shining figures of Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, and Brahmagupta, whose works in Mathematics and Astronomy are still reckoned as the greatest contribution of India to science in the ancient world. It will be enough to recall the fact that Āryabhaṭa was the first to discover that the earth rotates on its axis and moves round the sun. Reference should also be made to the epoch-making discovery of the decimal system of notation which has revolutionized the process of arithmetical calculations and is now used all over the world. As regards technical science, the great iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi is a triumph of metallurgy.

The Gupta Age made equally splendid contribution in the domain of art. Some of the figures in stone at Sārnāth and in colour at Ajaṇṭā are justly regarded as masterpieces all over the world. The art is justly styled classical, for the sculptures and paintings of this period set the standard which was alike the ideal and despair of succeeding ages. They still remain the finest productions of Indian art to which modern world has appropriately paid a high tribute of praise.

Finally this was the age made memorable to three hundred million Hindus by the fact that it witnessed the evolution of that form of Brahmanical religion which they follow today. It saw the final development of the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* and the phenomenal growth of the two religious cults, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, at the cost of heterodox religious creeds like Buddhism and Jainism. The vast Puranic literature which originated, or at least took definite shape, during this period, completed the break from the Vedic Age and set on a solid foundation what is now commonly known as Hinduism, the culmination of a religious movement which had behind it the rich heritage of the diverse peoples of India.

The replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit as the court-language and the high development of Sanskrit literature in all branches gave a position of pre-eminence to Sanskrit language which became the *lingua franca* of educated Indians. It served as the medium of a cultural unity which has left an indelible mark upon the people of India in spite of diversity in race and language and provincial rivalries and struggles in later times. This cultural unity has survived strange political vicissitudes and foreign dominations and constitutes today the one sure basis of the political unity and nationality in the Indian Republic.

During the Gupta Age this cultural unity overspread the natural physical boundaries of India and embraced within its fold a vast region lying beyond the Hindu Kush and the Himālayas, and across

the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. The beginnings of India's intercourse with the outside world have been described in the preceding volume. During the period under review flourishing Hindu states arose in different parts of the mainland of Asia and the East Indies, such as Burma, Siam, the Malaya Peninsula, Annam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. Their rulers regarded themselves as descended from Indian colonists, and the Indian culture made a thorough conquest of the people. Even in Central and Eastern Asia, where we have no definite evidence of political domination by the Indian colonists, the cultural influence of India was very great. The activities of Indian missionaries in China during the Gupta Age may be regarded as almost unique in the annals of cultural relations between two independent countries. We have clear and detailed evidence of the spread of this cultural influence to Tibet, Korea, Japan and even the Philippine islands in the east, and over the vast region in the north that lay along the overland route from China to India through Central Asia. Thus came into being the "Greater India" which sheds lustre on the Gupta Age no less than the cultural renaissance in India.

The intellectual greatness which characterised the Gupta Age was typified in the University of Nālandā The name and fame of this great seat of learning reached the remotest corners of Asia and attracted students from all parts of the vast continent. It was the symbol of the great international culture of which India was the universally acknowledged centre. This culture was promoted by the increased intercourse, during this age, between India and other Asiatic countries, particularly China. The detailed account that we possess of India's cordial relations with these countries, as given in Chapter XXIII, reveals a cultural internationalism of the Asiatic world such as has rarely been witnessed since.

The facts recounted above will more than justify the appellation 'Periclean Age of India' which is often applied to the Gupta period. The all-round greatness of Athens in the fifth century B.C., not only in itself but also with reference to its effect on the progress of humanity, may not unreasonably be compared with that of India under the Guptas. As in the case of Periclean Athens, the new era of culture ushered in by the Guptas long survived their political power. The Gupta Dynasty came to an end in the middle or latter half of the sixth century A.D., but the Gupa Age may be said to have continued for two centuries more The spirit and genius of Kālidāsa were inherited, to some extent, by Bhavabhūti and Bhāravi, while Bāṇabhaṭṭa surpassed Daṇḍin and Subandhu as a master of prose. The rhetorician Bhāmaha and philosophers like Kumārila and

Prabhākara kept up the highest tradition in these branches of literature. The form and ideal of the sculptures at Sārnāth and the paintings of Ajaṇṭā caves inspired the artists who kept up the traditions for one or two centuries. Even the imperial traditions of the Guptas were never entirely lost sight of, and repeated attempts were made to revive the imperial unity, though success was always short-lived. Further, as mentioned above, the ideas of political unity were more successfully pursued in Deccan and South India by the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. Moreover the development of the Puranic religion and its predominance over Buddhism and Jainism, as well as the great development in art and literature, were equally characteristic of the Gupta and the Chālukya-Pallava period.

Thus although the Guptas did not rule over the whole of India or for the entire period dealt with in this volume, the name Gupta Age may be fittingly applied to it, for the activities of the Gupta rulers and the cultural renaissance which followed in their wake mattered most during the whole period and have mattered most to the large majority of Indians ever since.

Little need be added to what has been said in the preceding volumes regarding the policy and principles followed by the Editor and the difficulties confronted by him. It is only necessary to draw special attention to some changes in the spelling of proper names. Since India became independent she has tried to throw off some anglicised spellings of geographical names, such as Muttra for Mathurā, Ganges for Gangā, Jumna for Yamunā and the Indus for Sindhu. Full effect could not be given to this new system as almost all the chapters were written before it came into vogue. But a beginning has been made by the introduction of the new mode of spelling in a few cases. It is inevitable that for some time to come both the old and the new spellings would occur side by side and there would be a lack of uniformity, as in this volume. Save for this minor detail this great political event has not exercised any influence on the preparation of this volume. In particular it is to be understood that in this volume, as well as in the preceding two, which have already been published, the geographical and political terms, particularly with reference to States, apply to the state of things prevailing in British India.

Chapters XVI, XVII, and XXII have been revised by the author, and the account of Nepāl in Chapter VIII, section 7 and Chapter X, section 5, has been considerably modified in the light of newly discovered inscriptions. With the exception of these and slight modifications here and there, the present Volume is a reprint of Vol. III published in 1954.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity of placing on record my deep obligations to Dr. Pusalker and the contributors of this volume. I also convey, on behalf of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and on my own behalf, our hearty thanks to the Director General of Archaeology, Government of India, for having lent us blocks and photographs for purposes of illustration. The copyright of these belongs to the Department of Archaeology and no one should reproduce any illustration without its permission.

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF PLATES

THE CLASSICAL AGE

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*
Āchār. Su.	*Āchārāṅga Sūtra.*
AHD.	*Ancient History of the Deccan, by G. Jouveau Dubreuil. Pondicherry, 1920.*
AIG.	*Age of the Imperial Guptas, by R. D. Banerji. Benares, 1933.*
AIHT.	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter. Oxford, 1922.*
AIIC.	*Ancient India and Indian Civilization, by P. Masson-Oursel and others. London, 1934.*
AIOC.	*All-India Oriental Conference.*
Amara.	*Amarakosha.*
AMV.	*Asutosh Memorial Volume. Patna, 1926-28.*
AO.	*Acta Orientalia, Leiden.*
AOR.	*Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University.*
Āp.	*Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra.*
AR.	*Annual Report.*
ASC.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Reports by Sir Alexander Cunningham.*
ASI.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*
ĀSS.	*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.*
Āśv. Gṛ Sū	*Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra.*
ASWI.	*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
Baudh.	*Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra.*
BB.	*Bibliotheca Buddhica, St. Petersburg*
BCAI.	*Bulletin de la commission Archaeologique de l'Indochine.*
BDCRI.	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona.*
Beal (or Life).	*The Life of Hiuen Tsang, by Shaman Hwui Li, with an introduction etc. by Samuel Beal. London, 1914*
BEFEO.	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.*
BG.	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
Bhārata Kaumudī	*Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. 2 Parts. Allahabad, 1945, 1947.*
Bh. List.	*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India, by D. R. Bhandarkar (Appendix to EI, XIX-XXIII)*
BI.	*Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.*
Bṛi.	*Bṛihaspati Smṛiti (Page refs. to Bṛihaspati Smṛiti reconstructed. Ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. GOS Baroda. 1941).*
Br. I.A.	*Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu, by Percy Brown. Bombay, 1942.*

BS.	*Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.*
BSD.	*Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, by M Schuyler. New York, 1906.*
BSS.	*Bombay Sanskrit Series.*
Bu-ston.	*History of Buddhism, by Bu-ston Eng trans by E. Obermiller. Heidelberg, 1932.*
BV.	*Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay*
Cat M.M.	*Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, by J. Ph. Vogel Allahabad, 1910*
CCIM.	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
CGD.	*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa (in the British Museum), by John Allan. London, 1914*
Chh Up.	*Chhāndogya Upanishad.*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CP	*Copperplate.*
CV.	*Chullavagga (tr. SBE, XX).*
Daśa	*Daśakumāra-charita of Daṇḍin (Page refs to the 3rd revised ed. by M. R. Kale, Bombay, 1926)*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography, by J N. Banerjea. Calcutta, 1942*
DHNI.	*Dynastic History of Northern India, by H C. Ray. 2 Vols Calcutta, 1931 1936*
Div.	*Divyāvadāna.*
DKA	*Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F E Pargiter Oxford, 1913*
EHI.	*Early History of India, by V A Smith 4th Edition Oxford, 1924.*
EHVS	*Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, by H C Raychaudhuri 2nd Ed. Calcutta 1936*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
Etats	*Les États Hindouisés D'Indochine et D'Indonésie Paris, 1948.*
FAS	*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, by V A Smith Oxford, 1911*
FTL.	*Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account of the Chinese monk Fa-hien's Travels Tr. by J. H. Legge Oxford, 1886*
Gaut	*Gautama Dharma-śāstra*
G.E	*Gupta Era*
GIL.	*Geschichte der Indichen Literatur, by M Winternitz 3 Vols Leipzig, 1905, 1909, 1920.*
Giles	*The Travels of Fa-hien (A D 399-414), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms Re-translated by H A. Giles. Cambridge, 1923*
GOS	*Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.*
GSAI	*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*
HAL.	*History of Alaṁkāra Literature, by P. V. Kane. Bombay, 1923*
Har (or Harsha).	*Harsha-charita (text).*
HAS.	*Hyderabad Archaeological Series.*

HBR.	*History of Bengal. Vol. I. Edited by R. C. Majumdar. Dacca, 1943.*
HC.	*Harṣacarita. Eng. trans. by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. London, 1897.*
HCSL.	*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, by M. Krishnamachariar. Madras, 1937.*
H.E	*Harsha Era.*
HIEA.	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by J. Fergusson. 2nd Ed. Revised by J Burgess and R. P. Spiers. London, 1910.*
HIED.	*History of India as told by its own Historians. Ed. by Elliot and Dowson.*
HIIA.	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art, by A. K. Coomaraswamy. London, 1927.*
HIJ.	*History of India, A.D. 150-350, by K P. Jayaswal. Lahore, 1933.*
HIL.	*History of Indian Literature, by M Winternitz. Eng. Trans. by Mrs S. Ketkar Calcutta University Press.*
Hist. Ins.	*Historical Inscriptions of South India, by R. B. Sewell.*
HK	*History of Kanauj, by R. S Tripathi.*
HNI.	*History of North-Eastern India, by R. G. Basak. Calcutta, 1934.*
HOS.	*Harvard Oriental Series.*
HPL.	*History of Pali Literature, by B C. Law. 2 Vols. London, 1933.*
HSL.	*History of Sanskrit Literature.*
HSP	*History of Sanskrit Poetics.*
HTB.	*Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang, by Samuel Beal London, 1906*
HTW (or Watters).	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, by T. Watters. London, 1908.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
IAL.	*Indian Art and Letters, London.*
IC.	*Indian Culture, Calcutta.*
ID.	*Das indische Drama, by Sten Konow. Berlin, 1920.*
IHC.	*Indian History Congress.*
IHIJ.	*Imperial History of India, by K. P. Jayaswal. Lahore, 1934.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta*
Imp Ins Bar St.	*Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State, by A S. Gadre. Baroda, 1943*
IP	*Indian Philosophy, by S. Radhakrishnan.*
IRT.	*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, by I-tsing Translated by J. Takakusu Oxford. 1896.*
IS	*Indische Studien. Ed. A. Weber.*
JA.	*Journal Asiatique, Paris.*
JAHRS.	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.*

JARS.	*Journal of the Assam Research Society.*
JASB.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.*
JBORS.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.*
JBRS.	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.*
JDL.	*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.*
JGIS.	*Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History, Madras.*
JISOA.	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.*
JKHRS	*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir.*
J.Mal.Br R A.S.	*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JMU.	*Journal of the Madras University*
JNSI.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay.*
JOR.	*Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.*
JPASB.	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
JPTS.	*Journal of the Pali Text Society.*
JRAS.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.*
JRASB(L).	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal: Letters. Calcutta.*
JUB.	*Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay.*
JUPHS.	*Journal of the U.P Historical Society.*
Kād.	*Kādambarī of Bāna (Page refs to the 3rd revised edition by M. R. Kale. Bombay, 1928).*
Kām	*Kāmandaka's Nītisāra.*
Kāt.	*Kātyāyana Smṛiti (Refs to Kātyāyana-Smṛiti-Sāroddhāra, edited by P. V. Kane. Bombay, 1933).*
Kāt. Add.	*Additional Verses of Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra, by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to P. V. Kane. Poona, 1941).*
Kauṭ.	*Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.*
KHDS.	*History of Dharma-śāstra, by P. V. Kane.*
KIS.	*Indian Sculpture, by Stella Kramrisch. Calcutta, 1933.*
KM.	*Kāvyamālā. NSP. Bombay.*
KRT.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī by Kalhaṇa.*
KS.	*Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.*
KSS.	*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali.*
Kum.	*Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa.*
Kush-Sas. Coins.	*Kushano-Sassanian Coins by E. Herzfeld MASI, No. 38. Calcutta, 1930.*

Life (or Beal).	*The Life of Hiuen Tsang, by Shaman Hwui Li, with an introduction, etc. by Samuel Beal. London, 1914.*
Mālatī.	*Mālatī-mādhava of Bhavabhūti.*
Mālav.	*Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa.*
Manu.	*Manu-smṛiti.*
MAR.	*Mysore Archaeological Report.*
Mārk. Pur.	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*
Martin.	*Coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇas (JRASBL, III —Num. Suppl., XLVII, pp. 23-50) by M. F. C. Martin.*
MASI.	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Mat. Pur.	*Matsya Purāṇa.*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata.*
Meg.	*Megasthenes.*
Megha.	*Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.*
Memoire.	*Memoire composé á l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher á loi dans les pays d'Occident, par I-tsing, traduit en français par Edouard Chavannes. Paris, 1894.*
MKHS Papers	*Papers of the Mahākosala Historical Society.*
Mīm Sū.	*Mīmāmsā-sūtras.*
MMK.	*Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa. Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri. TSS.*
MR.	*Modern Review, Calcutta.*
Mṛi.	*Mṛichchhakaṭika of Śūdraka.*
Mud.	*Mudrārākshasa of Viśākhadatta.*
MV.	*Mahāvagga (Trans. SBE, XIII, XVII).*
Nāg.	*Nāgānanda of Harsha.*
Nār	*Nārada-smṛiti (Ed. by J. Jolly).*
NHIP.	*New History of the Indian People. Vol VI. Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. Lahore, 1946*
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
NIS.	*New Imperial Series.*
NSP.	*Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.*
Num. Chr.	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
Num. Suppl.	*Numismatic Supplement.*
OZ.	*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.*
Pāṇ.	*Pāṇini.*
Pañcha.	*Pañchatantra.*
Par.	*Parāśara-smṛiti.*
PHAI.	*Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Raychaudhuri. 4th Ed. Calcutta, 1938.*
PIHC.	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
PLC.	*Pali Literature of Ceylon, by M. H. Bode. London, 1909.*
POC.	*Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.*
PR. ASI. WC.	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*

Pratimā.	*Pratimā-nāṭaka of Bhāsa.*
Priya.	*Priyadarśikā of Harsha.*
PTS.	*Pali Text Society, London.*
Pur.	*Purāṇa.*
Raghu.	*Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa.*
Rām.	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
Ratnāvali.	*Ratnāvali of Harsha.*
Record (or Takakusu)	*A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing. Trans by J. Takakusu. Oxford, 1896*
Ṛitu	*Ritusaṁhāra of Kālidāsa.*
Śāk	*Śākuntala of Kālidāsa.*
Śat. Br	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.*
SBH.	*Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad*
Sel. Ins.	*Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization. Vol. I By D C. Sircar. Calcutta, 1942*
SII.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
Śikshā.	*Śikshā-samuchchaya of Śāntideva Ed by C. Bendall. St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.*
SIS.	*Sino-Indian Studies. Calcutta.*
SJS.	*Singhi Jain Series.*
Sm. C.	*Smṛiti-chandrikā of Devannabhaṭṭa Ed by L Srinivasacharya. Mysore, 1914-21.*
SP.	*Sanskrit Poetics, by S. K. De*
Suc. Sāt.	*Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan. by D. C Sircar. Calcutta, 1939*
Svap (or Svapna).	*Svapna-Vāsavadatta of Bhāsa.*
Taitt. Ār	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*
Takakusu (or Record)	*A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing. Trans. by J. Takakusu. Oxford, 1896.*
Tar.	*Tāranātha. Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien German trans by A Schiefner*
TSS.	*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.*
Uttara	*Uttararāma-charita of Bhavabhūti.*
Vas.	*Vasishṭha Dharma-sūtra.*
Vi.	*Vishnu-smṛiti.*
Vi. Pur.	*Vishnu Purāna.*
Vij	*Vijñāneśvara*
VS.	*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems, by R. G. Bhandarkar. Strassburg, 1913.*
Warmington.	*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, by E. H. Warmington. Cambridge, 1928.*
Watters (or HTW).	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, by T. Watters. London, 1908.*
Yāj.	*Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS

The political disintegration which followed the dissolution of the Kushāṇa empire continued right up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Kushānas still ruled over the western Punjāb, but had ceased to exercise any authority further east. The Śakas ruled over Gujarāt and a part of Mālwā, but their power was rapidly on the decline. The rest of Northern India was divided into a number of small kingdoms and autonomous tribal states. The time was ripe for a great Indian military leader to arise and build up a mighty empire, and such a leader soon arose in a petty ruling family known as the Guptas.

1. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The origin and early history of this family are shrouded in obscurity. The name or surname Gupta is not absolutely unknown in ancient Indian history. Names of officials ending in Gupta and queens of the Gupta clan or family are mentioned in old records, particularly of the Śuṅga and the Sātavāhana period. But whether all of them were connected with a parent Gupta clan or there were different families, without any such connection, who assumed the name Gupta, cannot be determined, though the latter view seems more probable. In any case, the particular Gupta family, ruling in the fourth century A.D., cannot be affiliated to any ancient family or clan of that name.

The first three rulers of this family are referred to in the Gupta records as *Mahārāja* Śrīgupta, his son *Mahārāja* Śrī Ghaṭotkacha-gupta and the latter's son, *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Chandra-gupta. The fact that the third ruler is given the higher title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, whereas his father and grandfather are called simply *Mahārāja*, cannot but be regarded as significant. We must assume that Chandra-gupta was a more powerful ruler than his predecessors and extended the ancestral kingdom.

Of the first two kings the Gupta records do not mention anything beyond their names and titles. We have, therefore, no definite information about their exact status or the locality where they ruled. The title *Mahārāja* was often borne by feudatory chiefs, and it has been surmised that both Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha were subordinate to some paramount ruler. But no such paramount ruler of the period is known to us. On the other hand, even independent

rulers are known to have used the title *Mahārāja*,[1] and it is not unlikely that the first two Gupta kings were really independent, though their kingdom was not very large.

As regards the locality of this kingdom some light is thrown by a passing observation of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. I-tsing, who travelled in India during the period A D. 671-695, refers to a king Śrīgupta as having built a temple for the Chinese pilgrims and endowed it with twenty-four villages. Some scholars have identified this king with the founder of the Gupta dynasty and located the temple in Magadha. Consequently they place the kingdom of the early Guptas in Magadha. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view. In the first place, I-tsing places Śrīgupta about five hundred years before his time, whereas the founder of the Gupta dynasty cannot be placed more than four hundred, or at the most, four hundred and fifty years before he wrote. The identity can, therefore, be maintained only if we regard the five hundred years as only a round approximate figure This is not an unreasonable view, especially when we remember that the "Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men "[2] The identification of the king mentioned by I-tsing with Śrīgupta, the founder of the Gupta family, may, therefore, be accepted, at least as a provisional hypothesis.

There is, however, no justification for the view that the temple which this king built for the Chinese was situated in Magadha The bearing and the distance given by the Chinese pilgrim place it in the western borders of northern or central Bengal and this is corroborated by some other details mentioned by him. We may, therefore, hold that Śrīgupta's kingdom comprised a portion of Bengal.[3]

We do not know anything of Gupta's son and successor Ghaṭotkacha But it is interesting to note that in two records of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-guptā,[4] daughter of Chandra-gupta II, Ghatotkacha is said to be the first Gupta king. Further, in a record recently discovered at Rewa,[5] the Gupta family is traced back only

1 The examples of the Lichchhavis (Nepāl), the Maghas, the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas are sufficient to prove that the title *Mahārāja* does not necessarily indicate a feudatory rank

2 *CGD*, xv, xix

3 This point has been fully discussed in *HBR* 69-70 and *JBRS*, XXXVIII 410-428 Prof Jagannath's argument (*IHQ*, XXII. 28) against the proposed view is based on Beal's faulty translation of the Chinese passage in IA, 1881, pp 110-11 Beal's revised translation will be found in the Introduction (p xxxvi) of his translation of the "*Life of Hiuen Tsang*"

4 Poona C P ins, *EI* XV 21, Rithpur C P ins, *JPASB*, NS, XX 58; see *infra*, Ch XI, A 1: Vākāṭakas.

5 *Summary of Papers read at the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference* (Part II, p 39) According to this pamphlet the record contains the expression "*Ghatotkacha-sadvaṁśe*" But what has been read as '*sadvaṁśe*' is really *tadvaṁśe* Dr Chhabra, who is editing the record, emended the old reading himself.

to Ghaṭotkacha. It is difficult to explain why or how Ghaṭotkacha came to be regarded as the founder of the family, at least in some quarters in Central India and the Deccan, but these references seem to imply that he was a notable ruler in some respects.

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA I

There is, however, no doubt that it was really under Chandra-gupta I, the son and successor of Ghaṭotkacha, that the family rose to eminence. This is clearly indicated by the higher title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to him in the family records. Further evidence is supplied by a series of gold coins issued by him. These coins depict on one side the names and figures of Chandra-gupta and his queen Kumāradevī, and on the other, a goddess seated on a lion with the name of the Lichchhavis inscribed by its side.

Kumāradevī was a Lichchhavi princess, and evidently special significance was attached to Chandra-gupta's marriage with her. Apart from the above coins, this is also proved by the fact that their son Samudra-gupta is always referred to in the genealogical account of the Gupta records as the 'daughter's son of the Lichchhavis,' whereas we do not come across any such reference to the maternal family of the eight or ten other Gupta rulers, mentioned in the same records. It has been suggested by V. A. Smith that by means of this matrimonial alliance Chandra-gupta succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relations and secured a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. On the other hand, Allan thinks that the "pride of the Guptas in their Lichchhavi blood was probably due rather to the ancient lineage of the Lichchhavis than to any material advantages gained by this alliance" It may be doubted, however, whether the Lichchhavis enjoyed at this time a very high status in society. For the *Manu-Saṁhitā*, which was undoubtedly held in high respect about this time, regards the Lichchhavis as a kind of degraded Kshatriyas (*Vrātya-Kshatriya*) It appears more probable, therefore, that the marriage alliance of Chandra-gupta I was valuable from a political rather than a social point of view.

Although, therefore, we my accept the view that the political greatness of the Guptas was due, in a large measure, to their alliance with the Lichchhavis, it is difficult to define more precisely, as V A. Smith has done, the extent of their indebtedness. For we do not know for certain anything about the power or political status of the Lichchhavis, or even the position of their kingdom at this time. As noted above,[1] the Lichchhavis ruled over the republican state of Vaiśālī when Gautama Buddha flourished About the time

1 Vol II, pp 6 f

of which we are speaking we find kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty ruling in the valley of Nepāl.[1] We do not know whether the Lichchhavi relations of Kumāradevī belonged to the ruling family of Vaiśālī or Nepāl or of some other kingdom. The view that they ruled in Magadha rests on very dubious grounds On the whole, it is more reasonable to regard the Lichchhavis as ruling somewhere in North Bihār, in the region between Vaiśālī and Nepāl. It is highly probable that the Lichchhavis and Guptas ruled over adjoining principalities and that the two kingdoms were united under Chandra-gupta by his marriage with Kumāradevī. This happy union, which enhanced the power and prestige of the new kingdom and augured so well for the future, was evidently commemorated by the gold coins jointly issued by Chandra-gupta and his Lichchhavi queen [2]

So little is definitely known about Chandra-gupta I that we have only to rely upon such provisional hypotheses for the reconstruction of his history. We may reasonably infer that his dominions must have been sufficiently large to justify his assumption of the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* and to enable his son to launch upon that career of conquest which led to the foundation of a mighty empire. It is generally held on the basis of a passage[3] in the Purāṇas, that Chandra-gupta ruled over Sāketa (Awadh), Prayāga (Allāhābād) and Magadha (S. Bihār). But apart from the uncertainty in the reading and interpretation of the passage, we cannot even be certain that it refers to the period of Chandra-gupta I Although, therefore, no definite conclusions are possible, we may, judging from the military campaigns of his son, regard the kingdom of Chandra-gupta as comprising nearly the whole of Bihār and portions of Bengal and Awadh.

It is generally assumed that the well-known Gupta era, which commenced on February 26, 320 A.D.,[4] was founded by Chandra-gupta I to commemorate his accession or coronation [5] Although this is a very probable view, there is no definite evidence in support of it, and we cannot altogether exclude the possibility that the era

1 See *infra*, Ch. VIII. 7· Nepāl.

2. *JRASBL*, III Num. Suppl., pp 105 ff, *JIH*, VI Suppl pp 10 ff The view that the coins were issued by Samudra-gupta (*CGD*. lxiv) is no longer held by any scholar

3 *DKA*, 53 fn 8; *IHQ*, XXI 141; *NHIP* 134-5

4 Or December, 20, 318 A.D. Cf *EHI*[4] 280; *JRASBL* VIII 41

5. According to V A Smith Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne some time before A D. 308 but founded a new era in A D 320 to commemorate his formal consecration or coronation The reason for this long interval between accession and formal coronation is not clear, particularly when it is held that Chandra-gupta had married Kumāradevī in or about A D 308 (*EHI*[4] 279-80). According to Dr. H. C Raychaudhuri, Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne in A D 320 and strengthened his position by marrying Kumāradevī "at some stage of his career" (*PHAI*[5] 530).

commemorates the coronation of Samudra-gupta, the greatest king of the dynasty and the founder of the Gupta empire. The chronology of the early Gupta kings can be fixed only with reference to this date. If we assume that Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne in A.D. 320, we may place the reigns of Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha between that year and A.D. 270. On the other hand, if we regard A.D. 320 as the date of Samudra-gupta's coronation, we shall have to push back the reign of Gupta to about A.D. 250. This would be more in accordance with the statement of I-tsing who places Śrīgupta about 500 years before his time (c. A.D. 700).

In view of the vagueness and uncertainty of our knowledge regarding the early history of the Guptas, it would be wise not to indulge in further speculation on the subject. It has been suggested, for example, that Chandra-gupta I 'simply drove out the Scythians and gave independence to the province of Magadha after three centuries of subjection and foreign oppression.' We have, however, absolutely no evidence that Chandra-gupta I ever came into conflict with the Scythian rulers, or led any 'war of liberation.' It is also a mere gratuitous assumption that Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha were 'petty landholders' or 'feudatory chiefs subordinate to the Kushānas.'[1] Still more illusory is the attempt to reconstruct the history of Chandra-gupta I on the basis of the drama *Kaumudī-Mahotsava* [2] It describes how the cursed Chaṇḍasena, an adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, and the commander of his army, allied himself with the barbarian Lichchhavis and got possession of Magadha by defeating and killing the king, his adoptive father It is nothing short of 'fantastic' to equate Chaṇḍasena with Chandra-gupta I and to construct the history of the period from the romantic episodes described in a dramatic work of a later age, which agree so little with the data of contemporary inscriptions. An attempt has also been made to reconstract the history of the early Guptas with such graphic details as the murder of Chandra-gupta I by his son Samudra-gupta. But the passage in the *Bhavishyottara-Purāṇa* which contains this and other similar episodes can be easily demonstrated to be 'a palpable modern forgery'.[3]

These vague conjectures and wild theories need not be seriously discussed in a sober history. For the present we have to rest content with the little that we definitely know about the early Guptas,

1 *AIG*. pp. 1-5.
2 Jayaswal's reconstruction (*ABORI*. XII. 50; *JBORS*. XIX. 113) of the origin and early history of the Guptas, on the basis of the drama *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, though supported by some (*JBORS*, XXI. 77; XXII. 275), has been justly rejected by most other scholars (*Aiyangar Comm. Vol.* 359-362, *IC*, IX 100; *IHQ*, XIV 582, *Thomas Comm. Vol.* 115; *JAHRS*, VI. 139).
3 *NHIP*, VI, 133, fn. 2; *JBRS*, XXX 1 ff, *IHQ*, XX. 345.

or can reasonably infer about them, and we may sum up the position somewhat as follows:

Towards the close of the third century A.D., India was divided into a number of independent states both monarchical and non-monarchical. Two of these in Eastern India were united by a marriage alliance between Kumāradevī, the Lichchhavi princess, and Chandra-gupta I, the grandson of Gupta and the son of Ghaṭotkacha. Chandra-gupta I thus ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom which probably included nearly the whole of Bihār and also parts of U P. and Bengal He signalised his increased power and dominion by changing the title *Mahārāja*, adopted by his father and grandfather, for the higher imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*, and probably also by founding an era to commemorate his coronation in A.D. 320.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

1. ACCESSION OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

Samudra-gupta, the son of Chandra-gupta I and Kumāradevī, succeeded his father. We possess a long eulogy of this king composed by one of his officials named Harishena and engraved on the Aśoka pillar at Allāhābād.[1] This eulogy or *praśasti* gives a detailed account of the career and personality of Samudra-gupta, such as we do not possess of any other king of ancient India, except the great Maurya emperor Aśoka. Thanks to this record we are in a position to describe the remarkable military exploits of Samudra-gupta which laid the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Allāhābād *praśasti* vividly describes at the outset, how in a full session of the royal court Chandra-gupta I embraced his son Samudra-gupta, and declared, in accents surcharged with emotion "Thou art worthy, rule this whole world" The poet leaves no doubt that the assembly was held in a tense atmosphere, and while the royal declaration was received with cheers by most of those present in the court, it caused great discontent and heart-burning to the rival candidates of the royal family. The royal declaration is usually taken to mean that Chandra-gupta I publicly announced Samudra-gupta as the heir-apparent to the throne The words put in his mouth, however, taken literally, mean that Chandra-gupta I formally abdicated in favour of his son.[2]

In any case, Samudra-gupta was deliberately selected by his father as the next king and this evidently caused deep disappointment to the rival princes who coveted the throne It possibly led to trouble, and it is not even unlikely that when Samudra-gupta ascended the throne he had to face a revolt of his brothers. The name of a king Kācha is known from a few coins which bear a close resemblance to those of Samudra-gupta. It has been suggested that Kācha was the eldest brother of Samudra-gupta and headed the rebellion against him.[3] But this is by no means certain, and some hold that Kācha was only the original name of Samudra-gupta. But whatever troubles might have arisen, they were quelled by Samudra-gupta who soon made his position stable and secure.

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1 *CII*, III 1; *Sel. Ins* 254.

2. Dr Chhabra has come to the same conclusion after a critical discussion of the whole passage. He also offers a new reading and interpretation of the passage. The words of Chandra-gupta I, quoted above, are translated by him as "Come, Come! Protect thou the whole earth" (*IC*, XIV. 141).

3. *ABORI*. IX. 83.

2. SAMUDRA-GUPTA'S CONQUESTS

The reign of Samudra-gupta is chiefly remarkable for the series of military campaigns which he led in various parts of India. The author of the Allāhābād *praśasti* refers to the skill he displayed in a hundred battles which left scars all over his body. Judging from the long list of countries which he conquered and brought under various degrees of subjection, the statement need not be regarded as a mere poetic effusion or even a highly exaggerated encomium.

A number of rulers of Northern India, among whom nine are specifically named, felt the full brunt of Samudra-gupta's aggressive policy. These kings were defeated and crushed and their kingdoms were annexed to the Gupta kingdom. Two of them, Nāgasena and Gaṇapati-nāga, were rulers of the Nāga family who had set up three kingdoms at Padmāvatī (Padam Pawāyā, 25 miles north-east of Narwar in old Gwālior State), Vidiśa (Bhilsa) and Mathurā.[1] Two other kings, Achyuta and Chandra-varman, ruled respectively in Ahichchhatra (near Bareilly) and Western Bengal (in the Bānkura District). The dominions of the remaining five kings, *viz* Rudra-deva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Nandin, and Balavarman cannot be located at present.[2] But we can form an idea of the territory, thus conquered and directly administered by Samudra-gupta, from the mention of the kingdoms and tribal states, situated at the frontiers of his kingdom, which paid taxes, obeyed orders and rendered obeisance in person to the emperor. Three of these kingdoms, Samatata, Kāmarūpa, and Nepāla are well known and correspond respectively to South-East Bengal, Upper Assam and Nepāl. The fourth, Ḍavāka, was most probably situated in the Nowgong District of Assam. The fifth, Kartṛipura, has been identified with Kartārpur in the Jālandhar District, and according to some it even comprised the territory of the Katuria Raj of Kumaon, Garhwāl and Rohilkhand. But this cannot be regarded as certain.

These five tributary kingdoms are expressly stated to be situated on the frontiers of Samudra-gupta's dominions. The feudatory tribal states which are mentioned along with them, and were also presumably on the frontier, were nine in number, and may be

1 For the identifications of kings and states mentioned in the Allāhābād Inscription, cf the works of Allan, Smith, Aiyangar and Raychaudhuri, mentioned at the end under General References, and also the following:—
(i) V A Smith in *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 87 ff
(ii) Fleet in *JRAS*, 1898, p 368
(iii) D R Bhandarkar in *IHQ*, I 252 ff
(iv) R Sathianathaier—*Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam* (pp 13-19).

2 Dr D C Sircar has suggested that Rudra-deva might be identified with the W Satrap Rudradāman II or his son Rudrasena III, and Nāgadatta was probably a king of N Bengal and an ancestor of the viceroys of the Imperial Guptas whose names end in Datta (*PIHC*, VII 78).

easily divided into two groups. The first comprises the Mālavas, the Arjunāyanas, the Yaudheyas and the Mādrakas. The Mālavas were at this time settled in Eastern Rājputāna, in the regions now known as Mewār, Tonk and Kotah. The Yaudheyas inhabited the territory still known as Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the Bahāwalpur State; at one time their dominions extended up to the Yamunā and included Bharatpur. The Mādrakas occupied the territory between the Rāvi and the Chināb with their capital at Sākala, modern Siālkot. The Ārjunāyanas cannot be located with certainty, but if, as is generally believed, the names of the tribes have been recorded in a geographical order, their territory may be placed near Jaipur.

Of the second group of five states, only the Sanakānīkas may be located with some degree of certainty near Bhilsa. The Ābhīras are known to have had various settlements, but the reference here is probably to the one in Central India, called Ahirawara, between Bhilsa and Jhānsi. The remaining three states, *viz.* Prārjunas, Kākas and Kharaparikas, cannot be located with certainty, but may be placed to the north and east of Bhilsa and not very far from it. For Eran in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh, about 50 miles to the N N.E. of Bhilsa, is definitely known to have been included in the kingdom of Samudra-gupta.

If we now consider the position of the tributary states on the frontiers of Samudra-gupta's dominions, we may form an idea of the territory directly under the administration of Samudra-gupta. In the east it included the whole of Bengal, excepting its south-eastern extremity. Its northern boundary ran along the foothills of the Himālayas. In the west it extended up to the territory of the Madras in the Punjāb and probably included its eastern districts between Lahore and Karnāl. From Karnāl the boundary followed the Yamunā up to its junction with the Chambal, and thence along an imaginary line drawn almost due south to Bhilsa. The southern boundary ran from Bhilsa to Jubbulpore and thence along the Vindhya range of hills. Samudra-gupta is said to have conquered all the Aṭavi-rājyas (forest kingdoms) which probably denoted the hilly tracts, full of dense forest, extending eastwards from Jubbulpore.

Samudra-gupta's campaigns of conquest were not confined to North India. He made one or more expeditions to the Deccan and defeated no less than twelve rulers. The defeated chiefs included Mahendra of Kosala (Drug, Raipur, Bilāspur and Sambalpur Districts), Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra (probably forest regions in Jeypore State, Orissa), Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura (Pithāpuram in the Godāvari District), Hastivarman (the Śālaṅkāyana chief) of Veṅgī (modern Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore between the

Krishṇā and the Godāvarī), Ugrasena of Pālakka (Nellore District), and Vishnugopa (the Pallava king) of Kāñchī (Conjeevaram in Chingleput District). Kings Damana of Eraṇḍapalla and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra probably ruled in the Vizagapatam District.[1] Four other kings, Maṇṭarāja of Kaurāla, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra,[2] Nīlarāja of Avamukta and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura cannot be identified with certainty.

Although these four southern kingdoms cannot be located, it is clear that Samudra-gupta proceeded through the eastern and southern parts of Madhya Pradesh to Orissa and then advanced along the eastern coast up to the Pallava kingdom, probably beyond the city of Madras[3] Samudra-gupta defeated and captured the rulers of these southern states. But he later set them at liberty and they were presumably allowed to rule over their kingdoms as feudatories of Samudra-gupta.[4]

Samudra-gupta had probably other military campaigns to his credit, though we cannot speak of them with any degree of certainty. It is, however, evident that his supremacy was acknowledged by powerful rulers in the western and north-western frontiers of India, such as the Śaka chiefs ruling in Western Mālwā or the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, and the Kushāṇa king or kings of the Western Punjāb and Afghānistān referred to as Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi.[5] The passage describing their relations with Samudra-gupta is somewhat vague and uncertain, but it may be taken for granted that they

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1 The correct identification of Erandapalla and Devarāshtra is of great historical importance. Fleet identified them respectively with Erandol (in Khāndesh) and Mahārāshṭra and held that Samudra-gupta passed through the Western Deccan after his victorious campaign in the eastern coast This view was generally accepted until Dubreuil proposed to locate Erandapalla in the Ganjām and Devarāshṭra in the Vizagapatam District (*AHD* 58, 160) Dubreuil's identification is now generally accepted and the view that Samudra-gupta proceeded to the Mahārāshtra State is discredited. Recently some scholars have supported the old view of Fleet (*ABORI*, XXVI. 138).

2. Koṭṭūra has been identified by Dr. Saletore with Koṭṭūra in the Kudligi *tāluk*, Bellary District, Madras (*ABORI*, XXVI. 120). This tallies with the old view of Fleet, mentioned in the preceding footnote, but as there is no positive evidence that Samudra-gupta proceeded so far to the west, it is better to identify Kottūra with Kothoor in Ganjām or Vizagapatam District (*PHAI*[4], 453)

3 Mr. Sathianathaier (*op cit*) proposes to identify, among others, Mahākāntāra with Kanker and Bastar, Kerala with Cherala (Nugur *tāluk*, E Godāvari District), Koṭṭūra with Koṭṭuru near Tuni (E. Godāvari District), Eraṇḍapalla with Erraguntapalle in the Chentalapudi *tāluk* of the West Godāvari District, and Devarāshṭra with the place of that name in the Khānāpur Sub-division of the Sātārā District. He thus maintains, against the generally accepted view, that Samudra-gupta did not pass through Orissa, Ganjām and Vizagapatam, but first emerged on the east coast at Pishṭapura (Pithāpuram), and that he also conquered Western Deccan.

4 J. Dubreuil is of opinion (*op. cit.* pp. 60-61) that Samudra-gupta, who advanced up to the Kṛishṇā, was opposed by a confederacy of the kings of the E Deccan, and being repulsed, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa and returned home. This is pure imagination, and directly contradicted by the explicit statements in the Allāhābād Ins.

5 For details Cf. Chapter VII.

sought to win the favour of the great emperor by personal attendance in his court, offering daughters in marriage, and asking permission for the use of imperial coins or soliciting imperial charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories. Whether this attitude of subservience was the result of military defeat or was merely a diplomatic move to save themselves from a worse fate, we cannot say. The discovery of some coins of the Kushāṇa type with the names of Samudra and Chandra, and the use of Gupta type of coins by some Scythian rulers of the west, indicate that the Guptas really exercised a sort of suzerainty over some of these frontier kingdoms still under foreign rulers, and the statement in the records of Samudra-gupta about his relations with the Śaka and Kushāna chiefs may not be regarded as altogether without foundation

3 POLITICAL RELATION WITH CEYLON

Even the distant Simhala (Ceylon) and all other islands are included in the same category of vassal states to which the Śakas and the Kushānas belonged If we remember that Ceylon and many other islands in the Indian ocean were colonised by the Indians and bear a deep impress of Gupta culture, it is not unlikely that some of them at any rate sought to maintain close contact with the most powerful empire in the mainland, and thought it politic to win the good graces of the great emperor by sending rich presents or showing respect in some other way. The reference to the homage paid by the people of all these islands cannot, therefore, be dismissed as mere rhetoric, but may be based on actual relationship, the exact nature of which cannot be determined.

So far as Ceylon is concerned, we have fortunately independent evidence of its political relations with Samudra-gupta. We learn from a Chinese text that king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon (c. A.D. 352-379) sent two monks to Bodh-Gayā to visit the sacred spots, but they were put to great inconvenience for want of suitable accommodation. To obviate the difficulty for future pilgrims to the holy place, Meghavarṇa decided to found a monastery there. He accordingly sent a mission to Samudra-gupta with rich presents and asked for permission to build a monastery and a rest-house for Ceylonese pilgrims. Samudra-gupta readily granted permission and the Ceylonese king built a splendid monastery to the north of the Bodhi tree. By the time of Hiuen Tsang it had developed into a magnificent establishment, with more than 1000 priests, and the pilgrim has described the rich decorations and massive grandeur of the buildings. Referring to the old history of its foundation, Hiuen Tsang says that the Ceylonese king 'gave in tribute to the king of

India all the jewels of his country.' It is likely that Samudra-gupta's courtiers regarded the rich presents as tributes, and construed the Ceylonese king's prayer for permission to build a monastery as an 'application for charter confirming him in the enjoyment of his territories,' one of the forms of homage paid by the category of vassal states in which Simhala is included. There may be similar basis for the inclusion of the other states in this category, the offer of a daughter's hand being very common among neighbourly kings. In view of the great renown of Samudra-gupta, the neighbouring Śaka and Kushāṇa rulers might have sought to cultivate friendly relations with him and strengthen them by personal visits or matrimonial alliances. It may also be conceded that the rulers of the weaker states, situated just outside the limits of the empire, maintained diplomatic relations with Samudra-gupta and deliberately sought to win his favour and goodwill by various measures which, however derogatory to their royal status and position of equality, did not theoretically detract from their independent status. But it is difficult to believe, without more positive evidence, such as we possess in the case of some Scythian states mentioned above, that all these rulers in any way openly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta emperor, and enjoyed their kingdoms merely as fiefs by virtue of charters granted by Samudra-gupta.

4. SAMUDRA-GUPTA'S EMPIRE

The above discussion enables us to describe the nature and extent of the empire of Samudra-gupta with an accuracy and fullness of detail rare in ancient Indian history. It comprised nearly the whole of Northern India, with the exclusion of Kāshmir, Western Punjāb, Western Rājputāna, Sindh and Gujarāt, and included the highlands of Chattisgarh and Orissa with a long stretch of territory along the eastern coast extending as far south as Chingleput, and probably even further. Of these vast territories, a considerable portion of Northern India, whose boundaries have been defined above, was directly administered by the emperor through his officials. This was surrounded on all sides except on the south by an almost continuous line of tributary states. Beyond them lay the Śaka and the Kushāṇa principalities on the west and north-west Some of these probably acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta empire, but there is no doubt that all of them were within the sphere of its influence The states along the eastern coast of the Deccan and the Pallava kingdom in the Tamil country beyond the Krishna were also feudatories, while Ceylon and probably some other islands in the Indian Ocean or the East Indies maintained a submissive and respectful attitude towards the emperor. Thus to use the words of

the Allāhābād *praśasti*, was the (whole) world bound by means of the amplitude of the vigour of the arm of Samudra-gupta.

It is permissible to hold that the consolidation of Samudra-gupta's empire was the result of a definite policy deliberately pursued. He may have been inspired by the vision of an all-India empire, but he realised the impracticability of any idea to establish, immediately, a direct rule over the whole country or even a considerable part of it. He, therefore, created, by ruthless suppression of a number of independent states, a central block of territory over which he exercised direct sway. He thus established an imperial authority strong enough to ensure the internal peace of India by checking the disruptive tendencies of minor states. But he did not attempt to bring all the outlying kingdoms under his direct sway. That would have not only taxed his strength to the utmost, but might have even led to serious disaster for, as is shown by the history of India at all times, it is hard to conquer the frontier states and still harder to retain control over them. Instead of permanently antagonising them by a policy of subjugation such as he had followed in the centre, within a limited sphere, he tried gradually to win them over by a policy of conciliation. He allowed them internal autonomy without liberty to create discord and disunion within the body-politic of India The frontier-states on the west might also have been retained as buffer-states in order to increase the defensive strength of the empire against foreign foes It was left to the successors of Samudra-gupta to build on the solid foundations laid by him With the consolidation of the empire, the directly administered areas were gradually extended in the east as well as in the west, until nearly the whole of Northern India from Chittagong to Kāthiāwār was ruled by the governors of the Gupta emperor

5 PERSONALITY OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

The vast empire of Samudra-gupta must have been the result of numerous military campaigns extending over many years We have no specific or detailed account of them and it is not necessary to suppose that he fought separately with every single state mentioned above as included in his kingdom or tributary to him Nevertheless when we recall the large number of states acknowledging his authority it is impossible not to feel profound admiration for his military genius. The total extermination of the nine states in Northern India demanded uncommon daring and military skill. His southern campaign, over long distances, and through comparatively unknown and inhospitable regions far from his base, must have called forth powers of leadership and organisation of the highest order His march along the coastal regions makes it likely

that the land-operations were aided by the navy, the possession of which is implied in his dominion over islands in the sea. He is known to have performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. No historical Indian ruler, either before or after him, had greater justification for performing this time-honoured ceremony and unique method of asserting universal supremacy V. A. Smith's description of him as the "Indian Napoleon" is by no means unmerited.

Brilliant both as general and statesman, Samudra-gupta also possessed many qualities of head and heart better suited to a life of peaceful pursuits. According to the Allāhābād inscription he was not only a great patron of learning but was himself a great poet and a musician. His poetical compositions, which earned him the title of 'king of poets,' have not survived, but we have a striking testimony to his love of music. In one type of his gold coins the great emperor is represented as seated cross-legged on a couch, playing on a *vīnā* (lute or lyre) which rests on his knees. The royal figure on this unique type of coins was undoubtedly drawn from real life and testifies to his inordinate love for, and skill in music The high eulogies of the official record in respect of his personal accomplishments were not merely conventional or courtly praises, but had a large substratum of actual fact [1] We know from Buddhist records that a Gupta king was a great patron of letters and appointed the famous Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu as his minister. The date of Vasubandhu is not known with certainty, but if he died about the middle of the fourth century A D, as is generally held,[2] we must regard Samudra-gupta as his patron, and this would indicate his patronage of letters to which such a pointed reference is made in the Allāhābād inscription The same record emphasises his charity and kindness His munificence, we are told, removed the eternal discord between good poetry and plenty and he restored the kings fallen from their high estate to wealth and fortune.

Samudra-gupta was devoted to religious observances and the sacred scriptures. He was a follower of the orthodox Brahmanical cult, and gave many hundreds of thousands of cows by way of gift to Brāhmanas He is said to have revived the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which had been long in abeyance This statement may not be strictly accurate, as *Aśvamedha* was performed by Indian kings not

1 Dr. R K. Mookerji has made a detailed analysis of the 'many-sided genius and character of Samudra-gupta' on the basis of his inscriptions and coin-legends (*IC*, IX. 77). But we should hardly be justified in accepting the expressions occurring in them at their face value.

2 Takakusu held that Vasubandhu lived from about A D. 420 to 500 (*JRAS* 1905, pp 43 ff) Against this M Peri maintained (*BEFEO*, XI. 339 ff) that Vasubandhu lived in the fourth century A.D, and died soon after the middle of that century This view is generally accepted. Takakusu opposed it and reaffirmed his old view (*Indian Studies in honour of C R. Lanman*, pp 79 ff). For other views, cf. *EHI*,[8] 328 ff

long before his time. But there can be hardly any doubt that his reign marked a distinct revival of the old glory and influence of the Brahmanical religion which had suffered decline since Aśoka made Buddhism the dominant religion of India. The neo-Brahmanical doctrine that 'the king is a great deity in human form' is reflected in the Allāhābād record which describes Samudra-gupta as 'a god dwelling on earth, being a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind.'

There can be no doubt that Samudra-gupta was a striking, almost unique, personality; and he ushered in a new age in the history of India. It is in the fitness of things that he assumed the title Vikramānka,[1] evidently in imitation of the king Vikramāditya of legendary fame. We have a remarkable memorial of his life and reign in the rich variety of gold coins issued by him.[2] They not only indicate the power, wealth and grandeur of his empire but also give us some idea of his physical appearance and insight into his remarkable personality Three types of coins represent him in a military garb. In one he stands fully dressed, holding a bow and an arrow, and on the margin runs the legend "having conquered the earth, the invincible one wins heaven by good deeds" Another depicts him as holding a battle-axe with the appropriate legend "wielding the axe of Kritānta (the god of death), the unconquered conqueror of unconquered kings is victorious" In the third the king, wearing turban and waist-cloth, is trampling on a tiger which falls backwards as he shoots it with the bow in his right hand, the left hand pulling the string back behind the ear. The legend refers to the king as 'having the prowess of a tiger.' These figures of the king are apparently drawn from real life, as also that of the fourth type referred to above in which the king, wearing waist-cloth, plays on a *vīnā* The legend on this type of coins simply gives his name without any reference to his martial exploits The fifth type of coins commemorates the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice It shows, on the obverse, a spirited horse standing before a sacrificial post, and on the reverse, the figure of the queen-empress. The legend on this type reads· "The king of kings, who performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, having protected the earth, wins heaven." These five types of coins thus symbolise both the martial and peaceful pursuits of the king The personal appearance of the king, so far as we can judge from his figure on the coins, is in keeping with the impression we otherwise form of him Tall in stature and of good physique, he has strong muscular arms and a fully developed chest.

1 This is inferred from the legend "Śrī-Vikramaḥ" recently found on one of his coins (*JNSI*, V 136) Some scholars, however, do not accept the view.
2 For the coins cf Allan, op cit.

The artistic execution of the gold coins of Samudra-gupta fully illustrates the wonderful progress of art which forms such a distinctive feature of the Gupta period and justifies its designation as the Classical Age in India Samudra-gupta, as far as we can judge of him from the materials at our disposal, was the visible embodiment of the physical and intellectual vigour of the coming age which was largely his own creation. His coins and inscriptions hold up before our mind's eye a king of robust and powerful build, whose physical strength and prowess, matched by his cultural attainments, heralded a new era in Āryāvarta (N. India). After five centuries of political disintegration and foreign domination, she again reached the high watermark of moral, intellectual and material progress. It was the Golden Age which inspired succeeding generations of Indians and became alike their ideal and despair.

Samudra-gupta probably had a fairly long reign. He died in, or a little before, A.D. 380; but it is difficult to determine the date of his accession. If he founded the Gupta era, as seems not unlikely, he must have ascended the throne in A D. 320. But if, as is generally believed, the era was founded to commemorate the coronation of his father, the accession of Samudra-gupta may be placed between A D. 340 or 350. Some scholars put it between A D. 325 and 335; but there is hardly any justification for assuming such a short reign of Chandra-gupta I.[1]

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1 It is not a little curious that even those who place Chandra-gupta's accession in A D. 320 and his *marriage with Kumāradevī* after that date, do not hesitate to accept A.D 325 or 335 as the date of Samudra-gupta's accession (cf. *PHAI*[4] 445, 447) *For* Samudra-gupta would then be less than 4 or 14 *years of* age at the time of his accession and it is difficult to believe that his father selected him, at that tender age, as his successor out of many other available candidates, on the ground of fitness Cf. *PHAI*[5], 530.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE

1. RĀMA-GUPTA

Before we proceed with the history of the Guptas we have to consider a curious episode, concerning the period immediately following the death of Samudra-gupta, which formed the plot of the drama *Devī-Chandra-gupta* by Viśākhadatta. This work is now lost, but a few passages from it, quoted in other books, give us a glimpse of the events narrated in it. These passages are supplemented by scattered references in literary works and inscriptions of a later period. All these, pieced together, enable us to reconstruct somewhat as follows the story which formed the central theme of the dramatic work:

'Samudra-gupta was succeeded by his son Rāma-gupta whose wife was called Dhruvadevī. In the course of a war with the Śaka king he was closely besieged, and placed in such a difficult position, that in order to save his people he agreed to surrender his queen to the Śaka king His younger brother Chandra-gupta protested against this act of dishonour and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the disguise of queen Dhruvadevī in order to kill the hated Śaka king The stratagem succeeded and Chandra-gupta saved the empire and its honour. The incident must have raised him in the estimation of the people as well as of queen Dhruvadevī, and the character and reputation of Rāma-gupta suffered a corresponding decline. There was an estrangement between the two brothers, and Chandra-gupta, presumably afraid of his elder brother's design on his life, pretended madness. Ultimately, by some unknown means Chandra-gupta succeeded in killing his elder brother, and not only seized his kingdom but also married his widow'.

It is difficult to decide how far this strange and romantic episode can be regarded as historical. The contemporary records of the Gupta period contain no reference to Rāma-gupta, and imply that Chandra-gupta II immediately succeeded his father Samudra-gupta. We have numerous coins of the Gupta period, but not even one contains the name of Rāma-gupta.[1] These facts naturally cast a doubt upon the very existence of a king called Rāma-gupta, and the story

1 It may be mentioned that a few coins (fourth century A D.) of Rāma-gupta have recently been found near Bhilsa (*JNSI*, XII 193 ff) and other places This Rāma-gupta may have been a local ruler of Mālwā.

itself contains some elements which make it difficult of acceptance without strong positive evidence. The murder of a brother for the sake of a kingdom is by no means unusual, but the marriage of his brother's widowed queen by the regicide certainly clashes with our cherished notions of morality and social decorum. Besides, it is difficult to believe that the inheritor of the mighty empire of Samudra-gupta could be so decisively defeated by a Śaka king that he had no means of saving his army or kingdom, or that he could, under any circumstances, consent to an act which would be regarded as the most ignominious in any age or country. These considerations make it difficult to believe that this drama had a historical basis. On the other hand, as there is independent evidence of the existence of such a tradition as early as the seventh century A.D. and of its wide-spread acceptance all over India, we can hardly dismiss it off-hand as altogether a figment of imagination. We must, therefore, suspend our judgment upon the historical character of Rāma-gupta and ignore his strange but eventful reign.[1]

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA II

Samudra-gupta left many sons and grandsons behind him. But we know definitely the name of only one son, born of his chief queen Dattadevī. He was named Chandra-gupta II after his grandfather but had also a second name Deva-gupta, with the variants Deva-rāja or Deva-śrī. Two of his queens, Dhruvadevī and Kuvera-nāgā, are known to us. The epithet Parama-bhāgavata borne by him shows that he was a staunch devotee of the Vaishṇava faith.

It has been held by some that Samudra-gupta chose Chandra-gupta II as his successor. But this view rests on the doubtful interpretation of an expression and cannot be regarded as certain. Apart from the problematic episode of Rāma-gupta discussed above, there is nothing to indicate any interval between the death of Samudra-gupta and the accession of Chandra-gupta II.

An inscription, dated A.D. 380, gives also the regnal year of Chandra-gupta II, which has been read as *prathama* (first) by some, and *pañchama* (fifth) by others. The date of his accession would accordingly be either A.D. 380 or 376. The latter appears to be more probable. Chandragupta II died some time between A.D. 413 and 415, and thus enjoyed a long reign of more than thirty-three years.

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1. The question has been discussed by a large number of scholars among whom the following deserve special mention: S. Lévi (*JA*, CCIII, 1923, pp. 201 ff); R. Sarasvati (*IA*, LII, 1923, pp. 181 ff); A. S. Altekar (*JBORS*, XIV, 223 ff, XV. 133 ff): R D Banerji (*AIG*, 26 ff); Dr D R Bhandarkar (*Malaviya Comm. Vol.* 189 ff); K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XVIII 17 ff); Winternitz (*Aiyangar Comm. Vol* 359 ff); Sten Konow (*JBORS*, XXIII. 444 ff); V. V. Mirashi (*IHQ*, X. 48 ff; *IA* LXII, 201 ff); N. Das Gupta (*IC*, IV. 216 ff). For a full discussion of the different views cf. *NHIP*, Ch VIII. Sec. 1.

Chandra-gupta inherited the military genius of his father and launched upon a campaign of conquest towards the west. His chief opponent was the Śaka ruler of Gujarāt and the Kāthiāwār Peninsula. The details of the campaign are not known, but there are indications that Chandra-gupta, with his feudatory chiefs and ministers, had to make a prolonged stay in Mālwā. This is proved by three inscriptions: one of Vīrasena, his minister of 'peace and war', at Udayagiri hill near Bhilsa, the second, of a Sanakānīka *Mahārāja*, a feudatory chief, in the same locality dated 82 (=A.D. 401-2); and the third of a military officer, named Āmrakārdava, at Sānchī, dated 93 (=A.D. 412-13). Chandra-gupta's success was, however, complete. The Śaka ruler Rudrasiṁha III was not only defeated, but his kingdom was annexed. The date on his coin falls between 310 and 319 (the unit figure is lost) of the Śaka Era, or A D. 388 and 397; the earliest date on the coin which Chandra-gupta issued in imitation of the Śaka coins is 90 + x (the unit figure is lost) of the Gupta Era, and thus falls after A.D. 409. The western campaign of Chandra-gupta II may thus be placed in the first decade of the fifth century A.D. Thus after more than three hundred years' rule the line of the Western Satraps came to an end and the last vestige of foreign rule disappeared from Western India. It is not unlikely that the literary references to Chandra-gupta's wars with the Śaka chief, mentioned above in connection with the episode of Rāma-gupta, contain an echo of this victory

By this brilliant conquest, the Gupta emperor not only put an end to the domination of the foreigners who had been in India for the longest period, but also added the rich provinces of Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt to his empire which now extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The Gupta empire also controlled to a large extent the Indian commerce with the western world; and was thus brought into closer contact with western civilisation. Chandra-gupta's exploits naturally recalled those of king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī who is described in Indian legend as having expelled the first Śaka conquerors of India more than four hundred years before.[1] It is presumably in imitation of this legendary hero that Chandra-gupta assumed the title Vikramāditya, which was also probably adopted by his father and had come to be regarded as a title of distinction by mighty rulers of India famed for their military exploits.

It is also likely that some of the traditions associated with Vikramāditya, especially his liberality and patronage of learning, owed their origin to this historic king. For there are ample grounds to believe that the famous poet Kālidāsa. the chief of the traditional nine gems (*nava-ratna*) of the court of Vikramāditya, really lived at

1. See above, Vol. II, pp. 154-7.

the court of Chandra-gupta II. While these traditions undoubtedly prove that Chandra-gupta's name was held in great esteem by a grateful posterity, it would be too much to assume that he was the historical figure from whom the Vikramāditya legend was originally evolved. In spite of his undoubted popularity, it is difficult to maintain this claim, although upheld by several scholars, for reasons stated above.[1]

It may be regarded as almost certain that Chandra-gupta had other successful military operations to his credit. Śāba, a hereditary minister of Chandra-gupta, states in his record that the emperor set out 'to conquer the whole world.' His general, Āmrakārdava, is said to have obtained great glory by winning many battles. But we have no definite information regarding the nature and result of these campaigns. The military exploits of a king called Chandra are mentioned in an inscription engraved on the Iron Pillar near Qutb Minār at Delhi. Although there is no convincing proof that this Chandra is the same as Chandra-gupta II, many scholars hold this view.[2] If we accept this identity we must hold that Chandra-gupta II led victorious military expeditions in the eastern as well as in the western frontiers of his empire. The record says that he "defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vaṅga, and having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu conquered the Vāhlikas." Vanga denotes Eastern Bengal, very nearly the same country as Samatata which is included in the tributary frontier states of Samudra-gupta. We do not know whether there was a rebellion in East Bengal, or whether the war was caused by the aggressive imperial policy of Chandra-gupta which sought to incorporate the province into the dominions directly administered by him. In any case, it was probably as a result of this campaign that direct Gupta rule was established in this province, for we know definitely that early in the sixth century A.D. a Gupta king was ruling in this region.

Vāhlika, the other country conquered by Chandra-gupta II after crossing the "seven mouths of the river Sindhu," is almost certainly to be identified with Balkh (Bactria) beyond the Hindu Kush mountains. It is regrettable that we have no more definite or detailed account of the only recorded military expedition of an Indian king in this remote region outside India. Here too, the motive of the campaign was probably similar to that against Eastern Bengal. As mentioned above,[3] the Kushāṇas who ruled in this region, or at least some of them, had acknowledged the supremacy of Samudra-

1 Vol II, p. 156 f. cf. also *FHI*, 320 f.

2 For the different views on the identification of Chandra and the location of Vāhlika (which some place in the Beās Valley, bordering on Kāshmir) cf. *JRASBL*, IX, 179 ff. In addition to the references contained therein, cf. *EI*, XIV, 367; *JAHRS*, X, 86; *JIH*, XVI, 13.

3 See pp. 10-11

gupta, and either they rebelled, or Chandra-gupta II wanted to establish his authority on a firmer basis. Thus, if we accept the identity of king Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar Inscription with Chandra-gupta II, we may well presume that his victorious arms penetrated as far as the eastern limits of India, and beyond Hindu Kush to the north-west. If we remember that he had also conquered the Saka kingdoms in Western Mālwā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, we may regard Chandra-gupta II as having rounded off the Gupta imperial dominions in Northern India in all directions. He thus completed the task begun by his father.

Chandra-gupta II is known to have formed marriage alliances with some powerful ruling families. He married Kuvera-nāgā, of the Nāga family, and had a daughter by her named Prabhāvatī-guptā This daughter was married to the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II. The geographical position of the Nāgas and the Vākāṭakas was such that they might have been of great help to him in his campaigns against the Sakas and the Kushāṇas, and their hostility could easily prove to be a serious embarrassment It is not, therefore, an unreasonable assumption that both these matrimonial alliances were deliberately made with a political object.

We learn from an inscription of the powerful Kadamba ruler Kākutsthavarman[1] of Kuntala that his daughters were married to the Guptas and other kings It is not quite certain whether it was Chandra-gupta II or his son who married a Kuntala princess. But it is another indication of the fact that since the very beginning it was the traditional policy of the Guptas to form political alliances by marriage with the more powerful and distinguished royal families of India.

While his predecessors issued only gold coins Chandra-gupta II introduced those of copper and silver as well. The obverse of his silver coins was imitated from that of the Western Satraps as these coins were obviously meant for circulation in the territories conquered from them. But on the reverse the usual *chaitya* symbol was replaced by the bird *Garuda*, the vehicle of Vishnu, which figures prominently also on the coins of Samudra-gupta, as befitting a devout follower of Vishṇu. The copper coins, which show no less than nine different varieties, have the same general type, *viz.* the king on the obverse and the Garuḍa on the reverse.

The gold coins of Chandra-gupta rival those of his father in grandeur and brilliance, and like them throw considerable light on his personality and imperial pomp and power Some variations made by him in the types of his father's coins seem to be full of

1 The correct form is Kākutsthavarman, though Kākusthavarman is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. We have uniformly used the correct form.

significance. Thus he is represented as slaying a lion instead of a tiger, and the difference is emphasised by the legend *Siṁha-Vikrama* (one who has the prowess of a lion). It is generally held that these coins indicate his conquest of Gujarāt where lions were then fairly common. In his couch-type of coins he holds, not a lyre like his father, but a flower, and taken with the legend *rūpākṛiti*, this new type may be taken to represent his intellectual and physical eminence or artistic sense.

Chandra-gupta II also introduced some new types of coins. In one of these he stands with his left hand on the hilt of his sword, with a dwarf-attendant holding an umbrella over his head,—probably a symbol of his claim to universal sovereignty.[1] Another represents him as riding on a fully caparisoned horse. These as well as the lion-slayer type are fitting tributes to his personal valour and martial spirit, which was evidently not incompatible with artistic or intellectual temperament suggested by the couch-type. A coin, doubtfully attributed to Chandra-gupta II, represents the king as standing before a deity, probably Vishṇu, and extending his right hand to receive the divine *prasāda* in the form of three sweetmeats.[2]

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled over India for more than ten years (c. 400-411) during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, has left an interesting record of the country. Unfortunately, he has not noted anything about the political condition of India; so much so, that he does not even mention the name of the great emperor in whose wide dominions he must have lived for more than five years. Still even the little that he says about the life of the people is of value. Referring to the 'Middle Kingdom', which formed the heart of Chandra-gupta II's dominions, he observes: "The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules, only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it If they want to go, they go if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments." Fa-hien never refers to the lawlessness from which Hiuen Tsang, two centuries later, suffered more than once. The mild punishment of criminals referred to by him is also in striking contrast to the harsh and severe penalties mentioned by the later Chinese pilgrim On the whole the brief account of Fa-hien gives us some idea of the peace, prosperity and contentment prevailing in the empire of Chandra-gupta II.

The reign of Chandra-gupta II saw the consolidation of the Gupta empire The brilliant intellectual revival, manifested in arts, sciences and literature, which distinguished the Gupta age, has been

1. IHQ, XXIII 113 2 JNSI, X. 103.

dealt with elsewhere in this volume. But it is necessary to remember that this age was largely the creation of Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II. Their conquests brought about that imperial peace which rendered possible the progress of culture and civilisation which has rightly earned the epithet 'Golden Age' or 'Classical Age' for the period of Gupta rule in India.

Samudra-gupta had begun the work of conquest. To his son Chandra-gupta II fell the task of completing it and assimilating into the organisation of the empire, not only the tribal states and kingdoms on the border but also the territories ruled by foreign hordes like the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. The peaceful and well-knit empire which he left as a legacy to his son must have been the fruit of long endeavour not only of a great general and able statesman, but also of a striking personality. If, as is generally believed, Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya lived longer in the memory of a grateful posterity which had forgotten his illustrious father, the explanation is not far to seek. People are more impressed by the finished superstructure, and give greater credit to its architect than the master-builder who conceived the plan and laboriously laid the foundation Samudra-gupta, the victor of a hundred fights, is a hero of history. Chandra-gupta II, who brought to maturity the new era of political greatness and cultural regeneration, won a place in the hearts of his people.

3. KUMĀRA-GUPTA I

On the death of Chandra-gupta II, his son Kumāra-gupta, born of his chief queen Dhruvadevī, ascended the throne.[1] His earliest known date is A.D. 415 and he died in A.D. 455. He had thus a long reign of forty years or more.

The Gupta empire had now reached its zenith. No specific military campaign of Kumāra-gupta is known to us, but there is no doubt that he maintained intact the vast empire he had inherited from his father. He also performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and assumed the title Mahendrāditya. He gave great prominence to the God Kārttikeya, whose name (Kumāra) he bore. He issued a new type of gold coins depicting Kārttikeya riding on a peacock on one side, and the king feeding a peacock on the other. He also substituted the peacock for Garuḍa on the silver coins.

Quite a large number of records of the governors and feudatories of Kumāra-gupta have come to light. They indicate the development of the administrative machinery and the strength and stability of the empire. There is reason to believe that Kumāra-gupta's long

1. It is difficult to accept Bhandarkar's view (*IC*, XI. 231) that Kumāra-gupta is identical with Govinda-gupta, or the theory of Jagannath (*IC*, XII. 167) that the latter ascended the throne after Chandra-gupta II and ruled before the former.

reign was on the whole peaceful and prosperous, and the empire enjoyed to the full the benefits of the military victories of his father and grandfather.

Towards the very end of his reign the peace of the empire was rudely disturbed by the invasion of an enemy whose identity is not definitely established. It is generally believed that the hostile forces belonged to a tribe whose name was Pushyamitra, but the reading of this name is uncertain.[1] Whoever might have been the adversary (or adversaries), there is no doubt that he was very powerful, and his progress must have constituted a grave menace to the empire. A contemporary inscription expressly states that the enemies 'had great resources in men and money,' and in the course of his fight with them 'to restore the fallen fortunes of his family,' the crown-prince Skanda-gupta passed a whole night on bare earth In spite of obvious poetic fancies and exaggerations, the statement leaves the impression that the Gupta emperor had met with serious reverses and was threatened with utter ruin when Skanda-gupta turned the scale in his favour by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the enemy. The poet, who composed the inscription, tells us that this heroic achievement of Skanda-gupta was sung in every region 'by happy men, even down to the children ' The sense of relief echoed in these laudatory songs gives us a proper measure of the apprehended calamity It is significant that in four successive verses the poet refers no less than three times to the 'ruined fortunes of the Gupta family,' and their restoration by Skanda-gupta. This emphasises the serious nature of the crisis that was averted by Skanda-gupta, but its exact nature still remains unknown

The reign of Kumāra-gupta is generally regarded as devoid of interest and importance But in forming a true estimate of his character and achievements we must give full importance to certain significant details which are generally overlooked. The numerous inscriptions of this age mention only one military campaign towards the very end of his reign, while they all clearly indicate a peaceful and stable administration from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal under his personal authority. Only a strong and benevolent administration could have kept the vast empire so thoroughly in check. The repulse of the Hūnas and other enemies shortly after his death proves the efficiency of the imperial army and that it was preserved for nearly 40 years even under peaceful conditions reflects no small credit upon Kumāra-gupta. On the whole, it is not unlikely that

1 The information is derived from the Bhitari pillar Inscription. Fleet read the crucial expression as "*Pushya-mitrāmś-cha*", but noted that the second syllabl of the name is damaged (*CII*, III 54, 55 fn 2) Dr. H R. Divekar proposes t read the compound as "*Yudhy-amitrāmś-cha*" (*ABORI* I. 99 ff). A trib called Pushyamitra is referred to in the *Vishnu Purāna* which associates it wi the region near the source of the Narmadā river.

more credit is due to Kumāra-gupta's administration and personality than is usually given to him by modern historians. His reign is generally looked upon as a mere dark background against which shine brilliantly those of his two predecessors and immediate successor. But for aught we know this may be unfair to him and not in consonance with strict historical truth.

4. SKANDA-GUPTA

The aged emperor Kumāra-gupta died before Skanda-gupta's return from his victorious campaign (A.D. 455-6). The official record, mentioned above, describes how Skanda-gupta reported his glorious victory over the enemies to his mother, who received him with tears as Devakī did unto Krishna This allusion to the well-known story might have more meaning than is apparent to us. It has been suggested that Devakī[1] was the name of the queen-mother But the analogy might have been called forth by the similarity of circumstances as much as by a common name[2]

It is curious that the official records of a later date omit the name of Skanda-gupta from the royal genealogical list It is equally strange that while the genealogical portion, even in the inscription of Skanda-gupta himself, mentions the chief queens who were mothers of his three predecessors, it does not refer to his own mother Further, an official record, composed shortly after the accession of Skanda-gupta, states how the "goddess of sovereignty, of her own accord, selected him as her husband, having in succession discarded all other princes" This idea is also probably represented in a type of coins which depicts the king, armed with bow and arrow, as standing in front of the Garuda standard while, beyond it, is a female figure facing the king and holding a lotus in her left hand and an indistinct object, probably a fillet, in her right hand All these scattered evidences may indicate that Skanda-gupta's mother was probably not the chief queen of Kumāra-gupta, and having no indisputable legitimate claim to the throne, Skanda-gupta had to fight for it with one or more rivals[3] It is probable, for example, that

1 *Hist Ins* 349, *PHAI*, 573, f n 3
2 *B C Law Vol* I. 618, *EI* XVIII 242
3 Arguments in support of this hypothesis are given in *JPASB*, XVII. 253 ff They have been criticised in detail in *PHAI*, 482 ff The criticism seeks to establish that the conclusion does not necessarily follow from the data; in other words it cannot be regarded as a settled fact Now, this was never claimed, and the views were expressly stated to be a tentative hypothesis. Besides, the criticism misses the real points of many of the arguments Thus regarding the omission of the name of Skanda-gupta's mother in the Bhitari pillar Ins it is merely observed that 'the names of the mothers of kings are sometimes omitted,' and 'there was no rule prohibiting the mention of ordinary queens in inscriptions' These remarks show a lack of appreciation of the argument, viz the omission of the name *Mahādevī* of Kumāra-gupta I, the mother of the reigning king, *in striking contrast* with the mention of the other *Mahādevīs* of earlier kings *in one and the same record*, cannot but be looked upon as

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taking advantage of Skanda-gupta's absence in a distant campaign, his step-brother Pūru-gupta ascended the throne immediately after his father's death, but was soon removed when Skanda-gupta returned from his victorious campaign. It should be remembered, however, that while this is undoubtedly a probable view, it cannot be regarded as an established fact.

But whether there was a war of succession or not, Skanda-gupta did not long reign in peace, and was engaged in hostilities almost immediately after his accession. Contemporary records refer to his struggle with hostile kings, including some who are described as *mlechchas*, but no details are given. We know, however, definitely that some time during his reign, Skanda-gupta had to encounter the invasion of the Hūṇas who had already proved themselves to be a formidable power and a terror to both Europe and Asia. The history of the Hūṇas will be treated in detail elsewhere. For the present it will suffice to state that about the middle of the fifth century A D. one branch of the Hūṇas, known as the Ephthalites or White Huns, occupied the Oxus valley and threatened both Persia and India. They conquered the kingdom of Gandhāra, and set up a king who was cruel and vindictive and practised the most barbarous atrocities. It is probable that they advanced still further into the heart of India and became a grave menace to the Gupta empire. Skanda-gupta had once saved the empire while he was yet the crown prince. This new danger, perhaps a graver one, again put his military prowess to a severe test. But he was equally successful on this occasion as well. The verse describing his conflict with the Hūṇas, though mutilated, leaves no doubt that the struggle was severe, but he won a complete victory. The utter discomfiture of the Hūṇas is also borne out by the fact that for nearly half a century the Gupta empire was immune from their depredations.[1]

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significant. It is true that almost all the facts, on which the hypothesis is based, may be explained away in a different manner. If they were not, then the view would not be a mere hypothesis, but a proved fact. But nothing has been said to indicate that the proposed view is not a probable and a reasonable inference from the facts before us. In particular no other satisfactory explanation is forthcoming regarding the assumption of royal power by Ghaṭotkacha-gupta and Prakāśāditya The analogy of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates does not, as has been suggested (*PHAI*[4] 483), take away the force of the argument. For here Rājya-vardhana's mother is mentioned, and as Harsha-vardhana is said to be his *anuja* (younger brother), the separate mention of his mother is rendered unnecessary (Cf. also *PHAI*,[5] 572 ff).

1 Allan finds an echo of Skanda-gupta's victory over the Hūṇas in a story of king Vikramāditya preserved in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. According to it Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya, king of Ujjain, having succeeded to the throne on his father's abdication, utterly defeated the *Mlechchhas* who were overrunning the earth (*CGD* xlix, fn. 1).

According to a Buddhist text *'Chandragarbha-pariprichchhā'* 'king Mahendrasena, who was born in the country of Kauśāmbī, had a valiant son. After he had passed the age of 12 Mahendra's kingdom was invaded by three foreign powers in concert—Yavanas, Palhikas and Sakunas—who took possession of

It was a great achievement for which Skanda-gupta may well go down in history as the saviour of India. The full significance of the great task performed by him can only be understood against the background of contemporary events. Shortly before Skanda-gupta ascended the throne, the Hūṇas had established their supremacy in Europe, and the mighty Roman empire quailed before these barbarians. Their leader Attila, who died in A.D. 453, was able 'to send equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople.' Shortly after their defeat by Skanda-gupta, they overwhelmed Persia and killed its king. Wherever they went, they carried devastation by fire and sword, and the most prosperous towns and villages were reduced to utter desolation. If we remember all this, we can well realise the value of the great victory of Skanda-gupta over them. All over the vast empire the people must have heaved a sigh of relief at the great deliverance and as a contemporary record puts it, the fame of Skanda-gupta was sung by everyone both young and old. This heroic feat of Skanda-gupta that saved India from the scourge of a cruel and barbaric foe fully justifies his assumption of the title Vikramāditya in imitation of his grandfather.

The arduous military campaigns must have heavily taxed the resources of the empire, and this is reflected in the coinage of Skanda-gupta. His gold coins are comparatively few and belong mostly to a single type This, as well as deterioration in the purity of gold, was possibly due to the financial drain caused by the continual stress of wars during the reign. Happily we have also evidence of great works of public utility executed by his officers even in distant parts of the empire. An inscription, incised on the Girnār hill near Junāgadh in Kāthiāwār, refers in detail to such an achievement by his governor Parṇadatta. It refers to the great lake or water-reservoir on the Girnār hill, which evidently supplied irrigation canals over a large cultivated area, and was constructed by Chandragupta Maurya by having an embankment built across a small gap in a natural depression over the hills. This embankment having burst on account of excessive rains in the very first year of Skanda-gupta's reign, the whole countryside was threatened with ruin. But the governor Parṇadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, the local magistrate, took prompt steps to repair the damage and restore

Gandhāra and countries to the north of the Gaṅgā The young son of Mahendrasena led his father's army of two hundred thousand men against the enemy whose soldiers numbered three hundred thousand The prince, however, broke the enemy army and won the battle On his return his father crowned him king, saying "henceforth rule the kingdom," and himself retired to religious life For twelve years after this, the new king fought these foreign enemies, and ultimately captured and executed the three kings.' It has been suggested that this story gives an account of the fight between Skanda-gupta and the Hūnas (*IHIJ.* 36). But no great reliance can be placed on the details of such stories.

the embankment. Another record in the same place tells us how a similar catastrophe had occurred three hundred years before, when the embankment was repaired by the Śaka chief Rudradāman. Two records on the spot thus give us an interesting history of this great irrigation reservoir over a period of more than seven hundred and fifty years.

The inscription of Parṇadatta is a beautiful composition and holds out before us the picture of a strong united empire under the vigorous administration of a benevolent and popular ruler. The Gupta empire, which now stretched literally from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, was the undisputed possession of one master whose commands were implicitly obeyed by the governors, appointed by him, from one end to the other of this vast region The foundations of the empire were strong enough to survive great internal shocks, and even the redoubtable Hūṇas failed to break through its defences. For nearly a century the empire had stood as a symbol of the unity, integrity and independence of Āryāvarta. The poet who referred (in A D. 460) to the tranquil reign of Skanda-gupta, the lord of hundred kings, did not probably exaggerate the condition of things We have every reason to believe that peace and prosperity prevailed over the vast empire, and the new era of cultural progress continued its course unchecked under the protective wing of the unparalleled material power and splendour of the age When Skanda-gupta died about A D 467, he had the supreme satisfaction of leaving intact the mighty empire built up by his great predecessors.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPERIAL CRISIS

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to give a clear account, or even a definite outline, of the history of the Imperial Guptas after the death of Skanda-gupta. We know the names of several kings, but their dates or relation to each other cannot always be definitely determined The known facts cannot be co-ordinated in a manner that may be regarded as entirely satisfactory or even free from serious difficulties. All that can be attempted is a provisional reconstruction that appears to be the most reasonable and least open to objection.[1]

1 PŪRU-GUPTA

The official genealogy of the later Gupta emperors traces the imperial line from Kumāra-gupta through Pūru-gupta and altogether ignores Skanda-gupta Pūru-gupta was the son of Kumāra-gupta I and his chief queen Anantadevī, and, as noted above, it is not unlikely that he contested the throne after the death of his father But whether he ruled, for howsoever short a period, at that time, or seized the throne after the death of his brother Skanda-gupta, there is hardly any doubt that he did reign, and the imperial line was continued by his two sons Budha-gupta and Narasiṁha-gupta and the latter's descendants, not those of Skanda-gupta.

But there are several kings known from coins and inscriptions whose position in the Gupta family is not known with certainty One is Kumāra-gupta II who reigned in A D 474, i e less than seven years after the death of Skanda-gupta. He might have been a son of Skanda-gupta who was dispossessed or succeeded by Budha-gupta, but it is also not unlikely that he was an elder brother of Budha-gupta There are some other kings also whose existence is deduced from coins and inscriptions and who probably ruled about this time Thus indications are not wanting that there were rival factions contending for the throne during the period immediately after Skanda-gupta's death; but we have no definite knowledge of the events of this period.

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1 For the different views on this subject cf the works mentioned in General References and also the following:
1 Pannalal, in *Hindusthan Review*, January, 1918
2 R C. Majumdar in *IA*, 1918, pp 161-7; *IC*. X. 172, *JUPHS*, XVIII 70
3 N N. Das Gupta in *B C Law*, *Vol.* I 617.

2. BUDHA-GUPTA

The obscurity lifts with the accession of Budha-gupta, the son of Pūru-gupta and his chief queen Chandradevī. Budha-gupta, was on the throne in A.D. 477 and ruled for twenty years or more. Whatever might have been the internal troubles before he came to the throne, he succeeded in establishing a firm rule and restoring peace and order over the extensive empire. Records of his governors in Mālwā and Bengal testify to the continued solidarity of the empire, at least to a very large extent, though there were ominous signs of the decline of its power and authority in the outlying provinces.

In the west, the Maitraka family became hereditary rulers of the Kāthiāwār Peninsula. Bhaṭārka, the founder of this family and a general of the emperor, was appointed governor of this province with Valabhī as its capital, and he was succeeded by his son Dharasena. Both of them called themselves *Senāpati*, but the next governor, Droṇasiṁha, a younger son of Bhaṭārka, assumed the title *Mahārāja*, and it is claimed in the official records of the family that the paramount ruler in person installed him in royalty by a regular ceremony. The paramount ruler, referred to, was most probably the emperor Budha-gupta. Thus Droṇasiṁha became a feudal chief rather than a governor, and though the family still paid nominal homage to the Gupta emperor, the Maitrakas of Valabhī were well on the way to setting up an independent kingdom

The Parivrājaka Mahārājas, so-called because they were descended from a royal ascetic (*parivrājaka*), ruled in Bundelkhand (Nāgod and Jaso States). *Mahārāja* Hastin (A D 475-517) of the family issued land-grants without mentioning Budha-gupta, making only a general reference to Gupta sovereignty.

Contiguous to the Parivrājaka kingdom was another principality with Uchchakalpa as the capital. King Jayanātha of this family issued land grants in the years 174 and 177 which probably refer to the Gupta era and therefore correspond to A D 493 and 496.[1] It appears from the locality and the use of the Gupta era that this kingdom was once included in the Gupta empire, but as Jayanātha's grants do not contain any reference to the Gupta sovereignty, it is probable that by A.D 493 he had ceased to owe any allegiance to it.

To the north and east of these two kingdoms in Bundelkhand, a dynasty called the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa was rising into importance. King Udayana of this family, known from a rock inscription at Kālanjar (in Bāndā District, U.P.),[2] flourished probably towards the end of the fifth century A.D., and is to be identified with the king of the same

1. *CII*, III. 117, 121; EI, XXIII. 171.

2 *EI*, IV. 257.

name whose great-grandson Tīvaradeva founded a principality in South Kosala.[1] Another Pāṇḍuvaṁśa or Pāṇḍu family is known from a copper-plate grant found in Rewah State, Baghelkhand, which mentions the names of four kings.[2] The first two of these bear no royal title, but the next two, Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala (*alias* Indra), are not only styled *Mahārāja* but also bear the epithets *Parama-māheśvara, Parama-brahmaṇya*, etc. These four kings probably ruled in the fifth century A.D. and it is evident that the family achieved complete or partial independence in the latter half of the period.

Another ruling chief, *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa, is known from two copper-plates found in Allāhābād District and Rewah State.[3] Both are dated in the year 158 which has been referred to the Gupta era. *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa, who was thus ruling in A.D. 477-8 in the reign of Budha-gupta, had his capital at Jayapura, a place not yet identified. As he makes no reference to Gupta sovereignty, he was probably an independent king, at least *de facto*.

Similarly *Mahārāja* Subandhu, who issued a land-grant from the ancient town of Māhishmatī (Māndhātā or Maheshwar) on the Narmadā in the year 167, makes no reference to any Gupta suzerain. If the date is to be referred to the Gupta era, as is generally believed, he was a contemporary of Budha-gupta.[4]

It is also significant that whereas the governor of North Bengal was called simply *Uparika* in the time of Kumāra-gupta I, the epithet *Mahārāja* was added to it in the time of Budha-gupta. Another governor of the latter, ruling the land between the Yamunā and the Narmadā, was also called *Mahārāja*. Even a subordinate to this ruler, who governed the territory round Eran, had the title *Mahārāja*.

These instances show that while outwardly the Gupta empire suffered no diminution and its authority was still acknowledged as far as the Bay of Bengal in the east, the Arabian Sea in the west, and the river Narmadā in the south, its power and prestige had considerably declined, and some of its outlying provinces like Kāthiāwār and Bundelkhand were already enjoying a semi-independent status. This is fully borne out by a study of the coins of Budha-gupta. His gold coins are very rare and only two or three specimens are so far known.[5]

1. *EI*, VII. 104.
2. *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, I. 215; *EI*, XXVII. 132.
3. *EI*, II 364; *ASI*, 1936-7, p. 88.
4. *EI*, XIX. 261. Prof. Mirashi refers the date to the so-called Kalachuri era and regards Subandhu as an independent chief in A.D. 416-7 (*IHQ*, XXI. 82-3).
5. According to Allan (*CGD*. cv) the coins of Budha-gupta are kown in silver only. But a type of gold coin, attributed by Allan to Pūru-gupta (*ibid*, cii), most probably belongs to Budha-gupta (*IC*. I. 691-2) Besides, two gold coins of Budha-gupta have recently been found (*JNSI*, X. 78; XII. 112).

The reason for this decline is to be sought for both in internal and external circumstances. The probability of civil war and struggle for the throne, on the deaths of Kumāra-gupta I and Skanda-gupta, has been referred to above. An inscription found at Mandasor refers to the period between A.D. 436 and 472 as full of troubles which saw the reigns of many kings, but the implication is rather vague.

We have also allusions to foreign invasions. The Vākāṭaka king Narendra-sena is said to have established his suzerainty over the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava. This would imply an invasion of Gupta dominions from the south. The date of Narendra-sena is not definitely known, but he may be regarded as a contemporary of Budha-gupta. His invasion might have been primarily responsible for the decline of the Gupta supremacy in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand noted above. The Hūṇas, though defeated by Skanda-gupta, reappeared, probably even during the reign of Budha-gupta, but the dates are not definitely known. Thus although our information is very meagre, we may easily infer that both internal discord and foreign aggression sapped the vitality of the empire.

Budha-gupta's last known date is A.D. 495, but he died probably about A.D. 500[1] or shortly after. It is difficult to form a proper estimate of his ability. His reign was undoubtedly the first stage in the decline of the empire, but this was not necessarily due to his faults. Perhaps, if the facts were more fully known, he would have been entitled to great credit for saving the mighty fabric of the empire from the impending ruin which overtook it almost immediately after his death. In any case he seems to have been the last Gupta emperor to enjoy sovereignty over the vast dominions bequeathed by Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II. During his reign the empire passed through a critical period and emerged, not quite unscathed, but with its form intact, and its glory scarcely diminished, at least in outward appearance. At the time of his death, the imperial structure was still imposing, though cracks were already visible.

1 *IA* XVIII 227. But the reading of the symbol for 80 on a coin, from which this date is derived, is very uncertain (*IA* XIV 68).

CHAPTER V

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

1. *DISSENSIONS IN THE IMPERIAL FAMILY*

The death of Budha-gupta was followed by a period of troubles. We find evidence of internal dissensions, caused by disputed succession, leading to the partition of the empire; and to make matters worse, there was renewed invasion of the Hūṇas with far greater success than before. It is difficult to follow clearly the sequence of events, or to understand their reaction upon one another; we can only trace the course of history in broad outline.

According to the official genealogy Budha-gupta was succeeded by his brother Narasiṁha-gupta and the latter by his son and grandson. The reigns of these three kings covered roughly the period between A.D. 500 and 570 But we find the records of two other Gupta kings who ruled during the earlier part of this period. The first of them is Vainya-gupta, of whom a single record, dated A D. 507, has been found in Tippera District in Bengal. His gold coins and royal seal indicate that he belonged to the imperial family, but his exact relationship to the Gupta kings mentioned above is not known [1] It is probable that his dominion was confined to Bengal, and that he ruled for a short time.

The other king Bhānu-gupta is also known from a single inscription at Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) dated A.D. 510, but neither his coins nor any royal seal have yet come to light. The inscription records how a feudatory chief named Goparāja accompanied "the mighty king, the glorious Bhānu-gupta, the bravest man on the earth," and fought a famous battle. Goparāja was killed in this battle and his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre The small pillar on which the record is engraved was thus a memorial *Satī* stone.

The epithet of Bhānu-gupta leaves no doubt that he was a ruler of the Gupta family. It is difficult to account for the almost simultaneous appearance of the two rulers, Vainya-gupta and Bhānu-gupta, in the eastern and western provinces of the Gupta dominion, particularly when we remember that neither of them is recognised in the official Gupta genealogy, according to which a third king Narasiṁha-gupta was ruling about the same time The most plau-

1. For Vainya-gupta's inscriptions, coins and seals, cf. *IHQ*, VI. 40; IX 784, 989; XIX. 275 For the suggestion that he was the son of Pūru-gupta cf. *IHQ*, XXIV, 67.

sible explanation seems to be that there were several rival claimants to the throne, who set themselves up in different parts of the empire and succeeded for the time being in holding their own.

The famous battle in which Bhānu-gupta and Goparāja were engaged at Eran was most probably fought against the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa. For we know definitely that about this time that great Hūṇa leader had conquered this region. But even assuming that Bhānu-gupta fought with Toramāṇa, we do not know whether he defended the province against the Hūṇa attack or made an attempt to recover it from Hūṇa possession. In either case, we do not know the extent of his success or failure. Thus, in spite of the high encomiums showered on his bravery, Bhānu-gupta remains a shadowy figure and we cannot say exactly what part he played in this dark period of the Gupta empire.

Nor are we better informed about the early history of Narasiṁha-gupta, who followed his brother Budha-gupta on the throne and assumed the title of *Bālāditya*. His position *vis a vis* either Vainya-gupta or Bhānu-gupta is not known, and we cannot exclude the possibility that he ascended the throne after both of them had died. The only great achievement with which he may be credited is the crushing defeat he inflicted upon the Hūna chief Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa. But the forces of disintegration were already at work and terrific convulsions shook the empire, heralding its downfall. We must take note of these before we can proceed with the history of Narasimha-gupta

2. THE HŪṆAS[1]

As early as the second century B C. we find the nomadic Hūṇas living on the borders of China. Their quarrel with the Yueh-chi, a neighbouring nomadic tribe, as mentioned above,[2] led to the conquest of India by the Śakas and the Kushānas about the first century of the Christian era. Later, the Hūnas, like the Yueh-chi, migrated towards the west, and divided into two main streams, of which one flowed towards the Volga and the other to the Oxus The activities of the former figure prominently in Roman history and need not be discussed here. The Hūnas in the Oxus valley threw off the yoke of the Juan-Juan tribe and became very powerful towards the middle of the fifth century A D. From the name of their rulers' family they

1 For a general account of the Hūnas cf·—

1 Chavannes—*Documents sur les Toukiue Occidentaux*, pp 223 ff
2 Sir Aurel Stein—The White Huns and Kindred tribes in the history of the Indian North-western frontier (*IA*, 1905, pp 73 ff).
3. Ghirshman—*Les Chionites Hephthalites*

For the Hūna activities in India cf *IA*, XV 245, 346· *IHQ* III. 1; *NIA*. IV 36 For Hūna coins cf *JASB*, 1894, Part I pp 191 ff. For the antiquity of the Hūnas and their activity in Irān cf *Bhandarkar Comm. Vol* 65.

2 Vol II, pp. 120 ff.

came to be known as Ye-tha, Hephthalites or Ephthalites, and the Greek accounts refer to them as White Huns.

From the Oxus valley the White Huns advanced towards both Persia and India. Crossing the Hindu Kush they occupied Gandhāra, but their further progress was checked by Skanda-gupta, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them about A.D. 460. Persia, however, was unable to stop their ravages and in A.D. 484 the Huns defeated and killed the Persian king. This success enhanced the power and prestige of the Huns, and by the end of the fifth century A.D. they ruled over a vast empire with their principal capital at Balkh.

About the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D., a chief named Toramāṇa, advancing from the Punjāb, conquered a large part of Western India, and even Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) was included in his dominions The conquest of Eran must have taken place not long after the reign of Budha-gupta, for the chief who administered the district under Toramāṇa was the younger brother of one who held the same office under Budha-gupta. Toramāṇa is generally taken to be a Hūṇa chief, and although there is no conclusive evidence to this effect, this may well be true [1] His coins testify to his foreign origin and indicate his rule over parts of U.P., Rājputāna, Punjāb and Kāshmir It is probable that he was connected with the Hūṇa ruling family in Gandhāra and advanced from that base to effect further conquests in India. But we possess little definite information about him. According to a Jain work he was converted to that faith and lived at Pavvaiyā on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā (Chenāb) in the Punjāb [2]

Toramāṇa was succeeded by his son Mihirakula who probably ascended the throne about A D. 515. According to Hiuen Tsang his capital was Sākala or Siālkot and he ruled over India.

Rājataraṅgiṇī, the chronicle of Kāshmir,[3] refers to Mihirakula as a powerful king who ruled over both Kāshmir and Gandhāra and conquered Southern India and Ceylon. He is described as a king of violent disposition, and heart-rending tales of his cruelty are told at great length. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also refers to Toramāna, but he flourished long after Mihirakula, about eighteen kings intervening between the two. The career of this Toramāṇa hardly fits in with what we know of the Hūṇa chief of that name from other sources, though the age assigned to him fits in with that of the latter. On the other hand, the stories of Mihirakula's cruelty, preserved in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, agree with those narrated by Hiuen Tsang, but the

1. For the nationality of Toramāna cf. *NIA*, IV. 36, *IHQ*, VII. 532
2. This Jain work is *Kuvalayamālā*, composed in 700 Śaka (A.D. 778) For an abstract of its contents cf. *JBORS*, XIV. 28. Also cf. *IHQ*, XXXIII. 253.
3. I. 289 ff, III. 102 ff.

period assigned to his reign is too remote. Thus we can hardly accept *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a reliable source of historical information about these rulers.

We get a fair idea of the power and influence of the Huns about this time from the account of Sung-yun,[1] a Chinese ambassador to the Hun king of Gandhāra in A.D. 520. After mentioning the conquest and occupation of this kingdom by the Huns, two generations before his time, he gives the following account of the king whose court he visited :

"The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. Entirely self-reliant on his own strength, he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin (Kāshmir), disputing the boundaries of their kingdom, and his troops had been already engaged in it for three years. The king has 700 war-elephants . The king continually abode with his troops on the frontier and never returned to his kingdom " Somewhat later in date is the account given by Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes (Indian navigator), an Alexandrine Greek, in his *Christian Topography*,[2] which was probably begun in A D. 535 but not put in its final form till A D 547 In one place he says· "Higher up in India, that is farther to the north, are the White Huns The one called Gollas when going to a war takes with him, it is said, no fewer than two thousand elephants and a great force of cavalry. He is the lord of India, and oppressing the people, forces them to pay tribute " After narrating some stories about him the same writer remarks· "The river Phison separates all the countries of India from the country of the Huns " Fortunately the author clearly says elsewhere that "the Phison is the same as the river Indus " The date to which this account refers cannot be exactly determined but may be placed between A D 525 and 535.

It is generally believed that king Gollas in the above account refers to Mihirakula whose name is also written as Mihirgul. It is not also unlikely that he is the king whom Sung-yun met in Gandhāra, somewhat earlier It is interesting to note that both these accounts place the Hūna kingdom proper to the west of the Sindhu, though according to Cosmas the Hūṇa king exercised suzerainty over Indian kings and forced them to pay tribute. This appears to have been a later development, during the interval between the two accounts, which also saw the increase of the elephant forces of the king from 700 to 2000

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1 *HTB*, I, xv c

2 Translated into English by J W Mc'Crindle (London, 1897).

If we proceed on this assumption, we may legitimately conclude that Toramāṇa's power suffered a decline, and after his initial successes which carried him as far as Eran, he was forced to fall back, and the Hūṇa authority was confined to the territory beyond the Sindhu. This might be due to a defeat inflicted upon him by Bhānugupta, to whom reference has been made above. All this is, however, vague and uncertain, and we cannot come to any definite conclusion. But whatever we might think of the end of Toramāṇa, there is no doubt that his son Mihirakula revived the ambitious project of his father. It appears from all accounts that Mihirakula was a powerful tyrant who overran a large part of Northern India An inscription dated in the fifteenth year of his reign (*c.* A.D. 530) shows that his sovereignty extended at least up to Gwālior, and probably his authority was acknowledged further beyond that territory as well. As mentioned above, according to Hiuen Tsang, he subdued the whole of India, and Cosmas also describes the Hūṇa chief at this time as the Lord of India. But the Hūṇas were not destined to enjoy success for long, and Mihirakula, too, soon met his doom at the hands of two Indian rulers, Yaśodharman and Narasiṁha-gupta

Yaśodharman, whose career will be discussed later, claims that "respect was paid to his feet by even that (famous) king Mihirakula whose head had never (previously) been brought to the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthāṇu (Śiva), (and) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow (*i.e.* the Himālaya) falsely prides itself on being styled as inaccessible fortress " The reference to the mountain of snow probably indicates that Mihirakula was ruling over Kāshmir and the adjoining regions It may be remembered that Sung-yun also related that the Hūṇa chief was fighting with Kāshmir. It would appear that while Mihirakula was advancing into the interior of India he was opposed by Yaśodharman, an ambitious chief of Mālwā Mihirakula was evidently defeated, but his kingdom or power was not destroyed With the fall of Yaśodharman, which probably took place not long after, Mihirakula again came to the forefront

The Gupta king who then occupied the imperial throne was probably Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya. He was temporarily overwhelmed by the victorious raids of Yaśodharman, and Mihirakula evidently took advantge of this temporary collapse of the imperial authority to extend his power. Narasiṁha-gupta was, according to Hiuen Tsang, forced to the humiliating position of paying tribute to Mihirakula. After mentioning Mihirakula's great power and persecution of Buddhism, Hiuen Tsang tells a long story how finally Bālāditya triumphed over his rival. This may be summed up as follows:—

"Bālāditya-rāja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. When Mihirakula invaded his dominions, Bālāditya took refuge with his army in an island. Mihirakula left the main part of his army in charge of his younger brother, embarked on boats and landed with a part of his troops on the island. He was, however, ambushed by the troops of Bālāditya in a narrow pass and was taken prisoner. Bālāditya resolved to execute Mihirakula, but released him on the intercession of his mother. Mihirakula found on his return that his brother had gone back and occupied the throne. He, therefore, sought and obtained an asylum in Kāshmir. Then he stirred up a rebellion there, killed the king and placed himself on the throne of Kāshmir. He next killed the king of Gandhāra, exterminated the royal family, destroyed the *stūpas* and *saṅghārāmas*, plundered the wealth of the country and returned. But within a year he died."

Apart from the fact that the general account of Hiuen Tsang is open to suspicion, on the ground of his placing Mihirakula "several centuries ago", it is difficult to believe many of the details in this story.

It has been noted above that Kāshmir, probably, and Gandhāra, certainly, were already parts of the Hūṇa empire in India, and Hiuen Tsang is palpably wrong in describing them as new conquests by Mihirakula. The long account of the defeat and discomfiture of Mihirakula at the hands of Bālāditya, and particularly the manner in which it was achieved, undoubtedly contains a great deal of exaggeration. But in spite of all these we may, in the absence of a better or more satisfactory hypothesis, provisionally regard Bālāditya as having defeated Mihirakula and saved the Gupta empire from the Hūṇa depredations. That would explain why his name and fame as a great hero survived even two centuries later The defeat of Mihirakula appears to have finally crushed the Hūṇa political supremacy in India. For although the existence of a Hūna community, and even of small Hūṇa principalities, is known in later times, the Hūnas no longer appear as a great power or even a disturbing element in Indian history.

Reference may be made in this connection to the defeat inflicted upon the Hūnas by the Maukharis. In a record of their enemies, the Later Guptas, reference is made to the "proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukharis, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas." It is likely that this famous victory was gained by Īśāna-varman, the Maukhari king, and that he fought as a feudatory of the Gupta emperor Narasiṁha-gupta in

his campaign against Mihirakula. It is, however, not unlikely that an independent Maukhari king, Īśāna-varman or his son Śarva-varman, again defeated the Hūṇas. Certain it is that the Maukharis issued coins in imitation of the Hūṇa kings and ruled over territories formerly in possession of the Hūṇas.

The collapse of the Hūṇa political power in India was due not only to the defeat of their chiefs Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, but also, and perhaps mainly, to the crushing blow given to their central authority on the Oxus by the combined forces of the Turks and the Persians some time between A.D. 563 and 567. That administered the final death-blow to the Hūṇa power in the east.

3. YAŚODHARMAN AND OTHER REBELLIOUS FEUDATORIES

The Hūṇa inroads under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula must have contributed further to the disintegration of the Gupta empire, which had begun after the death of Budha-gupta. Feudal chiefs, and even high officials, gradually assumed power and authority, and finally set themselves up as independent kings. Epigraphic records frequently refer to battles in all directions about this time, clearly indicating a period of unrest and excitement. In addition to the Hūṇas, we know of at least one other foreign invasion. Hari-sheṇa, the Vākāṭaka ruler of the Deccan, invaded Mālwā, and established his authority over Mālwā and Gujarāt.

The province of Mālwā had been passing through a troublesome period on account of the invasions of the Hūṇas and the Vākāṭakas, and the hold of the Gupta emperors must have been considerably weakened in that region. Taking advantage of this situation Yaśodharman, a local chief, established independent authority, and soon became powerful enough not only to defeat the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula but also to hurl defiance at the Gupta emperor.

Nothing is known of the early history of Yaśodharman. He had evidently some connection with the family of feudatory chiefs who were ruling over Mālwā, or a part of it, under the Imperial Guptas about the middle of the fifth century A.D.[1] But nothing is known of this family for nearly a century when Yāśodharman suddenly rose to power. All that we know of his military achievements is contained in a single record engraved in duplicate on two stone pillars at Mandasor.[2] This official eulogy claims that Yaśodharman's suzerainty was acknowledged over the vast area bounded by the Himālayas in the north, the Mahendra mountains (Ganjām District) in the south, the Brahmaputra river in the east and the ocean in the

1 This is proved by the fact that Naravarman of the feudatory family is called Aulikara (*EI*, XXVI. 130) and Yaśodharman is said to belong to Aulikara family.
2. *CII*, III. 142; *Sel. Ins* 393. Some information is also given in another inscription at Mandasor (*CII*, III. 150; *Sel. Ins.* 386).

west. We are told that he conquered countries which did not submit even to the Guptas or to the Hūṇas. Further, as noted above, it is claimed that respect was paid to his feet even by the famous king Mihirakula.

The general and conventional description of universal conquest cannot, of course, be accepted at its face value, and we should hardly be justified in regarding Yaśodharman as the sole undisputed monarch of Northern India. At the same time such bold claims would not probably have been made in a public record unless there was some basis for it, and we need not doubt that Yaśodharman was a great conqueror. In particular we can well believe that he defeated Mihirakula. We may, perhaps, go even further and hold that he first rose to distinction and won popular favour by defeating Mihirakula and freeing Mālwā and the neighbouring region from the Hūna depredations. The power and prestige he gained thereby perhaps enabled him to achieve further conquests, mainly at the cost of the Guptas. But the exact limits of his empire cannot be defined. It is certain, however, that he could not finally annihilate the Gupta empire or the power of Mihirakula. There are good grounds to believe that his power was of short duration He rose and fell like a meteor between A D 530 and 540, and his empire perished with him

Shortly after the great *coup* of Yaśodharman, and perhaps as an inevitable consequence thereof, we find the rise of several powerful feudatory principalities in the very heart of the Gupta empire Among them the Maukharis and the Later Guptas were the most powerful and were destined to play an important part in the later history of India Their detailed history will be narrated later. It will suffice here to state that the Maukharis, although ruling at first as feudal chiefs in Bihār and U P, gradually rose to power in the latter region, and founded an independent kingdom perhaps about the middle of the sixth century A D The Later Guptas were so called to distinguish them from the Imperial Guptas, for the kings of this family had names ending in Gupta and they ruled in Mālwā and Magadha. Like the Maukharis, the Later Gupta chiefs were at first feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, and perhaps fought to save the empire But later, probably about the same time as the Maukharis, they also set up as independent rulers.

About the same time or perhaps a little earlier, Vaṅga, *i.e.* South and East Bengal, also shook off the suzerainty of the Guptas. Reference has already been made to Vainya-gupta who ruled in East Bengal with the title *Mahārāja* in A.D. 506-7 It is just possible that although he later claimed the imperial throne, his actual power was confined to Bengal If this is so we may trace from this time the exis-

tence of an independent kingdom in Bengal. In any event, Vaṅga soon attained importance as an independent kingdom under local rulers who assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja* and issued gold coins like the Gupta emperors.

The people of Gauḍa (W. Bengal) also achieved prominence, and a Maukhari chief claims to have defeated them. The Later Guptas also fought against some enemies who lived on the sea-shore. The reference in both cases may be to the kings of Bengal mentioned above, and the military campaigns of the Maukharis and the Later Guptas might have been undertaken, jointly or severally, on behalf of the Gupta emperor, their nominal overlord.

The tangled history of these newly risen powers shows that Yaśodharman could not maintain his authority on a stable basis or for a long period. It is possible that his dazzling military success for the time being led others to imitate his example. It thus led to a general uprising among the feudatories of the Gupta empire and Yaśodharman himself was probably the first victim to perish in the conflagration that his own action had brought about.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

1. NARASIMHA-GUPTA

It will be clear from the events described in the preceding chapter that at the time of Narasiṁha-gupta's accession to the throne, or shortly thereafter, internal dissensions, foreign invasions, and the successful revolts of provincial satraps and feudal chiefs had almost completed the disintegration of the Gupta empire. The name of the emperor was still invoked as the suzerain over extensive territories, but his actual authority was confined to a comparatively small region comprising Magadha and its immediate neighbourhood. It is difficult to determine the exact effect of Yaśodharman's conquests, but it is certain that the Gupta empire survived this shock. An analysis of the epigraphic records, *e.g.* the 14 Valabhī Grants ranging in date between A.D. 526 and 545, does not indicate any important political change. For all these grants express, as usual, allegiance to the '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' or the paramount lord. This undoubtedly refers to the Gupta emperor; for such nominal allegiance, without any reality behind it, is offered usually only to an old established dynasty. A new authority like Yaśodharman could only exact real submission or nothing. Besides, a land-grant in North Bengal, dated A.D. 543, definitely refers to a Gupta ruler (whose name is lost) and not to Yaśodharman. Further, although Yaśodharman claims to have established his authority as far as the Ganjām District, an inscription,[1] recently discovered at the village of Sumaṇḍala in Khallikote, Orissa, refers to the Gupta suzerainty in Kaliṅga in the year 250 of the Gupta Era (=A.D 569-70). All these facts lead to the inference that Yaśodharman's military success was of a temporary character and made no appreciable change in the political map of the Gupta empire.

There is, however, no doubt that Yaśodharman dealt a shattering blow to the prestige and authority of the Gupta empire. It stimulated all the forces of disintegration which were already at work. The Hūṇa chief Mihirakula seized the opportunity to renew his depredations. If Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, Mihirakula carried his raids even into the dominions directly ruled by Narasiṁha-gupta and forced him to pay tribute.

1. This inscription has been edited in *EI*, XXVIII 79.

It must have been extremely galling to the Gupta emperor to acknowledge the Hūṇa chief as his overlord. The position, humiliating as it was, was rendered worse by the incredible cruelties of Mihirakula. At last the proud descendant of Skanda-gupta was unable to bear it any longer and made a heroic effort to remove this scourge from his kingdom. He was probably helped by the Maukharis and other feudatories in this laudable endeavour, the last great service that the Gupta emperors were destined to render to their country. How Narasiṁha-gupta achieved complete success has already been described on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, assuming, of course, that Bālāditya, mentioned by him, is identical with Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to him as a great patron of Buddhism and the builder of a great monastery (*Saṅghārāma*) at Nālandā. An inscription found at Nālandā, and belonging to about the eighth century A.D., also refers to 'Bālāditya, the great king of irresistible valour,' who, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected 'a great and extraordinary temple at Nālandā.' Two independent traditions have thus preserved the memory of a great king called Bālāditya noted alike for prowess and the construction of a sanctuary at Nālandā. The most plausible view appears to be that he is identical with Narasiṁha-gupta, though it cannot be regarded as absolutely certain.[1]

2. THE LAST TWO GUPTA EMPERORS

Narasiṁha-gupta was the last great Gupta emperor. He was succeeded by his son and grandson Kumāra-gupta III and Vishṇu-gupta[2] They issued gold coins of the same type as those of Narasiṁha-gupta and, like him, assumed respectively the titles *Kramāditya* and *Chandrāditya*. Their reigns may be placed between A.D. 535 and 570. The continued debasement of the coins furnishes a striking testimony to the speedy decline of the Gupta empire under these two rulers, but the very fact that they issued gold coins shows that the imperial fabric had not yet completely collapsed. This

1. Narasimha-gupta is known from his coins to have assumed the title Bālāditya. He is therefore identified by some scholars with Bālāditya, king of Magadha, who, according to Hiuen Tsang, defeated Mihirakula. The chronology of the last three Gupta emperors, as given in this work, is based on this identity which, however, is not accepted by some scholars They place Narasimha-gupta's reign before A D. 474, and identify his son Kumāra-gupta with the king of that name who is referred to as the ruler in an inscription dated in that year (See p. 29). Dr. Raychaudhuri identifies Hiuen Tsang's Bālāditya with Bhānu-gupta (*PHAI*[6], 596-7).
2 The existence of Vishṇu-gupta and his position in the Gupta genealogy are known from a Nālandā Seal (*EI*, XXVI. 235, *IHQ*. XIX 119). For the coins of Kumāra-gupta III as distinguished from those of Kumāra-gupta II, cf. *JBRS*, XXXIV. Part. III-IV, pp. 20-22.

conclusion is also supported by the three other facts, noted above, viz. that even in A D. 543 a Gupta emperor is referred to as suzerain in an inscription in N. Bengal, that the rulers of Valabhī paid nominal allegiance to their (Gupta) overlord till about A.D. 550, and that Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in Kaliṅga even as late as A.D. 569.

Hiuen Tsang refers to Bālāditya as king of Magadha, and in view of what has been said above regarding the Maukharis and the Later Guptas, that seems to be a correct description of the Gupta emperor. The only territories outside Magadha which probably still formed part of the Gupta dominions were Kaliṅga and Northern Bengal While we hear of independent rulers in Southern, Eastern, and Western Bengal, the name of a Gupta ruler is invoked as suzerain in a grant of N. Bengal in A.D. 543. Unfortunately, the first part of the name is lost, but it might well have been 'Vishṇu' and refer to the last Gupta ruler We do not know how and when the Guptas lost this last stronghold. A land-grant found in the Gayā District in the very heart of Magadha was issued in A D. 551-2 by Nandana who is called *Kumārāmātya Mahārāja*. As there is no reference to any Gupta ruler in this record, we may conclude that by A.D. 550 the Guptas had ceased to exercise effective authority over the great part of Magadha. Nandana's title *Kumārāmātya*, however, shows that like the Viziers of Oudh in the eighteenth century he still dared not throw off nominal allegiance to the Guptas That some Gupta emperors continued to rule for another quarter of a century seems to be proved by the continuance of the Gupta suzerainty in Kaliṅga till at least A. D 569.

Indeed, from various points of view the end of the Gupta empire offers a striking analogy to that of the Mughal empire. The decline and downfall of both were brought about mainly by internal dissensions in the royal family and the rebellion of feudal chiefs and provincial satraps, though foreign invasion was an important contributory factor. There is a general belief among historians that the Hūṇa invasion was the principal cause of the downfall of the Gupta empire But it is difficult to subscribe to this view. The gates of India were successfully barred against the Hūnas throughout the fifth century A.D. In spite of temporary successes, first of Toramāṇa and then of Mihirakula, the Hūṇas never counted as a permanent factor in Indian politics, save in Kāshmir and Afghānistān which lay far beyond the frontiers of the Gupta empire. So far as the evidence goes, the death-blow to the Gupta empire was dealt not by the Hūṇas but by ambitious chiefs like Yaśodharman. The Hūṇas caused depredations on a large scale, but ere long the force of their sweeping success spent itself. The rift

caused by Yaśodharman, however, gradually widened till the mighty imperial structure was engulfed in the chasm.

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CHAPTER VII

MINOR STATES IN NORTH INDIA DURING THE GUPTA EMPIRE

In tracing the history of the Gupta empire, reference has been made to the Śaka and Kushāṇa principalities. The great emperor Samudra-gupta established some sort of suzerainty over both, and the former was finally conquered by his son. The early history of both the dynasties has been already narrated,[1] and we may conveniently bring together in this chapter the little information that we possess regarding their history during the Gupta period.

1. THE ŚAKAS OR WESTERN SATRAPS

The principality of the Western Satraps, consisting of Mālwā, Gujarāt and the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, was being ruled by the family of Chashṭana for nearly two hundred years. But a break in the regular course of succession occurred at the beginning of the fourth century A D. when Rudrasiṁha II ousted the legitimate heir and occupied the throne in A.D. 304 or 305 His father, Svāmī Jīvadāman, bears no royal title, and although it is possible that he might have belonged to a younger branch of the old royal family, his relationship to it is not definitely known [2]

Along with this change in succession we have to note two other important facts bearing upon the history of the kingdom. In the first place, neither Rudrasiṁha II, who usurped the throne, nor his son and successor Yaśodāman II assumed the title *Mahākshatrapa*, and both were content with the lower title of *Kshatrapa* only. This is specially remarkable in view of the fact that since almost the very beginning the chief political power in the kingdom was regularly exercised by a *Mahākshatrapa* who associated with him the heir-apparent bearing the title *Kshatrapa* Secondly, after the reign of Rudrasiṁha II and his son, extending from A D 305 to 332, no coins of Western Satraps are known for a period of sixteen years.

These facts indicate troublesome times though we are unable to throw much light on the cause or nature of the troubles through

1 Vol II, Chs VII-IX

2 The historical account is based principally on the coins of the Western Satraps These coins have been dealt with by Rapson in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas etc* In addition to the description of the coins (pp 63-194) Rapson has brought together the historical information derived from them in the Introduction (pp xcvii-clvii). Unless otherwise stated the statements regarding the coins in this chapter are based on this work.

which the principality must have passed. An inscription[1] found in the village of Kānākheṛā near Sānchī, however, throws some light on this matter. This record refers to some pious work done by *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*[2] Śaka Śrīdharavarmā, son of Śaka Nanda, in the 13th year of his reign. Another inscription at Eran, dated in his 27th regnal year, calls him both *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa*.[3] The first inscription also contains a date, presumably in Śaka era, which has been read as 241. This reading is not free from doubt, but if we accept it, we can easily conclude that *Mahākshatrapa* Śrīdharavarmā refused to acknowledge Rudrasiṁha II as legitimate sovereign and set up an independent kingdom in A.D. 306 or 307, *i.e.* within a year or two of Rudrasiṁha's accession. It may be concluded, therefore, that Rudrasiṁha II came to the throne by violent means, and it led to a civil war or internal dissension as a result of which Mālwā was lost to the Western Satraps. For we know from the Allāhābād inscription of Samudra-gupta that a number of tribal states flourished in Mālwā about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and there is no evidence that the Śaka Satraps exercised any authority in this province at the time.

There might have been similar revolts in other parts of the kingdom, and this internal dissension might have been the cause, or at least one of the causes, of the decline in power and authority of the Satraps Rudrasiṁha II and his son Yaśodāman II who never assumed the title *Mahākshatrapa*.

The absence of coins of the dynasty between A.D. 332 and 348 shows that the political troubles, far from being over, were accentuated during this period. As a result, the family of Rudrasiṁha was swept away and *Mahākshatrapa* Svāmī Rudrasena III occupied the throne in or shortly after A.D. 348. He is described in his coin-legends as the son of *Mahākshatrapa* Svāmī Rudradāman (II), but no coins of the latter have so far been discovered. Whether Rudra-

1. This inscription was first edited by Mr R D Banerji (*EI* XVI 230) who took it as a record of Jīvadāman It was re-edited by Mr N G Majumdar (*JPASB* XIX 337) who rightly pointed out that there was no reference to Jīvadāman in the inscription which is a record of Śrīdharavarmā, and is dated in the 13th year of his reign. Mr Banerji read the date as 201, but Mr. Majumdar was of the opinion that the symbol interpreted by Mr Banerji as 200 is really a sign of interpunction But he noted that at some distance from the sign there are three numerical symbols The first symbol is not very clear but he tentatively read it as 200, the remaining two symbols being clearly 41.
2 *Mahā-danda-nāyaka* might mean a judge or a general The latter sense is preferable here
3 This inscription is incised on the same pillar which bears the posthumous inscription of Goparāja (above, p 33). The inscription is not yet published but MM V. V. Mirashi gave an account of it in the 14th Session of Indian History Congress held at Jaipur (cf. *Summary of Papers*, p. 16). He denies that there is a date in the Śaka Era in the Kānākheṛā record of Śrīdharavarman, and concludes, mainly on this ground, that he did not probably belong to the *Kshatrapa* family of Saurāshṭra.

dāman was a mere pretender to the title or actually exercised royal power cannot, therefore, be determined. The relationship, if any, of this new family to the older members is yet unknown. It probably established its authority on a firm basis and restored to some extent the old prestige, as indicated by the revival of the title *Mahākshatrapa*. But if so, the success was very short-lived. For while we have silver coins of Rudrasena III representing each year from 270 to 273 inclusive (*i.e.* A.D. 348 to 351) they cease altogether after that year and do not reappear till A.D. 360.[1] Here, again, the absence of coins may be taken to indicate some political troubles, though it may not be quite safe to rely upon such negative evidence alone.

It may be suggested that the constant troubles of the Western Satraps during the first half of the fourth century A.D. were due also to foreign invasions which were perhaps provoked by the internal dissensions referred to above. During the first half of the period the only two powers we can think of in this connection are the Vākāṭkas and the Sassanians of Persia. The contemporary Vākāṭaka ruler Pravarasena I was undoubtedly a powerful king and was the only ruler of the family to assume the imperial title *Samrāṭ*. It is not unlikely that he helped or joined one of the contending parties in order to extend his political influence in this region, but there is no reference to any such attempt in the Vākātaka records. As regards the Sassanians, there is no evidence that they played any part in Indian politics about this time, and what we know of their history makes it very unlikely. The only other power that we can think of in this connection, at least for the second quarter of the fourth century A.D., is the Imperial Gupta. The Allāhābād inscription of Samudra-gupta clearly refers to some sort of political control exercised by that emperor over the Śakas. It is quite possible that the Śaka Satraps did not accept this position without a fight and there was a long-drawn struggle. It led to no decisive result for the time being, but the Śaka ruler must have been sufficiently humbled, and his discomfiture probably led to the weakening of his authority and internal troubles reflected in the absence of coins between A.D. 332 and 348 and again between A.D. 351 and 360. It may be recalled that according to one interpretation, the Śaka Satrapy belonged to the category of subject-states which had to use the Gupta coins.[2] This might well account for the cessation of the

1. Rapson (*op. cit.* cxliv) says that there were no silver coins of Rudrasena III, later than 273 and earlier than 286. But coins of Rudrasena dated 282 and 284 have since come to light (N.S. XLVII. pp. 96, 97). Rapson himself describes lead coins dated 280-285 (p. 187) but these do not bear the name of any ruler.
2. This point has been discussed before in connection with Samudra-gupta.

coins of Western Satraps, but such a conclusion can only be regarded as provisional.[1]

The regular issue of coins from about A.D. 360 to 390[2] by Rudrasena III shows that he had re-established his power and authority to some extent. But indications are not wanting that troubles broke out again towards the close of his reign. The coins show that in A.D. 382 (and probably also in 384) his sister's son Svāmī Siṁhasena had assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. Either, therefore, Rudrasena III was temporarily dispossessed of his authority by his nephew, or there was a civil war, involving a partition of the kingdom, at least for some years. Only a single coin attests to the rule of Svāmī Rudrasena IV, son of Svāmī Siṁhasena, but as it contains no date we cannot say whether he ruled alone or as a rival of his grand-uncle Rudrasena III. In any case we soon find a new king Svāmī Rudrasiṁha III occupying the position of *Mahākshatrapa* in the year 31X (the unit figure of the date on the coins is lost), which may refer to any year between A.D. 388 and 398. Rudrasiṁha III is called in his coins the son of *Mahākshatrapa* Svāmī Satyasiṁha. No coins of the latter have been found and we do not know, therefore, whether he actually ruled or merely claimed the position of a *Mahākshatrapa* as against a rival. Nothing is also known of his relationship with the preceding rulers.

Thus after a brief respite of twenty years from A D. 360 to 380 the kingdom of the Western Satraps was again convulsed by internal dissensions. The accession of Chandra-gupta II in or shortly before A D. 380 might have had something to do with the renewal of political troubles in the kingdom over which the new emperor had been casting covetous eyes. Whether we believe in the episode of Rāmagupta or not, the aggressive and imperialist policy of expansion sufficiently accounts for the determination of Chandra-gupta to put an end to this last vestige of foreign rule on the soil of India and thereby expand his growing empire to the furthest natural limits on the west.[3]

Unfortunately we know little of the campaign which put an end to the rule of Svāmī Rudrasiṁha III, the last of a long line of Śaka chiefs who had been ruling over the region for nearly three hundred years. The statement in the *Harsha-charita* that Chandra-gupta, in

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1 Dr. D. C. Sircar has worked out this hypothesis in some detail He even proposes to identify Rudradeva, one of the nine kings of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudra-gupta (above, p. 8), with the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman II or his son Rudrasena III (*PIHC*, VII 78).

2 Rapson does not notice any coin of Rudrasena III later than 300 But the Sonpur hoard contains two coins of Rudrasena III. one of which is dated (3)12 and the other 310+x, the unit figure being lost (*N.S.* XLVII 96)

3 The epigraphic evidence for Chandra-gupta's campaign against the Western Satraps has been discussed in connection with the history of that emperor.

the disguise of a woman, slew the Śaka chief, was usually taken to refer to his final struggle with Rudrasiṁha III. But this simple fact has now developed into the big episode centring round Rāma-gupta and Dhruvadevī which has already been narrated above.[1] If any value is to be attached to the history of the Western Satraps as narrated above, it is hardly within the range of probability that they were in a position to challenge the authority of the Gupta emperor and force him to accept the most ignoble terms which a king is ever known to have proposed to another.

The date of the final conquest of Saurāshṭra (Kāthiāwār Peninsula) by Chandra-gupta II has been discussed in connection with the histoy of that emperor. There is hardly any doubt that the downfall of the Western Satraps was hastened, if not brought about, by the internal dissensions and other troubles which marked their history almost throughout the fourth century A.D. and particularly during the last two decades. Although they disappeared from history, they left a legacy in their peculiar coins which were continued with some modifications by the Guptas and their successors for well-nigh two centuries after their fall.

2. THE KUSHĀṆAS

The chronology of the great Kushāṇa kings is far from settled yet and although opinions generally waver between A D 78 and 128 as the date of the accession of Kanishka, there is no solid argument in favour of either.[2] It is difficult, therefore, to say at what period of time the dynasty of the great emperor Kanishka came to an end, on the death of Vāsudeva, after ruling for a century. Following the general view we may provisionally accept it as happening some time between A D. 180 and 230 and we propose to deal in this chapter with the subsequent history of the Kushāṇas.

Our principal sources of information are the brief references in the Chinese history and the large number of coins found in India, principally in the Punjāb and N.W F. Province[3]

According to the Chinese writer Ma-twan-lin, the Kushāṇas, after their conquest of Northern India under Wema Kadphises, became rich and powerful, and remained in that condition until the time of the second Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-263).[4] Another Chinese writer Yu Huan specifically states that about A.D. 239 Ki-pin (Kāshmir?),[5]

1 See pp 17-18

2. This has been discussed before. See Vol II, pp. 143-6 The latest view is that of B Ghirshman who places the accession of Kanishka in A D. 144 (*JA*, CCXXXIV, 59)

3. Mr M. F. C Martin has brought together most of the evidences, both Chinese and numismatic, bearing on the period in *JRASBL*. III, Num. Suppl. XLVII. pp. 23-50 and this article will be referred to in subsequent notes as 'Martin.'

4 Martin, p. 25.

5 For the identification of Ki-pin, see below Ch. XXIII.

Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kābul) and Tien-chu (India) were subordinate to the Kushāṇas.[1] There is other evidence to show that about this time the Kushāṇas were still ruling over territories beyond the Hindu Kush.[2] But they were soon engaged in hostilities with the newly founded Sassanian power. The sudden rise of this dynasty to greatness under Ardashir need not be described in detail.[3] It will suffice to say that after having defeated the great king Artabanus V of Parthia in A.D. 224, he conquered the western provinces of the Parthian empire and crowned himself with the title 'King of kings' (*Shahānshāh*) of Irān. He then led a series of victorious campaigns in the east and conquered, among others, Seistān, modern Khorāsān, Merv and Balkh.[4] It is also claimed that the Kushāṇa ruler of the Punjāb and Kābul valley and the kings of Turan (Quzdar, south of Quetta) and Makrān recognised him as suzerain,[5] though this is somewhat doubtful.

The Sassanian supremacy over the Kushāṇa principalities in Balkh and the neighbouring region is attested by the coins of the Sassanian governors.[6] During the reign of Shapur I (241-72) his younger brother Peroz was the governor with the title Kushān-shāh (king of the Kushāṇas). In 252 the title was changed to Kushān-Shahānshāh (king of the Kushāṇa kings), indicating an increase in the authority of the prince-governor. For the next 30 years the heir-apparent generally held this viceroyalty. It is to be noted that the coins issued by the Sassanian governors closely resembled the coins of the great Kushāna king Vāsudeva and were evidently copied from them.

Vahram II, who had been the Kushān-shāh during his father's reign, ascended the throne in A.D 276 while his brother Hormazd

1 This and other Chinese evidences, referring the glorious period of the Great Kushāṇas to the third century A.D., have been discussed in my article on the Kushan Chronology (*JDL*, 1920, pp 71 ff)
2. The Sassanian coins, discussed later, clearly prove this
3. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII. pp. 109-114. Herzfeld also gives a brief outline of the Sassanid history in his *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* (*MASI*. No. 38) pp. 32 ff. The account in the text is based on these two authorities The names of kings have been spelt according to the former.
4 Herzfeld, *Kush-Sas. Coins*. p. 32.
5 This is stated in *Camb. Anc Hist*, XII, p. 110 on the authority of Herzfeld's *Paikuli* pp. 36 ff. But Herzfeld does not state this in his later work, *Kush-Sas Coins*, p. 32, where he describes the conquest of Ardashir The claim rests on the statement of Tabari that while Ardashir, after his conquest mentioned above, halted at Gor, he was visited by messengers from the kings of Kushān, Turan and Makrān who expressed their allegiance V. A. Smith finds a corroboration of it in a coin of Shīlada ruler Pāsana (to be referred later in the text above), which was restruck on the reverse with the symbol found on the coins of Ardashir, and the story preserved by Firishta that Ardashir marched against India and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind but returned on receiving homage and tribute from the Indian king (of Kanauj) (*JRAS*, 1920, pp. 221 ff).
6. Herzfeld, *Kush-Sas. Coins.*

became the Kushān-shāh. In A.D. 283 Hormazd rebelled against his brother and was supported by both the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. Vahram crushed the revolt, conquered the whole of Śakastān (Seistān) and appointed his son Vahram (III) Sakān-shāh or governor of the provinces. It was the prerogative of the heir-apparent to the Sassanian throne to be governor of the most important province. The Kushāṇa province was thus reduced in importance. This was further emphasised by the fact that the governor of the Kushāṇa principality was deprived of the privilege of issuing gold coins which were henceforth issued in the name of Shahānshāh, the Great king of kings.

Prof. Herzfeld asserts that Vahram II made extensive conquests in the east and that under him the Sassanid empire not only included Khorāsān (including Balkh), Sakastān, Turan and Makrān, but also the countries of the Middle and Lower Sindhu region and Kachchha, Kāthiāwār and Mālwā.[1] This view rests upon the Paikuli Inscription which gives a list of independent kings and vassal chiefs who came to congratulate Narsih, son of Shapur I, after he had successfully rebelled against king Vahram II and occupied the throne in A.D. 293. The inscription is fragmentary and very much damaged, but Herzfeld, who edited it, has been able to read several names and has drawn interesting conclusions from it. Among independent kings we find the name of Kushān-shāh and among the vassals the chiefs of Paradan (Pāradas), Makuran (Makrān) and the Ābhīras Reference is then made to Satraps of all kinds such as Bagdat, lord of Zuradian and Mitr-(AL)asen, lord of Boraspicin. Herzfeld takes the last two as Bhagadatta, lord of Surāshṭra, and Mitrasena, lord of Bharukachchha. There is also reference to an ally of the unfortunate king Vahram II, *viz.* Avandikan xvat(a)vya whom Herzfeld regards as the Kshatrapa of Avanti.

Now the proposed identification of Zuradian and Boraspicin cannot be regarded as certain or even satisfactory, and there is nothing to show that the Kshatrapa of Avanti, assuming the reading and interpretation to be correct, was in any case a dependent of the Sassanians. The supremacy of the Sassanians over Western India is, therefore, very problematic. If the reading Ābhīra be regarded as correct the Sassanian supremacy probably extended beyond Makrān to the lower Sindhu valley and the adjoining region. But as the Ābhīras were something like a nomadic tribe having different settlements, it is difficult to locate them precisely. On the whole, therefore, while we may accept that Vahram II (276-93) had established his supremacy in the lower Sindhu valley and had political intercourse of a friendly character with Indian principalities in the

1. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, pp. 35-51.

interior, there is no valid ground to assume that Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālwā were his vassal states.

It is interesting to note that the Kushān-shāh is referred to as an independent king in the Paikuli Inscription. Evidently the Kushāṇa ruler of the Kābul valley and the Punjāb is meant. The continuation of the Kushāṇa principality in these regions after the death of the Great Kushāṇa emperor Vāsudeva is proved by a large number of coins. These coins are debased imitations of those of the Great Kushāṇa kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Hence the rulers who issued them are called Later Great Kushāṇas. Some of them have old names like Kanishka (written as Kaneshko) and Vasu or Vāsudeva. These coins are found in Afghānistān, as well as in Bactria and Seistān. This, as well as the fact that at least two rulers, *viz.* Kanishka and Vāsudeva, who issued them, assumed the imperial title *Shaonanoshao,* shows that they represented the Great or Imperial Kushāṇa family and possessed a fair degree of authority. Attempts have been made to arrange these three kings in chronological order, *viz.* Kanishka II, Vāsudeva II and Vasu (or Vāsudeva III) and to reconstruct their history,[1] but without much success.

In addition to this series, gold coins of Kushāṇa type, of a later date, are also found in large numbers in the Punjāb and neighbouring region. These belong to the fourth century A.D. and contain the names of a large number of rulers such as Sya (or Sasya), Śayatha, Sita, Sena (or Seṇa), Bhadra, Bacharṇa and Pāsana. Neither the nationality of these rulers, nor the meaning of words like Shāka or Shīlada, each of which is found on coins of several rulers, is clear to us. Most likely these rulers were Kushāṇa of the Shāka and Shīlada clan, the first four chiefs named above belonging to the former, and the last three to the latter clan. The findspots of these coins have not been properly recorded, but a hoard of Shāka coins was found near Peshāwar. This shows that they probably held sway over Gandhāra.[2]

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1 Mr. R D. Banerji's reconstruction of the history of these kings, apart from being based on highly speculative theories about the coins, is vitiated by the assumed date of Gondophares (about 100 years later than Kanishka) which is now generally discarded. The significance of the various syllables or groups of syllables occurring on these coins still remains a mystery. Mr. Banerji upheld the view that they were the initial letter or letters of the names of subordinate chiefs issuing them and of the mint-towns or provinces from which they were issued. This view seems reasonable, but cannot be regarded as certain. The restoration of the names like Mahi(dhara), Viru(dhaka), Ga(ndhāra), Khu(draka), Pu(shkalāvatī), Na(garahāra) etc. by supplying the portions within the brackets is, of course, highly questionable. (cf. Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, *Num. Chr.* 1893, p. 119).

2 For the coins of the Later Kushāṇas (and the Hūnas) the standard authority is Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians* originally published as a *series of essays* in *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893 and 1894. A summary of these essays, and other references on this subject are given by V. A. Smith in *JASB.* LXIII (1894), pp 177 ff cf. also *CCIM*, 85 ff. and Martin (*op. cit.*). R. D. Banerji corrected some

Another clan or tribe named Gaḍahara or Gadakhara is known from coins issued by two chiefs named Peraya and Kirada. It has been suggested that these coins should be classed with those of the Little Kushāṇas (to be noted later), and not with those of Shāka and Shīlada. But there are good grounds to believe that this tribe also ruled in the Punjāb in the fourth century A.D.

On the basis of the foregoing, we may reconstruct the history of the Later Kushāṇas somewhat as follows:—

The great Kushāṇa empire broke up some time after A.D. 230 or 240, which probably represents the end of the reign of Vāsudeva or one of the later kings named Kanishka or Vāsudeva. Apart from other causes the growing power of the Sassanians was the most important factor that contributed to it. The first Sassanian king Ardashir (224-241) conquered the Kushāṇa principalities to the north of the Hindu Kush, and although Kushāṇa chiefs continued to rule there they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sassanid king. His Governor, generally the heir-apparent, assumed the proud title of 'Kushān-king' or 'king of Kushāṇa kings' and issued gold coins like those of Vāsudeva.

We learn from a Chinese account that Po-tiao, the king of the Great Kushāṇas, sent an embassy to the Chinese Court in A.D. 230.[1] This name may well represent Vāsudeva, and it was probably the growing power of the Sassanids that induced him to seek help from the Chinese emperor. But evidently no help came, and in any case he was unable to check the aggression of the Sassanian king. But although Balkh was lost, the Kushāṇa overlord, whose seat of authority was probably at Peshāwar, still ruled over the other parts of the Kushāṇa kingdom. His power and prestige were, however, considerably weakened. Taking advantage of this, Indian states one after another asserted their independence and even the Kushāṇa governors of the Punjāb and neighbouring regions followed suit. There were probably two or more dynasties belonging to Shīlada, Shāka and Gaḍahara clans who formed independent principalities in the Punjāb. The Sassanian kings in the west grew more and more powerful. When Hormazd rebelled against his brother Vahram II (A.D. 283), the Kushāṇas and Śakas joined him probably in a desperate effort at getting rid of the Sassanian supremacy. But the rebellion was crushed and Vahram II conquered the whole of Seistān, Makrān and the lower Sindhu valley. He also tightened his hold on the Kushāna principalities in Balkh.

But though shorn of his possessions in Bactria, Seistān and the Sindhu valley, the Kushāṇa king still maintained his hold in the

readings of names in *JPASB*. IV. 81 ff. and these corrections have been accepted in the text above.

1. *CII*, II. lxxvii.

Kābul valley, and the Paikuli inscription, as noted above, refers to him as an independent king (A.D. 293). His importance is indicated by the fact that the Sassanian king Hormizd (302-9) married a daughter of the Kushāṇa king of the Kābul valley.[1] But later, about the middle of the fourth century A.D., the Kābul valley formed a part of the Sassanid empire. An inscription found at Persepolis, dated A.D. 310-11, refers to Shapur Sakānshāh, an elder brother of Shapur II (A.D. 309-379), who has the titles "king of Sakastān, minister of ministers of Sind, Sakastān and Tukhāristān," and who is accompanied by the "minister of Public Instruction of Sakastān," by the Satrap of Seistān (in the modern meaning of the name) and other dignitaries. Another inscription from Persepolis is probably dated in the year 47 of Shapur II, i.e. A.D. 356, though the figure is doubtful. It is written by Slok, i.e. "Seleucus, high judge of Kābul" who, according to this record, is paying his homage to Shapur Sakānshāh as his superior, showing that even Kābul belonged to the lands governed by the Sakānshāh at that time. If the date has been correctly read, Kābul must have been conquered some time before A D. 356.[2]

Thus for more than a century after the death of Vāsudeva, the last Great Kushāṇa emperor, the Later Kushānas ruled over the Kābul valley Whether they were finally overthrown during the reign of Shapur II or they maintained a precarious existence in the lower Kābul valley and a part of the Punjāb, we cannot definitely say. But the latter view seems probable and perhaps new tribal movements led to fresh Kushāṇa migrations to this region and strengthened the kingdom.

This new movement is referred to in the Chinese annals The 'Wei-shu' or Annals of the Wei Dynasty (A D 386-556) refers to it as follows[3]:—

"The kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-chi (i e. the Great Kushāṇas) has for its capital the town of Lou-Kien-Chi (Balkh). They found themselves threatened on the north by the Juan-Juan, and were exposed on several occasions to their raids. They therefore migrated to the west and established themselves in the town of Po-lo (Balkan, on the north of the old bed of the Oxus, where it flowed into the Caspian Sea east of Krasnovodsk). Their king Ki-to-lo, a brave and warlike prince, raised an army, crossed to the south of the Great Mountains

1 *EHI*[4]. 274
2. For an account of these two inscriptions, cf. Herzfeld, *Kush-Sas Coins*, pp 35-36 In the statement on p 36 that the second inscription is dated "in the year 47(?) of Shapur I—the numbers are much obliterated," Shapur I is evidently a printing mistake for Shapur II.
3. Martin, pp. 24-26.

(Hindu Kush) and invaded Northern India where the five kingdoms to the north of Kan-tho-lo (Gandhāra) submitted to him.....

"Ki-to-lo, having been pursued by the Hiung-nu, and having retired to the west, ordered his son to establish himself in this town of Fu-leu-cha (Peshāwar). These people are consequently called Little Yueh-chi (Little Kushāṇas)."

Ma-twan-lin's encyclopaedic work also contains a brief account of the same event as follows:—"The capital of the Little Yueh-chi is the town of Fu-leu-cha. Their king was a son of Ki-to-lo; he was placed in charge of this town by his father when this prince was forced, by the attacks of the Juan-Juan, to march westwards."

A large number of coins have been found in North-Western India, with the Brāhmī legend 'Kidāra Kushāṇa Shā,'[1] and this ruler has been identified by most scholars with the chief Ki-to-lo of the Chinese annals.[2] The silver coins of Kidāra are of distinctively Sassanian type and a comparison with the Sassanian coins yields important results Mr. Martin, who has made a special study of these coins, arrives at the following conclusions, though they must be regarded as provisional until more positive evidence is forthcoming.—

(1) That Kidāra was followed by Piro and Varahrān as their coins are closely connected.

(2) That Kidāra was at first feudatory to the Sassanian empire, that he later became independent, and that during the reign of Piro the Sassanians re-asserted their suzerainty.

(3) That Kidāra and his two successors, Piro and Varahrān, should be referred to the latter half of the fourth century A.D

On the basis of these hypotheses it is possible to reconstruct the history of the Little Kushānas in some detail

We learn from Ammianus, an officer in the Roman army who fought against Shapur II in Mesopotamia, that this Sassanid king was engaged from A.D. 350 to 358 in fighting against certain tribes on his eastern frontier. The most important among these tribes were the Chionites, who had invaded Bactria, and the Euseni, which has been recognised as a textual corruption for Cuseni or Kushāṇas. In A.D. 358 Shapur made peace with these tribes and began his 'war of revenge upon Rome.' The army with which he besieged the Roman fortress of Amida in Mesopotamia included contingents from his new allies, the Chionites and the Kushānas.[3]

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1. Martin, p 39 Cf. also the authorities referred to in fn. 2, p. 53
2. V A. Smith was opposed to this identification and believed that the well-executed Kidāra-Kushāna coins were as early as A D 300 or 350 and approximately contemporaneous with the Shāka, Shīlada and Gaḍahara coins referred to above (*JASB*, LXIII 182-3)
3. Martin, p 30; Herzfeld, *Kush-Sas Coins*, p 36.

It is very likely that the Chionites, referred to by the Roman writer, and the Juan-Juan, mentioned by the Chinese, refer to the same tribe. It would then follow that about the middle of the fourth century A.D., Kidāra, the Kushāṇa ruler, was forced by the invasion of this tribe to leave Balkh and occupy the Kābul valley. These tribal movements forced Shapur II in A.D. 350 to move towards his eastern frontier. He fought with the Kushāṇas as well as the Chionites and ultimately concluded a treaty with them in A.D. 358. Both probably acknowledged the supremacy of the Sassanian king, as attested by their coins, and sent contingents to help their overlord in his wars against Rome. But, later, Kidāra asserted his independence, as attested by his coins. The numismatic evidence is corroborated by the writings of the Armenian historian, Faustos of Byzantium. It appears from his account that the Kushāṇas inflicted two crushing defeats on the Sassanians in A.D. 367-8, and on one occasion even forced Shapur II to fly from the battlefield.[1]

Thus Kidāra established once more an independent Kushāṇa dynasty in the Kābul valley. According to the Chinese Annals, he invaded North India where the five kingdoms to the north of Gandhāra submitted to him. It is difficult to understand the full import of this, but it is possible that Kidāra's dominions included Afghānistān and a part of the upper Sindhu valley. Some of his (or his son's) provincial governors are also known from their coins, *viz.* Varo Shāhi, Piroch, Bhāsa and Buddhabala.[2] As Kidāra flourished in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D. he was probably the contemporary Kushāṇa king who is referred to as Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi in the Allāhābād Pillar Inscription. Samudra-gupta had probably already imposed his suzerainty on some petty Kushāṇa States in the Punjāb, for his name occurs on the coin of a Gaḍahara chief.[3] Hence Kidāra found it politic to be on good terms with the Gupta emperor, for his own position was far from being secure on the west. Apart from the Sassanian kings who naturally wanted to re-establish their suzerainty, he had also to reckon with the hostility of the ruling tribes in Bactria. According to the Chinese accounts, their attacks ultimately forced him to march

1. Martin, p. 32.
2. Martin, pp. 33 ff. 41 ff.
3. Two of the three types of Gaḍahara coinage enumerated by Cunningham have been noted above, *viz.* those bearing the names of Peraya and Kirada. Regarding the third bearing the name of Samudra Mr. R. D. Banerji observes:—"The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra-gupta is so great that it is possible to say that the Gaḍahara tribe at least acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins." (*op cit.* 93) A similar coin with the name Chandra-gupta (?) is described by Smith (*JRAS*, 1893, p. 145).

westwards, and as he evidently expected this to be a prolonged campaign he left his son in charge of the capital; in other words, probably appointed him to be regent during his absence.

The name of the tribe against which Kidāra was forced to march is given as Juan-Juan by Ma-twan-lin and Hiung-nu in Wei-shu. But as the latter did not seem to have established their power till the middle of the fifth century A.D.[1] possibly the former is the correct name. We do not know the result of Kidāra's military campaign or anything else about him.

The son whom he left behind and who succeeded him was Piro. Placed between the Gupta empire on the east and the two powerful enemies, the Sassanians and the Juan-Juan on the west and the north-west, his position was precarious. The Sassanians evidently took advantage of Kidāra's preoccupations in the north-west and Ardashir II (A.D. 379-383) reconquered at least one district over which he set up Tarika as Satrap. Shapur III (383-388) reconquered several more districts and at last forced Piro to acknowledge his sovereignty. Piro's successor Varahrān also continued as a vassal of the Sassanians, whose renewed influence in the Indian borderland in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. is attested by coins [2]

It appears from the coins that the Sassanians ceased to exercise any authority on the Indian frontier after Vahram IV (A.D 388-399).[3] It has been suggested that this was due to the inroads of the Hūṇas about this time which also extinguished the rule of the Little Kushāṇas in the Kābul valley and forced them to retreat to the mountain regions around the upper Sindhu valley and Kāshmir. The view that the Hūṇas established their political authority in Gandhāra at the beginning of the fifth century A D. rests, however, on very insufficient grounds [4]

The continuation of the ruling dynasty founded by Kidāra is attested by coins found in North-Western India.[5] These coins not

1. Chavannes (*Documents sur les toukiue Occidental*, p. 223) definitely says that the White Huns were subject to the Juan-Juan tribe and did not come into prominence till the middle of the fifth century A D Martin's view (pp 35 ff.) that they had raided Peshāwar prior to A.D 400 rests on very doubtful evidence The statement of Fa-hien, quoted by him, is misleading, as Fa-hien refers not to an Ephthalite king, as Martin says on the authority of Giles, but to a king of Yueh-she, whom Legge takes to be Kanishka (*Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 34). But whatever we may think of this there is no authority for taking Yueh-she as Ephthalite Huns. As regards the imitation by the Huns of the Sassanian coins of the fourth century A D., this is not a very convincing argument, as the barbarian invaders often copied even old coins.
2. Martin, pp. 34-35, 37-8.
3. *Ibid.*
4. See f. n. 1 above.
5. For references, see f. n. 2, p. 53.

only bear the name of the ruler who issued them, but have also the name Kidāra, or its abbreviated form Kida, written vertically under the arms of the royal figure dressed like a Kushāṇa king. The gold coins of these Little Kushāṇa rulers have been found over extensive areas, from the Punjāb as far as Kanauj and Kosam in the east; and even as late as 1925 a dozen of them was found in Hardoi District, U.P.[1] Among names of individual rulers may be noted Kṛitavīrya, Sarvayaśa, Bhāsvan, Prakāśa, Kuśala and Saloṇavīra.[2] These coins seem to have been current for several centuries after which they merged into the series struck in Kāshmir by the Kārkoṭaka or Nāga dynasty in the seventh century A.D.[3] The long currency of the coinage as well as its findspots indicates that it was probably used by several dynasties. But it is impossible, with the meagre information available now, to arrange the kings in different dynasties and to locate them either chronologically or geographically. The Kushāṇa principalities both in the Kābul valley and the Punjāb were overrun by the White Huns about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and they set up an independent kingdom in Gandhāra about A.D. 460. Whether there was a revival of the Kushāṇa power or not depends upon the question whether later rulers like Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Hūṇa or Kushāṇa. It is probable also that the two tribes were ethnically allied and were merged into a new nation, generally known in India under the name of Hūṇa.

1. *JPASB*, XXX, Num. Suppl. XLV. 77.
2. *Ibid.* This is evidently the name which was wrongly read before as Śilāditya.
3. Martin, p. 23.

CHAPTER VIII

NORTHERN INDIA AFTER THE BREAK-UP OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE (SIXTH CENTURY A.D.)

For nearly half a century after the break-up of the Gupta empire, Northern India presented the usual picture of political disintegration—a number of independent states struggling for power, and, if possible, for establishing suzerainty over others. Most of these states were off-shoots of the Gupta empire, chief among them being the principalities ruled over by the Maitrakas, the Kalachuris,[1] the Gurjaras, the Maukharis, and the Later Guptas, and the kingdoms of Nepāl, Bengal, Assam, and Orissa. Outside the limits of the empire, the kingdoms of Kāshmir and Thāneswar on the north-west and Southern Kaliṅga in the south-east came into prominence. It was not till the beginning of the seventh century A.D. that a powerful ruler of Thāneswar once more succeeded in establishing a big empire and bringing back, to a limited extent and for a short time, that political unity and solidarity which Northern India enjoyed under the Imperial Guptas. It is necessary, therefore, to review separately the history of these various states during the sixth century A.D., before we can again take up the main thread of the imperial history of Northern India.

1. VALABHĪ

Of all the states that arose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Valabhī proved to be the most durable. It has been noted above how the descendants of Bhaṭārka, a Gupta general of the Maitraka clan[2] and the governor of Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāi Peninsula, gradually made themselves powerful towards the close

1. For the history of the Kalachuris cf. Chap. XI B. III.
2. Due to a faulty translation of the opening passage of the inscriptions of the Valabhī kings, it was erroneously held for a long time that 'Bhaṭārka successfully fought against the Maitrakas.' Hultzsch was the first to point out (*EI*. III. 320) that according to the proper construction of the passage it really means that Bhaṭārka himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas, and not that he fought against it. This view is now unanimously accepted. Fleet and other scholars identified the Maitrakas with Mihiras and regarded them as sun-worshipping people of foreign origin. Fleet even went so far as to suggest that the Maitrakas were the 'particular family or clan among the Hūnas, to which Toramāna and Mihirakula belonged' (*CII*. III, Introd. 12) and this view has been accepted by others (*IHQ* 1928, p. 457; *JPASB*. 1909, p 183). But this theory, originally prompted by the wrong translation, noted above, has really no basis. (Cf. *IC*. V. 408-9).

of the fifth century A.D. The first two chiefs, Bhaṭārka and his son Dharasena, called themselves *Senāpati*, but their successors styled themselves *Mahārāja* or *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja*. The third king Droṇasiṁha, the younger brother of Dharasena, is said to have been invested with the rank and title of *Mahārāja* by his (Gupta) overlord, probably Budha-gupta.[1] Both Droṇasiṁha and his younger brother and successor *Mahārāja* Dhruvasena issued land-grants in the manner of independent kings, but the expression of allegiance to the paramount sovereign shows that they had not yet finally thrown off the yoke of the Guptas.

The date of the foundation of this kingdom cannot be precisely determined. The earliest land-grant of the family, so far discovered, is the one issued by *Mahārāja* Droṇasiṁha in A.D. 502. As his brother Dharasena and his father Bhaṭārka preceded him, the date of the latter cannot be placed much later than A.D. 475, and may be even somewhat earlier. As we have seen above, Parṇadatta was appointed governor of Surāshṭra in A.D. 455-56. Bhaṭārka's date may, therefore, be provisionally fixed between A.D 465 and 475.[2]

All the royal grants are issued from Valabhī which must have been the capital city. When or under what circumstances the capital was removed from Girinagara, modern Junāgadh, where Parṇadatta evidently had his headquarters, it is difficult to say. It has been suggested that the capital was removed as the bursting of the Sudarśana lake was a standing menace to its safety.[3] It is true that we have records showing that such a calamity occurred at least twice, once in A D. 150 and again in A.D. 455, but that is hardly sufficient to account for the removal of the capital, especially to such a great distance.

The extent of the kingdom of Valabhī is also uncertain. The site of the capital city is now represented by Wala or Vala (21°52′ N, 71°57′ E) in old Bhāvnagar State in Eastern Kāthiāwār Peninsula. The villages, donated in the grants of the early rulers, are all situated in the neighbouring region. But as Bhaṭārka was the governor of

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1. Cf. p. 30 There seems to be no reasonable ground to suppose that the overlord of Dronasimha could be either Toramāna or Yaśodharman, or indeed any one other than the Gupta emperor (for a discussion of this point cf. *IC*. V. 409).
2. There is a tradition current in Surāshṭra according to which, during the weak rule of Skanda-gupta, his *senāpati* Bhaṭṭāraka of the Gehloti race, whose forefathers were rulers of Ayodhyā and displaced by the Guptas, came into Surāshtra and stabilised his rule there. Two years after this Skanda-gupta died. The *senāpati* now assumed the title of king of Surāshṭra and founded the city of Valabhī-nagara (for the full story, cf. *IA*, II. 312). The clear epigraphic evidence that *Senāpati* Bhaṭārka never assumed the title of king shows what little reliance can be placed on these stories The view that Bhaṭārka issued coins in his own name rests upon a very doubtful interpretation of the coin-legends (*JRASBL*, III. Num. Suppl. p. 99).
3. *IC* V. 413-4.

Surāshṭra, it may be presumed that the kingdom carved out by his successors roughly corresponded to that province.

An unsually large number of records of this family have come to light which enable us to reconstruct the genealogy and chronology of the kings with a fair degree of certainty. But these records contain little else of historical value. Of Dhruvasena I, for example, we have no less than 16 grants, but they do not refer to a single event of historical importance.[1] We only know that he also paid at least nominal allegiance to a suzerain, presumably the Gupta overlord, and was on the throne from at least G.E. 206 to 226 (A.D. 525-545). Dhruvasena was succeeded by his younger brother *Mahārāja* Dharapaṭṭa of whom no record has yet been found. Dharapaṭṭa was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Guhasena whose known dates range between 240 (or 237) and 248 (A.D. 556 or 559 to 567). It is significant that Guhasena's grants discard the epithet '*paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*,' which was used by Dhruvasena I. This shows that the Maitraka kings no longer paid even nominal allegiance to any overlord, and indirectly confirms the supposition that this overlord was the Gupta emperor, for it is difficult to think of any other who held this position from about A.D. 475 to 550 and then ceased to do so. The final overthrow of the Imperial Gupta dynasty between A.D. 550 and 570, as noted above, fully explains the absence of all references to its suzerainty in Valabhī records since the time of Guhasena. It is probably for this reason that in later records of the family, since the time of Śilāditya I (A.D 606), the conventional genealogy of the royal family, as given in the land-grants, begins with Guhasena, descended from Bhaṭārka, the names of all the intervening rulers being omitted altogether.

Guhasena was followed by his son and grandson, Dharasena II and Śilāditya I Dharmāditya. The known dates of the former range between A.D. 571 and 590, and those of the latter between A.D. 606 and 612. A single copper-plate[2] reveals the existence of a family (called Gārulaka) of feudatory chiefs consisting of *Senāpati* Varāhadāsa I, his two sons Bhaṭṭiśūra and Varāhadāsa II, and the latter's son Siṁhāditya, the last three having the title *Sāmanta-Mahārāja*. The change in titles is analogous to that of the Maitraka chiefs themselves The grant was issued by Siṁhāditya in A.D. 574 and he was, therefore, a feudatory of Dharasena II. The grant mentions that Varāhadāsa II defeated a ruler of Dvārakā, which is on the west coast of Kāthiāwār Peninsula. It is probable that Varhāhadāsa II

1. These inscriptions give him various titles such as *Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādandanāyaka, Mahākārtākritika*
2 EI. XI 17.

fought on behalf of his overlord (Guhasena or Dharasena II). Whether this fight denotes an extension of Maitraka power to the western extremity of Surāshṭra, which was till now independent, or whether it refers to a rebellion of a feudatory, it is difficult to say. The former appears more probable, for Dharasena II, in one record, assumes the paramount title *Mahādhirāja*,[1] and this claim, perhaps, rests upon an extension of territory.

The extension of the Valabhī kingdom about this time is also perhaps indicated by a statement of Hiuen Tsang.[2] While describing Mo-la-po, he refers to its king Śīlāditya, who ruled over the country sixty years before his time. This would place the reign of Śīlāditya about A.D. 580. In spite of slight discrepancy in dates, the identity of king Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po with Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya of Valabhī may be regarded as almost certain For the Chinese pilgrim calls his contemporary ruler of Valabhī a nephew of Śīlāditya, king of Mo-la-po, and we know that Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhī in A.D. 640, was the nephew of Śīlāditya I.

If we assume this identity, we must hold that king Śīlāditya ruled over an extensive kingdom In spite of the difference of views about the location of Mo-la-po, there cannot be any doubt that it represents the name Mālava, and comprised a considerable portion of Western Mālwā.[3] We may therefore hold that towards the close of the sixth century A.D Valabhī had become the most powerful kingdom in Western India.

Hiuen Tsang pays high compliments to king Śīlāditya. He is said to be a "monarch of great administrative ability and of rare kindness and compassion " He built a Buddhist temple, "extremely artistic in structure and ornament," and held every year a "great religious assembly" to which Buddhists were summoned from all quarters From epigraphic records we know that the king had the surname Dharmāditya, and this fits in well with the description of his character by the Chinese pilgrim.

2. THE GURJARAS OF RĀJPUTĀNA

The Gurjaras came into prominence about the second half of the sixth century A.D. They, no doubt, took advantage of the downfall of the Gupta empire to establish their political authority. Their most important kingdom was that founded in the heart of Rājputāna near Jodhpur, and this region came to be called after

1. Wala Pl of year 269 (*IA.* VI. 11). In the text of the grant itself the king is given the ordinary titles *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja*, but in the royal signature he is described as *Mahādhirāja*.
2 *HTW.* II 242
3. *EHI.*[3] 323-26.

them Gūjaratrā, a variant of Gujarāt. The state, now known as Gujarāt, was not called by that name till a much later period. In addition to these two important regions called after the Gurjaras, there are other localities associated with the name of this people. We have, for example, place-names like Gujrānwāla, Gujarāt and Gujar-khān in the Punjāb. The district of Sahāranpur was also called Gujarāt in the eighteenth century, and one of the northern districts of Gwālior is still called Gujargarh.

These place-names indicate that the Gurjaras had quite a large number of settlements in different parts of the country. This inference is corroborated by the present distribution of the Gujars, who may be regarded as the modern representatives of the old Gurjaras. They are fairly numerous in the Western Himālayas, the Punjāb, the Uttar Pradesh and western Rājputāna and are also found in the hilly country beyond the Sindhu. They constitute a large part of the population of Gujarāt, but are not found to the south of the Sātpurā mountains.[1]

The origin of the Gurjaras is a subject of keen controversy. Many scholars hold the view that the Gurjaras were a foreign people who came to India along with the Hūnas, and their gradual advance from the Punjāb, through Rājputāna into Gujarāt, is marked by the various localities that still bear their name. This view is, however, contested by others who take Gurjara to be primarily the name of a country whose inhabitants were naturally known as Gurjaras. It has been suggested that the various geographical units now called Gujarāt (or allied names) were originally parts of a large homogeneous country named Gurjaradeśa under the political authority of its own kings, and while isolated fragments of it have retained the old name others have lost it [2] This view has not, however, met with general acceptance. For while there is no evidence that the mighty empire of the Pratīhāras had a common geographical name and a homogeneous character as distinguished from the rest of India, several parts of it have retained distinct names throughout the duration of that empire and even later. The various localities clearly associated in old times with the name Gurjara, and the present geographical distribution of the people called Gujars, undoubtedly favour the view that the term primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from them. The Mālavas offer an

1 The topics dealt with in the first two paras have been fully discussed with references in *JDL* X 1 ff. For the settlement of the Gujars in Upper Swāt, cf Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, pp 150-51.

2 *JDL* X 1 ff K M Munshi, *The Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa*, Part III, pp 1 ff. *IHQ*, X 337, 613, XI 167; XIII 137, *IC* I. 510, IV 113; *JBROS* XXIV. 221.

exact analogy to the Gurjaras in this respect. But though we can be more or less sure that the Gurjaras were originally the name of a people, there is no definite evidence that they were foreigners, and came to India in historical times in the wake of the Hūṇas, the Kushāṇas or other foreign hordes. Their sudden rise into prominence in the sixth century A.D., and the attempt of some of their royal dynasties to fabricate a mythical origin, no doubt, lend colour to this view. But these cannot be relied upon as definite evidence, and we may cite analogous instances of the Kalachuris and the Chandellas. On the whole, this question must be left open till more definite evidence is available.[1]

The earliest Gurjara kingdom, known so far, is that founded by Harichandra[2] in the modern Jodhpur State in Rājputāna, about the middle of the sixth century A.D Harichandra was a Brāhmaṇa, versed in the Vedas and other *śāstras* He had two wives. The sons born of his Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratīhāra Brāhmaṇas, while those born of his Kshatriya wife became the founders of the royal line of the Pratīhāras. It is significant that the Kshatriya wife Bhadrā is called queen while no such royal epithet is given to his Brāhmana wife It seems that Harichandra followed peaceful Brahmanical pursuits in his early life, but when, after the fall of the Gupta empire and of the empires of Mihirakula and Yaśodharman, Northern India presented a favourable field for military enterprise, he gave up the *śāstras* (scriptures) for the *śastra* (arms), as many others have done both before and after him. He proved successful and founded a kingdom. He had four sons by queen Bhadrā, *viz* Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda They conquered and fortified Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor, five miles to the north of Jodhpur) which presumably became their capital. The four sons of Harichandra are described as fit to hold the earth, and this probably implies that each of them ruled over a separate principality. But we do not know anything about the first two The third Rajjila ruled in Māṇḍavyapura He was succeeded by his son Narabhaṭa and the latter by his son Nāgabhaṭa, who fixed his permanent capital at Meḍantaka (probably Merta, 70 miles north-east of Jodhpur). Harichandra and his three successors, mentioned above, probably ruled between *c.* A D. 550 and 640. Eight more generations of this family, comprising ten kings, ruled during the next two hundred years and their history will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

1 The whole question has recently been discussed by the present writer in K. M. *Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume*, Part II, pp 1-18

2 The account that follows is based mainly on the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka (*EI.* XVIII. 87 ff). Cf. also *JDL* X. 1 ff.

3. THE GURJARAS OF NĀNDĪPURĪ[1]

In addition to the kingdom in Rājputāna, there was another principality in the region round Broach ruled over by Gurjara chiefs. The four earliest records of the family, dated between A.D. 629 and 641, were issued by a king named Dadda II Praśāntarāga, son of Vītarāga Jayabhaṭa I, and grandson of Dadda I. It appears from these records that his principality extended from the river Mahi in the north to the Kim in the south, and from the sea-coast in the west to the borders of Mālwā and Khāndesh on the east As all the grants were issued from Nāndīpurī, that was probably the capital of the family. It has been identified by Bühler with Broach and by Bhagwanlal Indraji with Nāndod, situated on the Karjan river in the Rājpipla State.[2]

As Dadda I is expressly said to have been born in the family of the Gurjara kings, and must have flourished in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D., he may reasonably be identified with Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, the founder of the main Gurjara family mentioned above. As noted above, all the four sons of Harichandra are described as fit to bear the burdens of the earth, and it is very likely that while the third son Rajjila ruled near Jodhpur, the three other sons also established separate principalities. In addition to the kingdom of Broach we hear of another Gurjara kingdom in Mālwā, with its capital at Avanti, at a somewhat later date, and as the rulers called themselves Pratīhāras they might have been descended from one of the sons of Harichandra It is however, difficult to say whether Dadda I himself advanced as far as Broach, for we do not know whether the vast intervening region was conquered by the Gurjaras Besides, as we shall see later, the territory over which this dynasty ruled was included in the dominions of the Kalachuri kings Śankaragana and Buddharāja. If, therefore, we hold that Dadda I founded this principality in the last quarter of the sixth century A D. we must suppose that he or his son lost it or became feudatories of the Kalachuris The probability, therefore, is that Dadda I founded a principality somewhere in southern Rājputāna and it was only after the collapse of the Kalachuri power that he or his son occupied Broach and the district around it. It is not improbable that the Gurjaras sought the aid of Pulakeśin and voluntarily submitted to him in order to overpower the Kalachuris. It is probably by this means that the Gurjaras occupied their territories in Gujarāt not long after A.D. 610, and

1 BG I. Part II, p 313, *Bh List*, Nos 1209-13
2 BG. I. Part II, p 314, f.n 6. Indraji's view is now generally accepted.

eventually Mālwā, or at least a large portion of it, also passed into their hands.

Dadda I is said to have overthrown some hostile Nāgas, and it is therefore likely that he carved out a principality by ejecting some branch of the Nāga tribe. Dadda and his successors are called *Sāmantas* or feudatories, and no royal titles are given them in their records. On the other hand, these Grants do not refer to any paramount sovereign. It may be presumed, therefore, that they owed allegiance to the main Gurjara ruling family in Rājputāna or to the Chālukyas.

4 THE MAUKHARIS

Maukhari is the name of a very ancient family or clan. The name was probably known to Pānini A clay-seal of the clan belonging to the Maurya period has been found at Gayā. A Maukhari general is referred to in an inscription dated A.D. 239 found in Kotah State in Rājputāna. Four inscriptions[1] engraved on stone *yūpas* (sacrificial pillars) show that there were several Maukhari families in this locality during the third century A D When later they came to be a great power, the Maukharis claimed to be descended from Aśvapati, referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as king of Madra in the Central Punjāb It would thus appear that the Maukharis were widely spread over Northern India at a very early period

In the sixth century A D a Maukhari family ruled in the neighbourhood of Gayā Three kings of this family are known from three inscriptions found in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hills in the Gayā District These are Yajña-varman, his son Śārdūla-varman and the latter's son Ananta-varman They were all feudatories to the Guptas Ananta-varman, in whose reign all the three inscriptions were engraved, flourished at the time of the decline of the Gupta empire For his records do not refer to the paramount sovereign, although they describe his grandfather as a feudatory chief. Nothing further is known of this family and their rule may be placed in the first half of the sixth century A.D. or perhaps a little earlier.

Another branch of the Maukharis, who ultimately became more powerful, is known from several seals and inscriptions. The royal seals give us the following genealogy:—

1. *Mahārāja* Hari-varman = Jayasvāminī
2. *Mahārāja* Āditya-varman = Harshaguptā
3. *Mahārāja* Īśvara-varman = Upaguptā
4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Īśāna-varman = Lakshmīvatī

1 *EI*, XXIII, 42; XXIV, 251

5 *Mahārājādhirāja* Śarva-varman = Indrabhaṭṭārikā
6 *Mahārājādhirāja* Avanti-varman =
7 *Mahārājādhirāja* Su —

The distinction between the titles given to the first three kings and the rest leaves no doubt that the reign of Īśāna-varman marked the rise of the family to power and prestige. As all the inscriptions of the family, other than the small seals, and their coins have been found within the limits of the modern province of U P, we may regard it roughly as the seat of their power. Fortunately, we possess a date of Īśāna-varman which is generally taken to be equivalent to A D 554 There can thus be hardly any doubt that the three predecessors of Īśāna-varman were feudatories of the Gupta empire and flourished during the first half of the sixth century A D, and probably somewhat earlier It would thus follow that the Maukhari families ruled as feudatory chiefs in S Bihār and U P since the time of Budha-gupta and the decline of the power of the Imperial Guptas, early in the sixth century A D, gave them an opportunity to assert their independence Although we have vague references to the military campaigns carried on far and wide by these Maukhari kings, we do not know anything definite of their history until we come to the reign of Īśāna-varman He claims to have defeated the Andhras, Sūlikas and the Gauḍas These probably refer respectively to the Vishṇu-kuṇḍins,[1] the Sulkis of Orissa[2] and some ruling powers of Bengal These conquests indicate extensive military campaigns and great power Īśāna-varman was thus fully justified in assuming the title *Mahārājādhirāja*. He was the first in his family to assume this imperial title and to issue coins It is, therefore, very likely that he was the first Maukhari king to set up an independent kingdom and establish the power of the family As one of his known dates is A D 554 his rise to power almost coincides with the downfall of the Gupta empire and may be the cause or effect of this event, or perhaps both to a certain extent.

The Later Guptas, who came into prominence about the same time, and due to the same circumstances, challenged the power of the Maukharis There was a protracted struggle between the two for the remnants of the Gupta empire and, as will be narrated later, the Maukhari king Īśāna-varman was defeated by Kumāra-gupta and probably also by Dāmodara-gupta

Very little is known of the history of the Maukharis after Īśāna-varman Reference will be made later to their struggle with the

1 See Ch XI, C 1(2).
2 Cf Vol IV, Ch IV, III 3
3 Probably the kings mentioned on p 77.

Later Guptas. Although they do not always seem to have met with great success, there is some evidence of the occupation of Magadha or a part of it by the next two kings Śarva-varman and Avanti-varman. The Maukhari rulers must have been fairly powerful throughout the latter half of the sixth century A.D. This follows not only from the imperial titles assumed by both the kings, but also from the eulogistic expressions used by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the *Harsha-charita*. He remarks that the 'Maukharis stand at the head of all royal houses, and Avanti-varman is the pride of that race.'[1] Even allowing for poetic exaggerations, particularly when the occasion was a matrimonial alliance of his patron's family with the Maukharis, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's eulogy undoubtedly conveys the idea that the Maukhari rulers enjoyed great power and distinction up to the beginning of the seventh century A.D It may also be noted in this connection that Bāṇa, in his other work *Kādambarī*, mentions with pride that the feet of his *guru* were worshipped by the Maukhari kings [2]

As mentioned above, either Īśāna-varman or his son Śarva-varman fought with the Hūṇas and defeated them. There is no doubt that both Śarva-varman and his son Avanti-varman were powerful kings and ruled over considerable territory. But it is difficult to form even an approximate idea of its limits To judge from the findspots of coins and inscriptions, the kingdom seems to have corresponded roughly to the present Uttar Pradesh It also included portions of Magadha. The view that Asirgadh in the Nimār District (Madhya Pradesh) was a 'Maukhari outpost in the Deccan' has nothing to commend itself.[3] The theory that the Maukhari dominion extended up to the Sutlej in the west also rests on very insufficient grounds.[4] Kanauj seems to have been the capital

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1 Cowell and Thomas, *HC* 122   2 Introductory Verse 4

3 T G Aravamuthan argues "that the fortress of Asirgadh fell into the hands of the Maukharis" as "no other suggestion explains, at any rate, how Śarva-varman's seal could have migrated to Asirgadh" (*Kaveri, Maukharis and Sangam Age*, pp. 96-97). It is well known, however, that even copper-plates, not to speak of small portable objects like a seal, can be easily carried to distant places There is also a great deal of doubt whether the seal was actually found at Asirgadh. Fleet says that an impression of the seal was found at Asirgadh in a box containing property of the *Mahārāja* Sindhia. As regards the seal he remarks "It is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it." Thus what was found at Asirgadh was not the seal, but a box of *Mahārāja* Sindhia containing an impression of the seal As Asirgadh at the time belonged to Sindhia, we can easily believe that the box was taken there from other parts of his dominions in Northern India. There is thus hardly any ground, even to presume that Asirgadh formed part of the dominions of the Maukharis

4 This view rests upon a copper-plate grant found at Nirmand, a village on the right bank of the upper course of the Sutlej, in the Kāngra District (31° 25′ N, 77° 38′ E) (*CII*. III. 288). It refers to lands formerly granted by *Mahārāja* Śarva-varman to a temple in this neighbourhood If this Śarva-varman is identical with the Maukhari king of that name, the latter must have extended

of the Maukhari kingdom, at least in the time of Avanti-varman and his son, but of this too we have no positive evidence.[1]

Many dated coins of Īśāna-varman, Śarva-varman and Avanti-varman have come to light. Unfortunately the numerical figures are very uncertain, and widely divergent readings have been proposed by different scholars.[2] So it is impossible to form any definite conclusions from them. Some scholars have read the dates 257, 234, and 250 on coins respectively of Īśāna-varman, Śarva-varman and Avanti-varman, while another scholar has read the same figures as 257, 258, and 260. Assuming these to be correct, and referring them to the Gupta era, we get A.D. 576-7 for Īśāna-varman, A D 577-8 for Śarva-varman and A.D 579-80 for Avanti-varman. The last two dates may be tentatively accepted and cannot be very far from truth. For it may be reasonably inferred from the *Harsha-charita* that Avanti-varman had died and his eldest son Graha-varman was on the throne some time before A D. 606 If we accept the date A D. 576 for Īśāna-varman, he must have ruled from c A D 550 to 576, and Sarva-vaman had a very short rule between A.D. 576 and 580. We may thus provisionally accept the following chronological table·—

Īśāna-varman	—	c A D 550-576[3]
Śarva-varman	—	c A D 576-580
Avanti-varman	—	c A D. 580-600

There is some uncertainty regarding the successor of Avanti-varman In Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*, king Prabhākara-vardhana tells his queen that 'Graha-varman, the eldest son of Avanti-varman, seeks our daughter.'[4] Later, we are told that an envoy extraordinary had arrived with instructions from Graha-varman to sue for the hand of princess Rājyaśrī[5] These references make it clear that

his authority to this region There is, however, nothing to support this identification, except the similarity of the name It is not impossible, however, that the Maukhari king might have advanced so far in course of his campaign against the Hūnas In that case we must suppose that the ruler of the intervening principality of Thāneswar was either subordinate to the Maukharis or formed an alliance with them against their common foe, the Hūnas But we cannot arrive at such important conclusions from a doubtful identification based merely on a common name Cf *POC*, XV 298

1 The story of Rājyaśrī, as narrated by Bāna, makes it highly probable that Kanauj was the capital of her kingdom The same conclusion follows from Hiuen Tsang's story of Harsha-vardhana. The whole question has been thoroughly discussed by Dr Tripathi (*Kanauj*, pp 32-35)

2 These have been summarised and discussed by Dr Tripathi (*Kanauj*, pp 55 ff).

3 We learn from the Haraha Ins that Īśāna-varman had a son called Sūrya-varman, but there is no evidence that he ever came to the throne The identification of this prince with the king of that name mentioned in the Sirur Ins. rests on very insufficient grounds (cf EI XXIV 284, where full references are given for different views)

4 Cowell and Thomas, *HC*, pp 122-3 5 *Ibid*, p 123

Graha-varman, the eldest son of Avanti-varman, had succeeded his father before he married Rājyaśrī in or shortly before A.D. 606.[1]

But according to a Nālandā seal[2] the son and successor of Avanti-varman is certainly not Graha-varman. Though, on account of the damaged state of the seal, the name cannot be read in full, its first letter is undoubtedly *Su* and the second probably *va* or *cha*. In any case it cannot be the first part of Graha-varman. This raises a difficult problem. The omission of Graha-varman's name in the seal does not, of course, conclusively prove that he did not reign, or even that he did not succeed his father, and in view of Bāṇa's positive statement we may reject these views. It would then follow that king Suva (?). who issued the seal was a younger brother of Graha-varman and succeeded him.[3] Even this is opposed to the view generally held about the history of Kanauj after the tragic death of Graha-varman But this problem will be discussed in connection with Harsh-vardhana We may close the history of the Maukharis with the happy event of the marriage of Graha-varman and Rājyaśrī of which Bāna has given such a picturesque account

This marriage was rightly regarded as 'uniting the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhūti and Mukhara.'[4] But little could one foresee at the time all the consequences of this fateful alliance. For seldom did a royal marriage bring in its train so much tragedy as well as so much glory and power.

GENERAL REFERENCES

INSCRIPTIONS AND SEALS

(i) Fleet—*CII* III Nos 47-51
(ii) Haraha Ins—*EI* XIV 110
(iii) Nālandā Seal *EI* XXIV 284

MODERN TEXTS

1 R S Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Ch II
2 R G Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, Ch. V
3. E Pires, *The Maukharis*
For certain views about the Maukharis which rest on very insufficient data and have not therefore been discussed above, cf *NIA*, II. 354; *POC*, VII. 569; *Woolner Comm. Volume*, p 116

1 It has been doubted whether Graha-varman ever came to the throne (*EI.* XXIV. 284 fn 8). But the passages quoted above from *Harsha-charita*, as well as subsequent references, seem to be decisive on this point.
2 *EI.* XXIV. 284-5
3. *Mañjuśri-Mūla-Kalpa* indicates that Graha(varman) was succeeded by Suvra(?), which may be the name mentioned in the Nālandā seal (Suva ?) According to *MMK* the dynasty declined and lost regal status after Suvra (*MMK*, p. 626):
Iśāna-sarva paṅktiścha graha-surva-tathāparah,
Tataste luptarājānah bhrashṭamaryāda sarvadā
Jayaswal emends the first line as follows —
Iśāna-sarvāvantiścha graha-suvrata(a)th=āparah, thus taking 'Suvrata' as the name of the successor of Graha(varman).—*IHIJ*, pp. 27, 45. This, however, violates the metre. Dr N P Chakravarti suggests the restoration of the last part of the seal as *Śri-Sucha(ndravarmmā Maukharih)* (*EI*, XXIV. 284. f n. 6).
4 Cowell and Thomas, *HC*, p 128.

5. THE LATER GUPTAS

The history of the Later Guptas is similar in many respects to that of the Maukharis. They too were at first feudatory to the Imperial Guptas, and came into prominence and asserted their independence about the same time as the Maukharis. An inscription found at Aphsad, near Gayā,[1] gives the following genealogy of the early kings of this dynasty.—

1. Kṛishṇa-gupta
2. Harsha-gupta
3. Jīvita-gupta
4. Kumāra-gupta
5. Dāmodara-gupta
6. Mahāsena-gupta
7. Mādhava-gupta
8. Āditya-sena

Although no royal title is given to any of these, Krishna-gupta is called a *nṛipa* (king) and similar epithets are applied to his successors.

We do not know for certain which member of this family was the first to set up as an independent king The Aphsad inscription describes in very general and conventional terms the military achievements of the first three kings The third king is said to have carried his arms to the Himālaya mountains as well as to the sea. But there is nothing to show whether these campaigns were undertaken by the Later Gupta rulers as feudatories on behalf of their suzerains, or as independent chiefs The former, however, appears more probable

More details are available about the next king Kumāra-gupta He defeated the Maukhari king Īśāna-varman, who is described as 'a very moon of kings' Kumāra-gupta's success must have paved the way for the rise in the fortunes of his family When we remember that there is no reference in any record to a Gupta emperor after A D. 543, we may well believe that from the time of Kumāra-gupta, if not before, the Later Guptas had, to all intents and purposes, assumed an independent position That the success attained by Kumāra-gupta was both great and permanent is proved by the fact, recorded in the Aphsad inscription, that he had advanced up to Prayāga where he died, and that his son Dāmodara-gupta again defeated the Mauhkaris, though he was probably killed or was seriously wounded in the battle [2]

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1 *CII*, III 200

2 Fleet's translation of the passage conveying the idea that the king died in the fight, is generally accepted Mr K C Chattopadhyaya, however, argues that

There is no reason to discredit these claims, particularly as the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over their opponents. Whether the Maukhari king defeated by Dāmodara-gupta was Īśāna-varman or his son is difficult to say. But there seems to be little doubt that the Later Guptas had by then strongly established themselves both in Mālwā as well as in the eastern parts of the Gupta empire. For Mahāsena-gupta, the son of Dāmodara-gupta, carried his victorious arms as far as the Lauhita or Brahmaputra, and defeated Susthita-varman, the king of Kāmarūpa or Assam.

In spite of uncertainties regarding the original home of the Later Gupta kings, to which reference will be made later, we are on comparatively safe ground regarding the extent of Mahāsena-gupta's dominions. He is described as the king of Mālava in the *Harsha-charita*,[1] and his victory on the banks of the Brahmaputra is vouched for by the Aphsad Inscription. We must, therefore, hold that he succeeded in bringing under his sway, at least for some time, the extensive dominions from Mālava to Bengal Reference may be made in this connection to two foreign invasions of Magadha and adjoining regions about this time According to the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription, the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman, who ruled from A D 567 to 597, defeated, among others, the kings of Anga, Vaṅga and Magadha.[2] We also know from the chronicles of Tibet that its powerful king Sron-btsan, who ruled between A D. 581 and 600, led a victorious campaign to Central India, a term which usually denotes Bihār and sometimes also U.P.[3] The exact date and details of these campaigns, and whether they were merely vain boasts or based upon historical fact, it is difficult to determine.[4] It is not unlikely that the brunt of the alleged victorious campaigns of the Tibetan and Chālukya kings had really been borne by the Maukharis, and that this paved the way for the triumphant march of Mahāsena-gupta up to the Brahmaputra. On the other hand, if we suppose that Mahāsena-gupta was really master of Magadha and

the passage does not refer to Dāmodara-gupta's death, but only speaks of his swoon and of his subsequent awakening, i e regaining of consciousness (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp 191 ff) He has also pointed out that the inscription refers to the victory, and not defeat, of Dāmodara-gupta, as supposed by Dr Basak (*HNI*, 123)

1 Kumāra-gupta and Mādhava-gupta, who were appointed to wait upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, are referred to as sons of the king of Mālava (Cowell and Thomas, *HC* 119) As Mādhava-gupta has been identified with the Later Gupta king of that name it would follow that his father Mahāsena-gupta was king of Mālava

2 *IA* XIX 7

3. Lévi, *Nepal*, II. 147 ff.

4 Fleet regards Kīrtivarman's claim, in respect of the distant kingdoms of Bengal and Bihār, as a mere boast (*Bomb Gaz.* Vol I, Part II, p 346)

Northern Bengal, he might have been worsted in these campaigns if at all they took place.

But whatever view we might take, there is no doubt that Mahāsena-gupta, who seemed to have revived to some extent the glory of the Guptas, soon fell on evil days. As we have seen above,[1] the Maitraka king Śīlāditya I of Valabhī conquered a considerable portion of Western Mālwā, the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragana was also in possession of Ujjayinī in the year A D 595.[2] Thus pressed by two powerful enemies, Mahāsena-gupta lost his hold over Mālava. At the same time, evidently taking advantage of his distress, Śaśānka, who was probably a feudatory of Mahāsena-gupta, asserted his independence in Gauḍa (N and W. Bengal)

The fate of Mahāsena-gupta, whose brilliant career ended so tragically, is not definitely known His two sons Kumāra-gupta and Mādhava-gupta found shelter at the court of king Prabhākara-vardhana of Thāneswar, whose mother Mahāsena-guptā as the name shows, was probably a sister of king Mahāsena-gupta. The two young princes became attendants of Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, the two sons of Prabhākara-vardhana

There are good grounds to believe that one Deva-gupta soon became king of Mālava, or at least a part of it [3] A king of this name is mentioned in the records of Harsha-vardhana as being prominent among the hostile kings whose evil career was checked by Rājya-vardhana Rājya-vardhana is also known from the *Harsha-charita* to have defeated the Mālava-lord who invaded his sister's dominions and threatened his own As the two young princes with their names ending in Gupta, who waited upon Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, are explicitly referred to as sons of the king of Mālava, and as the Guptas are thus definitely associated with this kingdom there is a strong presumption in favour of identifying Deva-gupta of Harsha's inscriptions with the wicked lord of Mālava, mentioned in the *Harsha-charita*, who was defeated by Rājya-vardhana according to both these authorities [4]

Deva-gupta's relationship with Mahāsena-gupta is not known. Evidently, when following the defeat and death of the latter, his two young sons (the elder of whom was less than 18 at the time) had

1 See p 63. 2 See below Ch XI

3 It has been suggested by Dr Tripathi that Mālava at this time denoted only Eastern Mālwā corresponding to the Bhilsa District (*Kanauj*, p 46), but Dr D C Ganguly argues that there is no authority for taking Mālava in this restricted sense about this period (*JBORS* XIX, 399-400)

4 This view is opposed by Dr D C Ganguly (*op cit.* 407 fn) but supported by Dr H C Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*[5] 607).

sought refuge with Prabhākara-vardhana, Deva-gupta, probably a member of a collateral branch,[1] re-established the Gupta power in Mālava. The recovery of the kingdom was perhaps facilitated by the defeat inflicted upon the Kalachuri king Buddharāja by the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, some time before A.D. 602.[2] The northern advance of the Chālukya king up to the river Kim, or perhaps even to the Mahi, must have had repercussions in the political atmosphere of Mālava and the neighbouring regions, and Deva-gupta perhaps seized the opportunity to recover Mālava. It appears that he virtually recognized the independence of Śaśāṅka and formed an alliance with him. It is also not unlikely that Deva-gupta himself played some part in the downfall of Mahāsena-gupta, though there is no evidence to support this view.

The later history of this dynasty will be related in a separate chapter. But it will be convenient to discuss here the vexed question of the locality over which it originally ruled. As will be shown later, Ādityasena, the grandson of Mahāsena-gupta, ruled in Magadha, and so did all his successors The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena gives a continuous account of the whole dynasty from the very beginning up to his reign, without indicating in any way that it had migrated from a different place. It may, therefore, be presumed that Magadha was the kingdom over which the dynasty ruled from the beginning It has been suggested on the other hand, that all the kings down to Mahāsena-gupta ruled in Mālava, and it was only at a later period that his successors ruled in Magadha.[3] The principal argument in favour of this view is the fact that Kumāra-gupta and Mādhava-gupta, the attendants of Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, are referred to in the *Harsha-charita* as sons of the king of Mālava. This Mādhava-gupta is generally identified with the king of that name in the Later Gupta dynasty, who was the son of Mahāsena-gupta, and is referred to in the Aphsad Inscription in such a way as to indicate his close association with Harsha. If we accept this identity, we must presume that Mahāsena-gupta was a ruler of Mālava But this cannot be taken to disprove that he was the ruler of Magadha. For as he carried on his victorious expedition to the bank of the Brahmaputra, he must have been in possession of Magadha and Gauḍa. What seems most likely, therefore, is that he had to take shelter in Mālava when he had lost his eastern territories, as described above. Although this cannot be definitely proved, the alternative assumption, that he was the ruler of Mālava and con-

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1 It has been suggested that Deva-gupta was the eldest son of Mahāsena-gupta, but this is very doubtful (*JRAS* 1903, p. 562; *PHAI*[5] p 608, fn. 1)
2 See below Ch. XI.
3 *JBORS*, XIX 402.

quered all the eastern territories up to the Brahmaputra, is open to more serious objection. It is to be noted that an inscription of Kāmarūpa refers to a victory of the forces of Gauḍa which must have taken place almost immediately after the victorious campaign of Mahāsena-gupta. It may be presumed, therefore, that Mahāsena-gupta was regarded as king of Gauḍa rather than that of Mālava. As Śaśānka, who ruled over Gauḍa and Magadha immediately after Mahāsena-gupta, is also known as lord of Gauḍa, it is very likely that the latter ruled over Magadha and Gauḍa which were conquered by Śaśānka. Thus although it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion, it seems very reasonable to regard the Later Guptas as rulers of Gauḍa and Magadha with suzerainty over Mālava In other words, they came into possession of those parts of the Gupta dominions which had not been formed into independent kingdoms and were, so to say, the residuary legatees of the Gupta empire

This does not, however, necessarily imply that the Later Guptas were descended from the Imperial Guptas. The similarity of the name endings, the common names like Kumāra-gupta and Deva-gupta, and the fact that the Later Guptas came into immediate possession of a large part of the dominions of the Imperial Guptas, no doubt favour such a supposition, and it has even been suggested that Kṛishna-gupta, the founder of the dynasty, was identical with Govinda-gupta, a son of Chandra-gupta II whom we know from a Basārh seal and an inscription But there is not enough evidence to support this identification On the other hand, we should remember that not even the slightest hint of any such relationship is given in the records of the Later Guptas It is difficult to believe that the court-poets of the Later Guptas would have missed such a splendid opportunity of glorifying their patrons if they had the least claim to such an illustrious lineage

6. BENGAL

Two independent kingdoms arose in Bengal on the ruins of the Gupta empire [1] The first, which comprised the Southern and Eastern, as also a part of Western Bengal, was founded in the first half of the sixth century A D Six copper-plate grants have preserved the names of three kings of this dynasty, *viz.* Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, but very little is known about any of them They all assumed the title *Mahārājādhirāja,* and at least one of them, Samāchāradeva, issued gold coins, one type of which resembled that of the last Gupta emperors.

1 For full discussions with references, cf *HBR* 51 ff.

One *Mahārāja* Vijayasena is referred to as an influential feudatory chief and a high official in the grants of both Vainya-gupta and Gopachandra. It is quite likely that the same person is meant, though this cannot be definitely proved. If we assume this identity, we may hold that the Gupta rule in Lower Bengal ended immediately after Vaniya-gupta, and an independent kingdom was founded there by Gopachandra not long after A.D. 507.

As noted above, the Imperial Guptas maintained their hold over Northern Bengal till as late as A.D. 543. Whether they made any effort to reconquer Lower Bengal is not definitely known, but the fight of Jīvita-gupta against the people on the sea-coast and the boast of Īśāna-varman that he forced the Gauḍas 'to take shelter in the sea', probably refer to their attempts, on behalf of the empire, to bring back this province under the imperial authority, at least in name; for the real authority would probably have passed into the hands of the Maukharis or the Later Guptas

But the newly-founded kingdom maintained its independence. Gopachandra ruled for at least 18 years, and was probably followed by Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, but nothing is definitely known about their relationship, dates, or order of succession. Samāchāradeva, who ruled for at least 14 years, assumed the title Narendrāditya on his coins, evidently following the well-known Gupta tradition. These three kings may be referred to the period A D. 525-575. A large number of gold coins—crude and debased imitations of the Gupta type—found in different parts of Eastern Bengal prove the existence of other kings in this locality who evidently ruled later Of the kings who issued these coins, the names of only two can be read with some degree of certainty, *viz* Pṛithuvīra and Sudhanyāditya All of them may be referred to the sixth and seventh centuries A D., but it is not known whether they belonged to the older line of kings. Nor can we say how far the kingdom was affected by the alleged victorious campaigns of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman and the Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan referred to above.

The new kingdom may be called Vaṅga For, from this period, Gauḍa and Vaṅga came to denote the two prominent political divisions of Bengal Roughly speaking, the former comprised the Northern and Western, and the latter, the Southern and Eastern Bengal, though the terms were sometimes loosely used and the boundaries of each varied at different times. The old name Samataṭa, denoting Eastern Bengal, did not, however, go out of use. According to Hiuen Tsang, Śīlabhadra, the head of the Nālandā University in his time, was a scion of the Brahmanical royal family

of Samataṭa. Whether this ruling family was connected with the kings mentioned above, we cannot say.

Nothing is known of the political condition of Gauḍa immediately after the fall of the Gupta empire. As has been suggested above, it was probably under the Later Guptas till the reign of Mahāsena-gupta, who flourished towards the close of the sixth century A D. His reign, as noted above, ended in a sea of troubles, and an independent kingdom was set up in Gauda by Śaśāṅka.

Of the early life of Śaśānka[1] and the circumstances under which he occupied the throne of Gauda, we possess no definite information. A seal-matrix cut in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtāsgarh records the name of "Srī-Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅka", *i e* the illustrious great feudatory chief Saśāṅka It is generally held that this Śaśāṅka is identical with Śaśāṅka, king of Gauda If this identity is to be presumed, we must hold that Śaśāṅka began his career as a feudal chief, presumably under Mahāsena-gupta[2] The view that he was also known as Narendra-gupta is based on very insufficient data, and there is hardly any justification for the belief that he was connected with the Guptas, far less that he was the son or nephew of Mahāsena-gupta[3] Śaśānka is referred to as king of Gauda both by Bāṇabhatta and Hiuen Tsang His capital-city, Karnasuvarna, cannot be identified with absolute certainty, but it is most probably represented today by the ruins at Rāngāmāti, six miles south-west of Berhampore in the Murshidābād District[4]

Some time before the rise of Śaśāṅka, the Māna dynasty had established a kingdom in the hilly region between Midnapore and Gayā Districts. In course of time, this dynasty extended its dominion up to Orissa Śambhuyaśas, a king or a feudatory chief of this family, was ruling over Orissa in A D 580 and probably also in A D 603 Śaśāṅka presumably defeated this king or his successor and made himself master of Dandabhukti, Utkala and Kongoda, corresponding roughly to Midnapore and Northern and Southern Orissa For we possess records of his officers and feudatory chiefs who governed these provinces The Śailodbhava dynasty, which ruled over Koṅgoda or Southern Orissa acknowledged the suzerainty of Śaśānka at least up to A D 619, but later set up an independent kingdom which had a long history

1 *Ibid* 59 I, 71 ff
2 The view that he was a feudatory of the Maukharis (*IHQ* XII 457) is based on the assumption that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over Magadha right up to the time of Śaśānka's accession This, as shown above, is highly doubtful
3 *PHAI*[4] 514 fn 3
4 *JASB* LXIII (1894), Part I 172
5 See later in this chapter, under Orissa

Thus Śaśāṅka not only freed Gauḍa from the yoke of the Later Guptas, but also extended his suzerainty almost as far south as the *Mahendragiri mountain in Ganjām District. No positive evidence is available regarding the extent of his authority in Bengal, but it stands to reason that he had brought the whole of Bengal under his sway before embarking upon his southern expedition and the still* more ambitious military enterprise to the west which forms the most remarkable episode in his career. In the course of this expedition, he first conquered the whole of Magadha and probably even Banaras, and then proceeded against the Maukharis which involved him presently in a fight with the Pushpabhūtis of Thāneswar.

The account of Śaśāṅka's military campaign against the Maukhari and Pushpabhūti dynasties has been preserved by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his "Life of Harsha" to which detailed reference will be made later. Here we only note some general conclusions which may be reasonably deduced from this account.

It appears that Śaśāṅka formed an alliance with Deva-gupta, king of Mālava, against Graha-varman, the Maukhari ruler of Kanauj The Maukharis were enemies of Gauḍa since the time of Īśāna-varman and had been carrying on a bitter struggle with the Later Guptas for generations Śaśāṅka, king of Gauda, probably therefore, made common cause with the Later Gupta king of Mālava against the Maukharis, their common enemy. The marriage of Rājyaśrī with the Maukhari king naturally led to an alliance between the kingdoms of Thāneswar and Kanauj and thereby strengthened the latter, and Śaśāṅka's alliance with Deva-gupta may be regarded as a counterpoise to this new union Although details are lacking, there is no doubt that the enterprise of Śaśāṅka and Deva-gupta was completely successful They advanced against Kanauj, killed king Graha-varman, captured the city, and imprisoned queen Rājyaśrī All these momentous events happened in quick succession, and probably within an incredibly short period One of the causes of this brilliant and sweeping success seems to be that king Prabhākara-vardhana died at this critical moment after a brief illness It is not unlikely that Śaśāṅka and Deva-gupta had deliberately planned the invasion of the Maukhari kingdom at this time, knowing full well that there was little possibility of any immediate military support coming from Thāneswar Perhaps with the same object in view they made a sudden dash against Kanauj. The Maukharis were evidently taken by surprise, for no inkling of this invasion had reached Thāneswar before the Maukhari king was actually killed, and his kingdom lay prostrate before the enemy.

Immediately after the defeat and death of Graha-varman, Deva-gupta probably marched against Thāneswar, leaving Śaśāṅka to follow him after having settled affairs in Kanauj. On his way he met his doom at the hands of the new king Rājya-vardhana who was proceeding in hot haste from Thāneswar to the rescue of his sister. But Rājya-vardhana's success was short-lived. He soon had to confront Śaśāṅka and lost his life at the hands of the latter. His army, unable to retrieve the disaster, retreated to Thāneswar, and Śaśāṅka remained master of the situation In the meantime Rājyaśrī, who was imprisoned in Kānyakubja during the Gauḍa trouble, was released through the action of a nobleman named Gupta, but hearing the news of Rājya-vardhana's death, she refused to take food and wandered miserably in the Vindhya forest When this news reached Harsha-vardhana he swore eternal vengeance against the king of Gauḍa and ordered an army to proceed against him He himself, however, went in search of his sister and met her while she was about to mount the funeral pile in utter despair Having thus rescued his sister, Harsha rejoined his army on the bank of the Gaṅgā Bāṇa's account abruptly ends here

Thus, so far as Bāṇa's narrative is concerned, Śaśāṅka is left at the zenith of his glory Harsha-vardhana, we are told, led an expedition against him, but about its further progress, after Harsha joined it on his return from Vindhya forest, we know nothing A mediaeval Buddhist Chronicle, *Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa*, mentions an expedition of Harsha against Śaśāṅka in course of which he advanced as far as Northern Bengal, but had to return without doing much injury to his enemy The authenticity of this chronicle is, however, very doubtful

Whether Śaśāṅka ever met Harsha-vardhana on the battlefield cannot be definitely known But it does not appear that his power was curbed by Harsha to any considerable extent As noted above, even as late as A.D 619 he was referred to as the suzerain authority by the Śailodbhava king of Southern Orissa According to Hiuen Tsang's own testimony, Śaśāṅka was in possession of Magadha at the time of his death which probably took place not long before A.D 637-8 For, while travelling in Magadha in that year, Hiuen Tsang noted that only a little while previously Śaśāṅka had cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā and ordered the removal of an image of Buddha from a neighbouring temple These and other stories of persecution of Buddhism by Śaśāṅka cannot be accepted as true, without independent testimony. Besides, the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the capital-city of Śaśāṅka, as described by Hiuen Tsang, is hardly

compatible with the view that he was a religious bigot and a cruel persecutor of Buddhism.

Although we do not know enough facts to form an accurate estimate of the character and achievements of Śaśāṅka, he must be regarded as the first great king of Bengal. He had not only made Gauḍa an independent state, but extended its authority over the whole of southern Bihār and Orissa. He even made a bold bid for the empire of Northern India. He thus laid the foundations of that policy on which the Pālas later built up their vast empire. If he had had a friendly biographer like Bāṇa or Hiuen Tsang, he would probably have appeared to posterity almost as brilliant as Harsha-vardhana. But as it is, his fair name and fame have vanished and posterity knows him only as the cowardly murderer of Rājya-vardhana and a cruel persecutor of Buddhism.

7. NEPĀL

Nepāl is the only region in India, besides Kāshmir, which possesses local chronicles, narrating its history from time immemorial. These chronicles, known as *Vaṁśāvalīs*, are obtained from both Brahmanical and Buddhist sources, and have been dealt with by several eminent scholars.[1] They profess to give a continuous account of the dynasties, with names of kings and their regnal years, that ruled the country from the time when god Mañjuśrī converted a lake into the fertile valley of Nepāl, through the *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and the *Kali Yugas*.

Leaving aside the mythical legends which have no historical value, we come to the successive dynasties of *Gopālas* (cowherds), Ābhīras and the Kirātas. These are probably reminiscent of the period when the country was ruled by groups of pastoral and mountain tribes. The Kirātas were followed by a dynasty founded by Nimikha, who belonged to the solar dynasty of Rāma or the lunar dynasty of Kuru according to different chronicles. The last king of this dynasty is said to have flourished in the year 1234 (or 1239) of the *Kaliyuga* Then followed a long line of rulers belonging to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

The Lichchhavis are a well-known ancient dynasty, and the history of the republican or oligarchic principality set up by them with Vaiśālī as capital has already been narrated above. But we cannot say whether the Lichchhavi rulers of Nepāl were related to or connected in any way with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī. Absolutely nothing is known of the whereabouts and activities of the latter

1 See General References, below

during the five or six centuries that elapsed since the conquest of Vaiśālī by Ajātaśatru It may be noted that both the Lichchhavis and Mallas who figure so prominently as republican clans in North Bihār in early Buddhist and Jain literature, and who are mentioned together in *Manu-Saṁhitā* as Vrātya Kshatriyas, and by Kauṭilya as forming a special kind of Sangha, are found in Nepāl side by side in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is not unlikely that these clans, and perhaps many others, sought the safety of the hills of Nepāl during the periods of political troubles in India caused by foreign inroads or internal wars According to the Paśupati Temple inscription of the eighth century A D [1], Supushpa a remote descendant of Lichchhavi, the eponymous hero of the clan, was born at Pushpapura which probably refers to Pātaliputra This Supushpa, we are told, was followed by 23 kings, and then was born the famous king Jayadeva After eleven more kings had ruled, flourished Vrishadeva

With Vrishadeva we stand on firm historical ground, for this king and his five successors, as named in this record as well as in all the *Vaṁśāvalīs*, are also mentioned in contemporary inscriptions Vrishadeva was a devout Buddhist and built several *vihāras* He was succeeded by his son Śankaradeva An inscription refers to him as a great and prosperous king, according to the *Vaṁśāvalīs* he made endowments to the Paśupati temple and founded a monastery at Patan in favour of a Brāhmana Śankaradeva's son and successor Dharmadeva also ruled over a large kingdom He is said to have dedicated a large statue of Siva's Bull to the Paśupati temple and also founded Svayambhūnātha

More historical information is available about Mānadeva, the son and successor of Dharmadeva An inscription of this king on a pillar in the temple of Changunārāyana[2] (about 5 miles to the north-east of Kātmāndu) gives a graphic account of the events following the death of Dharmadeva Rājyavatī, the widowed queen, made a pious resolve to follow her husband on the funeral pyre But her son Mānadeva said that he would give up his own life before she did so This dissuaded the queen from her grim resolve and she performed the last rites of her husband along with her son

Then the king addressed his mother as follows·

"My father adorned the earth with pillars (of victory) resembling sacrificial pillars Being initiated in the rites of the Kshatriyas, I shall depart on an expedition to the east to crush my foes (there) I shall install those princes who will remain obedient to me "

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1 Indraji No XV Gnoli (No LXXXI)
2 Indraji No I Full text is given by Lévi (No I) and Gnoli (No I)

Having obtained the consent of his mother, Mānadeva marched to the east and reduced the turbulent feudal chiefs to obedience. He then proceeded to the west and having heard of the misdeeds of a vassal there, addressed his maternal uncle as follows:—"If he does not voluntarily submit, he must be forced to do so. This very day you cross the Gandaki river and I shall follow your force with hundreds of horses and elephants." He kept his word and defeated the Malla chief.

This interesting record throws a flood of light on the history of Nepāl. In the first place it shows that even before the time of Mānadeva the Lichchhavi power was not confined to the Nepāl valley proper, i e the region around Kātmāndu in the Bagmati valley, but had spread to the valley of the Sapta-Kusi rivers on the east and Sapta-Gandaki rivers on the west. The Mallas on the west, and the hilly tribes, probably the Kirātas, on the east, were evidently, as in later days turbulent people who chafed at the yoke imposed by the central authority, and it required constant vigilance and frequent military expeditions to keep them under control. Still it is obvious that the idea of establishing one central political authority in the region corresponding to the modern kingdom of Nepāl was already cherished by the Lichchhavis, and at times successfully carried into effect, at least to a considerable extent.

The inscription of Mānadeva is dated in Saṁvat 386. Opinions vary widely regarding the era to which this date is to be referred. In addition to well-known eras like the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta, even a special Lichchhavi era commencing in A.D. 110 has been suggested by different scholars.[1] The Gupta era must be ruled out altogether, and the Vikrama era is also very unlikely. The choice seems to lie between the other two, and for the present, the most plausible view seems to be to refer the date to the Śaka era. The inscription of Mānadeva, referred to above, would then be dated in A.D. 464. As another record of Mānadeva is dated in Saṁvat 427 (=A D 505), the period of Mānadeva's reign may be assumed to lie between A D 460 and 505.

The date of Mānadeva must be used as the sheet-anchor of Nepalese chronology for the present, as we know of no other dated event before his reign As Mānadeva was the 20th Lichchhavi king according to the *Vaṁśāvalīs*, we may place the foundation of the Lichchhavi kingdom in Nepāl in the first or second century A.D.

1 Fleet advocated the Gupta era (*CII* III Introduction p 177 ff), while Indraji (*IA*, XIII 411 ff) refers the dates to the Vikrama *Saṁvat* Dr. R G Basak refers the early dates to Vikrama *Saṁvat* and those of Śivadeva to Gupta era (*HNI* 274) Lévi propounds the special Lichchhavi era, and advocates Śaka era as an alternative (*Nepal*, III 49 ff, 73 ff) The whole problem was discussed by the present writer first in *B. C Law Volume* Part I, pp. 626 ff. and more recently in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta

The existence of the Lichchhavis as a political power, before the time of Mānadeva, is known from the marriage of Chandra-gupta I and a Lichchhavi princess, referred to above.[1] Whether this Lichchhavi princess belonged to, or was connected in any way with, the ruling house of Nepāl we cannot say. But it is certain that the Lichchhavis of Nepāl had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Samudra-gupta. The nature and duration of the Gupta suzerainty in Nepāl cannot be exactly determined. But the fact that the Lichchhavis of Nepāl came into prominence only after the decline of the Gupta empire is not perhaps merely a coincidence. We may assume that they were subordinate to, or at least were kept in check by, the Gupta emperors, and the decline of the empire gave them the opportunity to rise to prominence and make themselves masters of nearly the whole of Nepāl The task was probably begun by Dharmadeva, and successfully continued by his son Mānadeva It may be noted here that the dominance of Brahmanical religion and Sanskrit literature, which forms the key-note of the Gupta period, is fully proved in the case of Nepāl by the inscriptions of Mānadeva and his successors

Mānadeva founded a *vihāra*, called after him Māna-vihāra,[2] and the royal palace Māna-gṛiha, from which his successors issued royal charters, was also probably built by him It has been suggested that the coins called Mānānka and the cult of the goddess Māneśvarī in Nepāl are associated with the same king His name survives today in Nepāl in the name of a clan of the Thākuris called Māna.[3]

The Lichchhavi kingdom under Mānadeva extended beyond the Nepāl Valley proper both in the east as well as in the west, and probably included territories to the west of the Gandaki. Mānadeva was succeeded by Mahīdeva, and the latter by Vasantadeva As the last-known date of Mānadeva is 427 and Vasantadeva was already on the throne in 428, Mahīdeva must have had a very short reign, not exceeding a few months Vasantadeva ruled for at least 26 years, up to the year 454 (A D 532) At least two other kings are known to have reigned between him and Śivadeva These are Rāmadeva (year 469 or A D 547) and Gaṇadeva (years 482 and 489 or A.D. 560, 567) The Paśupati Temple Inscription which gives a complete genealogy of the kings of Nepāl during this period is unfortunately of little help as a number of letters have peeled off in the line following the account of Vasantadeva The only safe inference from what

1 See pp 3-4

2 The Mānadeva-vihāra is mentioned in Yag Bahal Ins (Lévi No XX). The Māna-vihāra mentioned in the stele of Harigaon of the time of Aṁśu-varman (Lévi, No XIV) evidently refers to the same monastery This is further evidence that Mānadeva flourished before Śivadeva and Aṁśu-varman and not after them The same conclusion also follows from the name of the palace Māna-gṛiha whence charters were issued by Śivadeva.

3 *Nepal*, II 105-111

remains of the line is that some time after Vasantadeva there was a king named Narendradeva who was succeeded by Śivadeva.

According to one of the *Vaṁśāvalīs*, the successor of Vasantadeva was defeated by the Ābhīras, and after three of their chiefs had ruled in Nepāl, the Lichchhavi king Śivadeva expelled them and regained his paternal kingdom. There may be some truth in this tradition.

We know, however, definitely from a number of inscriptions that early in the seventh century A.D. or towards the end of the sixth, there was a dyarchy in Nepāl like the system of government that prevailed there till recent times. The Lichchhavi king Śivadeva remained only a nominal ruler, and gradually all political authority passed into the hands of the great Baron (*Mahāsāmanta*) Aṁśu-varman. It appears that towards the close of the sixth century A.D. the Lichchhavi kingdom was invaded by the Ābhīras, who ruled over it for some time. Ultimately, during the reign of Śivadeva, the Ābhīras were driven out. It is probable that the great baron Aṁśu-varman took the leading part in this war of liberation and distinguished himself as a great general. For, all the grants of Śivadeva refer to the discomfiture of the enemy by the valour and prowess of Aṁśu-varman. The popularity and military renown, which the latter gained by driving away the foreign invaders, secured him a very high position in the state and gradually enabled him to become its *de facto* ruler.[1] It is also not unlikely that he further strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the Lichchhavi king. He chose Kailāsakūṭa as the royal residence for himself, while the old Māna-gṛiha continued to be the abode of the titular Lichchhavi kings. Hiuen Tsang refers to Aṁśu-varman as a distinguished and learned ruler of Nepāl He is said to have composed a grammar and his reputation spread everywhere.[2]

According to the *Vamśāvalīs*, the great king Vikramāditya conquered Nepāl and introduced his era there immediately before the reign of Aṁśu-varman. This has been taken to be a veiled allusion to the conquest of the country by Harsha-vardhana, and the dates of Aṁśu-varman's charters, 32 to 45,[3] have all been referred to the Harsha era. Accordingly, Aṁśu-varman should have ruled from A D. 638 to 651 (or at least 647). Although this view is now generally accepted, it is not free from difficulties. In the first place, there is no positive evidence to show that Harsha-vardhana ever conquered Nepāl. Secondly, Hiuen Tsang's reference to Aṁśu-

1 Lévi has made several suggestions about the relation between Aṁśu-varman and Śivadeva (*Nepal*, III, 77) but no definite conclusion is possible until the dates of their charters are finally settled.
2 *HTB*, II. 81.
3. The unit figure is doubtful, but the date must in any case exceed 40.

varman as the late king shows that he must have died before A.D. 642-3 when Hieun Tsang possibly gathered his last information about the country. This is corroborated by the fact that when a Chinese embassy visited Nepāl in A.D. 643 they found king Narendradeva on the throne, and there were at least two kings who reigned between Amśu-varman and Narendradeva. The dates in Amśu-varman's charters, therefore, cannot be dated in the Harsha era. Recently, the writer of the present chapter has shown, with the help of new inscriptions unknown to the scholars named above, that there is a very strong presumption, bordering almost on certainty, that the dates in the inscriptions of Mānadeva and his successors refer to the Śaka Era, and that after the year 500 of this Era, it was continued with the omission of the hundredth figure. The dates of Amśu-varman's charters should therefore be taken as 532 to 545 Śaka Era (A D 610 to 623)

Lévi has suggested that the dates in Amśu-varman's charter should be referred to an era of Tibetan origin commencing in A D. 595 [1] Whatever we might think of this, there is little doubt that about this time Nepāl came under the political influence of Tibet.[2] Some time between A D. 580 and 600 the disunited clans of that hilly region had been brought together under a powerful ruler, Gnam-ri-sron-btsan, who extended his power up to India. His son and successor Sron-btsan-sgam-po, who introduced Indian civilization into Tibet, is said to have conquered Assam and Nepāl, and dominated over half of Jambudvipa (India) He demanded the hand of a daughter of Amśu-varman and the latter dared not refuse. Two years later, and certainly before 641, the Tibetan king invaded China and pillaged the country as far as Szechuan. He asked for a Chinese princess, as one of the terms of peace, and the Chinese emperor was reluctantly forced to give his daughter in marriage to this barbarian king Thus Tibet came under the cultural influence of both China and India and gained profoundly by these two marriages But Amśu-varman became for all practical purposes a dependent of the Tibetan king. This makes it all the more difficult to believe that Harsha-vardhana could have exercised any political

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1 *Nepal*, II 152-153 *JA* 1894, Part II, pp 55 ff Lévi first held the view that the dates in Amśu-varman's charters should be referred to an era commemorating his accession But he discarded it on two grounds:—
(i) That no record of the king is dated before the year 30,
(ii) that the inscription dated the year 30 seems to refer to the coronation of Amsū-varman
These objections, however, are not vital (cf *B C Law Volume*, Part 1, p 640).

2 The political suzerainty of Tibet over Nepāl is described by Lévi with full references to authorities (*Nepal*, II, 146-154) Dr. Basak does not believe that Nepāl owed allegiance to Tibet (*HNI* 295), but is altogether silent about the evidence collected by Lévi Dr Basak also ignores Lévi's theory about the Tibetan origin of the era of Amśu-varman

authority over Aṁśu-varman or that his era was ever in use in Nepāl. On the other hand, the political subjection of Nepāl to Tibet makes it probable that the new era introduced in Nepāl was of Tibetan origin. According to Lévi, it probably commenced in A.D. 595 which commemorated either the birth of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po or the accession of his father But as no such era is known to have ever been used in Tibet, Lévi's theory must remain questionable.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The history of Nepāl is chiefly based on the *Vaṁśāvalīs* and the inscriptions.

1. On the *Vaṁśāvalīs* of Nepāl and its general history·
   - (i) Kirkpatrick--*An account of the kingdom of Nepāl being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793*. London, 1811.
   - (ii) D Wright--*History of Nepāl translated from the Parbatiya* Cambridge, 1877
   - (iii) C. Bendall--*Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts at Cambridge* Cambridge, 1883
   - (iv) Bhagawanlal Indraji--Some considerations on the History of Nepāl [*IA* XIII (1884) pp 411-428]
   - (v) *Le Nepal*, by S Lévi. Vols I, II—1905, III—1908 (Referred to in the footnotes as *Nepal*).
   - (vi) Bendall—The history of Nepal and surrounding kingdom (A.D 1000-1600) *JASB* LXXII (1903)

The *Vaṁśāvalīs* are recent compositions. The Buddhist recension is the work of a monk who resided in the Mahābuddha monastery at Patan at the beginning of the nineteenth century It has been translated into English by the Indian *munshi* of the British embassy under the direction of Mr Wright. The Brahmanical version, which alone is regarded as authentic by the present Gurkha government, was also composed in the nineteenth century, and the text consulted by Lévi was compiled by Brāhman Siddhi Nārāyan, an inhabitant of Deo Patan, in A D. 1834 Both the versions are written in Pārbatīya (or Khas) language introduced into the valley after the Gurkha conquest.

Both the *Vaṁśāvalīs* had a common source. The Brahmanical version adds little to the Buddhist, but omits stories and legends glorifying the Buddhist church The existence of *Vaṁśāvalīs* in early periods is attested by the Paśupati Temple Inscription of Jayadeva and the inscription of Pratāpamalla (dated 778 Nepāla Saṁvat) But no ancient text has yet come to light The *Vaṁśāvalī* communicated to Kirkpatrick at the end of the eighteenth century is far more accurate than those of the nineteenth century now available and

referred to above. Bendall discovered three manuscripts, probably belonging to the end of the thirteenth century A.D., which give lists of some kings with the duration of their reigns. Two of them are written in Newari language and one in very incorrect Sanskrit.

2. The Inscriptions of Nepāl are edited in the following works:
   (i) Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. G. Bühler—Inscriptions from Nepal—*IA*, IX (1880), pp. 163 ff. (23 Inscriptions are edited which have been referred to as 'Indraji' No.).
   (ii) *Nepal,* Vol. III (23 Inscriptions, referred to as 'Lévi, No.).
   (iii) Bendall—*Journey in Nepal,* pp 72 ff. (Four inscriptions referred to as Bendall, No.) No. I was also published in *IA*, XIV. 98

Dr. R. G. Basak (*HNI.* 242 ff) has given a combined list of these inscriptions with short summaries. But the list is neither complete, nor always accurate. He has, for example, omitted Lévi, Nos IV, V, and failed to note that Indraji No. I was re-edited by Lévi (No. I) with the addition of important lines, which were hidden under the ground when Indraji wrote and were consequently omitted by him.

3. Modern works·—
   (i) Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III, pp. 177-191.
   (ii) R. G. Basak—*History of North-Eastern India.*
   (iii) R. C. Majumdar—The Chronology of the Early Kings of Nepāl (*B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, pp. 626 ff).

8. KĀMARŪPA

For nearly three centuries, from about A.D. 350 to 650, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, was ruled by a single dynasty. This dynasty claimed descent from the demon Naraka, mentioned in the Epics and the Purāṇas as the son of Vishṇu (in his Boar incarnation) and the Earth. According to traditions current in the seventh century A D. Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, and other kings of this family ruled for three thousand years before Pushya-varman came to the throne With Pushya-varman begins what may be regarded as the historical period of Kāmarūpa. The alleged descent from demon Naraka probably indicates the non-Aryan origin of the ruling family, though converted to the orthodox Brahmanical religion It is interesting to note that a line of Shāhi kings ruling in the hilly region of Gilgit, about the sixth century A D., is described as belonging to the family of Bhagadatta.[1] Per-

1 *JRAS.* 1944, pp. 5 ff.

haps this Bhagadatta is identical with the son of the mythical Naraka mentioned above. But we cannot say whether there was any connection between these Shāhi kings and the ruling dynasty of Kāmarūpa.

The epigraphic and literary records of the period have preserved the names of Pushya-varman and his twelve successors as indicated in the following genealogical table.[1]

1. Pushya-varman
2. Samudra-varman = Dattadevī (or Dattavatī)
3. Bala-varman = Ratnavatī
4. Kalyāṇa-varman = Gandharvavatī
5. Gaṇapati-varman = Yajñavatī
6. Mahendra-varman = Suvratā
7. Nārāyaṇa-varman = Devavatī
8. Bhūti-varman (or Mahābhūta-varman) = Vijñānavatī
9. Chandramukha-varman = Bhogavatī
10. Sthita-varman (or Sthiti-varman) = Nayanadevī (or Nayanaśobhā)
11. Susthita-varman (or Susthira-varman) = Śyāmādevī (or Dhruvalakshmī)
12. Supratishṭhita-varman
13. Bhāskara-varman.

Bhāskara-varman, with whom the series end, was a contemporary of Harsha-vardhana, and his rule covered almost the first half of the seventh century A.D. The accession of Pushya-varman may thus approximately be placed about A.D. 350, or a little earlier.

1. The genealogical account is given in the Nidhanpur C P. of Bhāskara-varman (*EI*, XII 73, XIX 115 ff; 245 ff) and the royal seals discovered at Nālandā (*MASI*, No 66, pp 69-70; *JBORS*, V. 302 ff, VI. 151 ff) It is also partially given in the *Harsha-charita* (Nirnayasagar Ed p 220; Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p 217) Names of some of the kings and queens are given in slightly different forms in the different sources. The most important of these are indicated in the genealogical table within brackets

It has been already mentioned that Kāmarūpa was one of the feudatory states of Samudra-gupta.[1] In view of the fact that local tradition places the beginning of the historical ruling dynasty about the same time, we may reasonably conclude that the dynasty owed its rise or importance to the patronage of the great emperor. It is possible, for example, that one of the many petty local chiefs, who divided the territory among themselves, was placed as the ruler of the whole kingdom by the great Gupta emperor, following the well known policy for ensuring the loyalty and allegiance of a frontier-state. This would at any rate furnish an explanation of the name of the second king and his queen Samudra-varman and Dattadevī were undoubtedly deliberate imitations of the names of the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta and his queen Dattadevī, for such a similarity in the names of both the king and the queen can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence. Unless we suppose that the actual name of the suzerain Gupta emperor was put in the royal genealogy of Kāmarūpa through ignorance and confusion, we must hold that Pushya-varman, out of loyalty and devotion to his overlord and patron, named his son and daughter-in-law after the great emperor and empress. The latter alternative is preferable and we have an analogous instance in the history of the Ganga kings.[2]

A royal seal of the dynasty found at Nālandā calls Pushya-varman the lord of Prāgjyotisha, and gives the title *Mahārājādhirāja* to the first three rulers. As these kings were almost certainly contemporaries of the early Gupta emperors, we can hardly attach much significance to their high-sounding titles or regard them as very powerful kings. The effective hold of the Guptas on this kingdom is indicated by the currency of the Gupta era in this kingdom for nearly five hundred years. Further, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyotisha did not at this time comprise even the whole of the Assam valley. For the Allāhābād Inscription mentions, along with Kāmarūpa, the kingdom of Davāka, which has been reasonably located in the valley of the Kapili river in modern Nowgong District.[3] The existence of this kingdom in A D 428 has been inferred from the Chinese account of an embassy sent in that year by the king of Ka-pi-li. For this name is probably derived from the river Kapili, and denotes the kingdom of Ḍavāka situated in the valley of that river.[4] We may thus hold that Kāmrūpa was comparatively a small feudatory kingdom of the Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A D. We do not know anything beyond the names of the first six rulers of this kingdom. But according to the royal seal, the

1 See p 8

2 The Gaṅga king Asva-varman, who was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Simha-varman named his son Mādhava-Simha-varman

3 See above, p 8.

4 *JRAS* 1920, pp. 227 ff

seventh king Nārāyaṇa-varman or his predecessor[1] performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. This evidently indicates some increase in the power of the family under him. Perhaps he threw off the yoke of the Guptas in the first half of the sixth century A.D.[2]

There is, however, no doubt that under the next king Bhūti-varman, Kāmarūpa became powerful. Not only the old kingdom of Ḍavāka, but also the Surma valley (Sylhet District) was now included in this kingdom In a short record inscribed on a rock in the Kapili valley, *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūti-varman is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. He probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[3]

In the *Harsha-charita,* a brief account of the royal family of Bhāskara-varman is put into the mouth of his envoy to Harsha-vardhana After referring to the mythical kings Naraka, Bhaga-datta and others, the envoy mentions Bhūti-varman and his successors up to Bhāskara-varman This might be taken to indicate that Bhūti-varman was really the founder of the greatness of the family This presumption is strengthened by what has been said above of Bhūti-varman He evidently took advantage of the decline of the Gupta empire to establish the independence of his kingdom—if it had not already been done by his father—and to enlarge his territory by incorporating Davāka and the Surma valley, which formed parts of the Gupta empire It is possible that the kingdom of Kāmarūpa at this time extended to the west as far as the Karatoyā river in North Bengal which continued to be its traditional boundary Thus an independent and powerful kingdom of Kāmarūpa arose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire.

Nothing is known of the son of Bhūti-varman, but his grandson Sthita-varman is said to have performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. The next king Susthita-varman, also called Mṛigānka, is highly

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1 It is not clear whether the epithet 'performer of two Aśvamedha sacrifices' is meant for the king whose name precedes or follows it.

2 This is also rendered probable by the political condition of the Gupta empire described above (Ch VI) But the view put forward by Dr N K Bhattasali that the downfall of the Guptas was caused by the 'onslaught of the Varman kings of Kāmarūpa' (*IHQ* XXI 24) has nothing to commend it

3 We know from the Nidhanpur CP of Bhāskara-varman that lands were originally granted by Bhūti-varman to more than 200 Brāhmanas, but as the charter was lost they were re-granted by Bhāskara-varman These lands were located by some in N Bengal, but they were undoubtedly situated in the Sylhet region. (For the different views on the subject, cf the authorities mentioned under Bhandarkar's List of inscriptions No 1666, and also *JRASBL*, I 419 ff, *IC*, II. 153 ff, *IHQ*. VII. 743 ff).

A short record of Bhūti-varman has been found in the Kapili valley (*JARS*. VIII 33; X. 63; *EI*. XXVII 18) It was supposed to contain a date (year 234 or 244) to be referred to the Gupta Era But there is probably no date (*EI*, XXX 64).

eulogised in the *Harsha-charita*, and the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja* is applied to him, while even Bhūti-varman is called simply *Mahārāja*. Nothing, however, is known of Susthita-varman, save that he came into conflict with the Later Gupta king Mahāsena-gupta[1] and was defeated by him. The causes of the hostility are not known, but it may be merely due to the natural desire of the Later Guptas to re-conquer the old dominions of the Imperial Guptas. The hostility between the Later Guptas and the kings of Kāmarūpa probably dated from an earlier period, and, as we shall see, descended to the next generation. Mahāsena-gupta seems to have advanced up to the Brahmaputra and won a great victory in a battle on the banks of the river. But it led to no permanent result.

Susthita-varman was succeeded by his elder son Supratishṭhita-varman. He and his younger brother Bhāskara-varman were defeated by the king of Gauḍa who took them captives, but released them after some time,[2] probably after they offered allegiance. As has been suggested above, probably the victorious Gauda king was none other than Mahāsena-gupta.[3] Supratishṭhita-varman was succeeded by his younger brother Bhāskara-varman who played an important rôle in contemporary politics as will be described in a later chapter.

9 ORISSA

Hardly anything is known of the history of Orissa during the Gupta period. It would be interesting to speculate why Samudra-gupta advanced to the eastern coast of the Deccan through the hilly region of Kosala (Chattisgarh), and avoided the more direct and easier route through West Bengal and Orissa This would be all the more inexplicable if Orissa formed a part of his empire; and it is difficult to believe that he would have proceeded so far south without first subjugating Orissa In any case no royal dynasty ruling over Orissa during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. is known to us, and we may well believe that it was included in the territory directly administered by the Gupta emperors.

About the middle of the sixth century A D , a feudatory chief was ruling in the southern part of Orissa. We learn from an inscription discovered in a village called Sumanḍala near Khallikote in Orissa[4] that king Pṛithivī-vigraha was ruling over Kaliṅga, in the dominion of the Guptas, in the year 250 (=A.D 569-70), and that his subordinate chief, *Mahārāja* Dharmarāja, had his headquarters

1 See p 73
2 This is known from the recently discovered Doobi copper-plate of Bhāskara-varman (*EI*, XXX 287) It proves definitely that Supratishṭhita-varman ascended the throne, although his name is omitted in the *Harsha-charita*.
3. See p. 76 It is not unlikely, however, that the Gauḍa king may be Śaśāṅka.
4 See p. 42.

at Padmakholi near Khallikote. It proves that even in the last days of the Gupta empire,[1] Orissa continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas. This, taken along with the fact that the Gupta era was used in this record as well as in the Ganjām Grant of 300 (=A.D. 619), to be referred to later, is a strong argument in favour of the view, maintained above, that Orissa formed an integral part of the Gupta empire for some time.

Unfortunately, we know nothing further about Pṛithivī-vigraha or his family. His claim to rule over Kaliṅga cannot be easily reconciled with similar claims made by other kings mentioned in Chapter XI (C. II), and it is very likely that his authority did not extend beyond the northern fringe of Kaliṅga.

The Gupta suzerainty, and therewith the rule of Pṛithivī-vigraha and his family, must have come to an end shortly after A.D. 570. For, in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D we find the Māna and Śailodbhava families ruling respectively in the northern and southern parts of the province There is hardly any doubt that both of them rose to power on the ruins of the Gupta empire.

The rise of the Māna family is recorded in an inscription[2] found in the Hazāribāgh District. It is said that three brothers, Udaya-māna, Śrīdhauta-māna and Ajita-māna were all merchants and went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti. Having made a large fortune they, on their way home, stayed for some time at a village, probably situated in the locality where the inscription was found. Through the favour of king Ādisiṁha of Magadha, to whom this region belonged, Udaya-māna became the ruler of the village, and appointed his two brothers as rulers subordinate to him over two other neighbouring villages. Thus grew a small principality in the hilly region between Gayā and Midnapore Districts. The date of its foundation is unknown, but many generations had ruled after Udaya-māna when this traditional account was drawn up in the seventh or eighth century A.D.

In the last quarter of the sixth century A D. a Māna dynasty, probably identical with the above, was ruling over the greater part of Orissa. We learn from two records of a ruler named Śambhuyaśas[3] dated 260 and 283, that he was ruling over Northern and Southern Tosalī which comprised nearly the whole of Orissa from Balasore to Puri District. The two dates, referred to the Gupta era,[4] would place the reign of Śambhuyaśas between A.D. 580 and 603. Whether Śambhuyaśas was himself a member of the Māna family, or a ruler merely subordinate to it, cannot be determined.

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1 See p 44.
2 *EI*, II 343. The family name is written both as Māna and Māṇa.
3. *EI*, IX 285; XXIII. 198 4 *JRASBL*, XI. 4 ff.

But there is no doubt that the Māna family exercised suzerainty over Orissa, and its rulers assumed imperial titles.[1]

About the same time when the Mānas were ruling over the greater part of Orissa, the Śailodbhavas[2] were ruling in Koṅgoda, a kingdom which extended from the Chilka lake, or perhaps even further north, to Mahendragiri mountains in Ganjām District, reaching in the west to the hills which now form the western boundary of the Kālāhandi State The history of the Śailodbhavas is known from several records Raṇabhīta (or Araṇabhīta), the founder of the dynasty, flourished in the latter part of the sixth century A D, and probably took advantage of the anarchy and confusion, following the dissolution of the Gupta empire, to found an independent kingdom He was followed by three kings, his son Sainyabhīta I Mādhavarāja grandson Ayaśobhīta, and great-grandson Sainyabhīta II Mādhavarāja II The last-named king ascended the throne some time before A D 619 The relation of these kings to the Māna dynasty cannot be exactly determined It is not unlikely that they, for some time at least, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mānas, for South Tosalī included the territory where Koṅgoda was situated But we do not know for certain whether Śambhuyaśas ruled over the whole of South Tosalī or only the northern part of it

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the kingdoms of both the Mānas and the Śailodbhavas soon came into the possession of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa. We know nothing of the military campaigns by which Śaśāṅka made himself master of these kingdoms But a record, dated A D 619, of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhīta II Mādhavarāja II, shows that he had by that time become a feudatory of Śaśānka The Mānas ceased to exercise any authority in Orissa which was governed by an officer of Śaśānka, named Somadatta. Later, this Somadatta was raised to the dignity of *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* and ruled both Utkala (Orissa) and Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapore District) as a governor or feudatory of Śaśānka After Somadatta, Bhānudatta held the same position at least in Utkala, but his records do not expressly refer to Śaśānka as the suzerain

As has been noted above, Śaśāṅka's empire collapsed after his death and Orissa gained independence. Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in this region about this time, has made the following remarks about the kingdom of Kongoda

"Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to

1 The Mānas probably gave their name to the well-known district of Mānbhum Reference to Māna kings occurs in later records. The Kara king Śāntikara II married the daughter of Simhamāna and two Māna kings are mentioned in a record of the twelfth century A D (*EI*, II 333)

2 For a full account of the Śailodbhavas, cf *JAHRS* X 1 ff.

the sea. · The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them."

It would appear from the above that the Śailodbhavas had not only become independent but had also extended their authority over the neighbouring regions. This is confirmed by the records of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhīta II Mādhavarāja II. One of his grants, dated A.D. 619, invokes the name of Śaśāṅka as his suzerain. But another undated grant makes no reference to Śaśāṅka as overlord. The king issues this grant from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* of Koṅgoda and claims to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga. This may be a somewhat exaggerated claim, but possibly a large part of Orissa had passed into his hands, for Hiuen Tsang does not refer to U-Cha or Uḍra, which corresponds to Orissa, as a strong or important kingdom, and is altogether silent about its political status. But, be that as it may, neither Utkala nor Koṅgoda was destined to enjoy independence for long Soon after Śaśāṅka's death, Harshavardhana began his eastern campaign and by A.D. 643 conquered both the kingdoms.

CHAPTER IX

HARSHA-VARDHANA AND HIS TIME

I. *KINGDOM OF THĀNESWAR*

The origin of the kingdom of Sthāṇvīśvara, modern Thāneswar, is shrouded in obscurity. According to Bāna,[1] it was the name of a city as well as a district, situated in the country called Śrīkaṇṭha, and the kingdom was founded by Pushpabhūti. Bāṇa gives a long-drawn and somewhat miraculous account of this king,[2] but he is not known from any other source. Bāṇa says nothing of the immediate successors of the king, but begins his historical account with king Prabhākara-vardhana, born in his family.[3]

The royal seals and inscriptions have, however, preserved the names of a few more kings, as represented in the following genealogical table:—

Mahārāja Nara-vardhana=Vajrinī-devī

|

Mahārāja Rājya-vardhana=Apsaro-devī

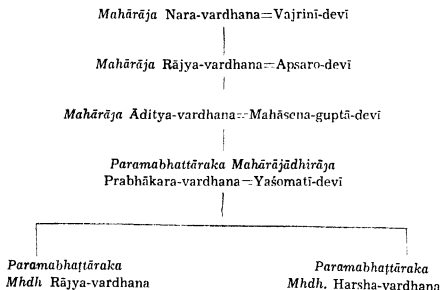
|

Mahārāja Āditya-vardhana=Mahāsena-guptā-devī

|

Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja
Prabhākara-vardhana=Yaśomatī-devī

|

Paramabhaṭṭāraka *Mhdh* Rājya-vardhana | *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* *Mhdh.* Harsha-vardhana

From Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsha-charita*, we learn that Prabhākara-vardhana was also known as Pratāpaśīla and that he had another son named Kṛishṇa and a daughter named Rājyaśrī.[4]

1. *HC*, pp. 79 ff. 2 *HC*, pp 83 ff. 3. *HC*, pp 101 ff
4 *HC*, pp 101, 40, 116 Bāṇa expressly says (p 106) that queen Yaśovatī (called Yaśomatī in the seals and inscriptions) had only three children Kṛishṇa must have been, therefore, born of another queen.

It will be seen from the above genealogy that the first three kings are called simply *Mahārāja*, and it is Prabhākara-vardhana who is first styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. As Prabhākara-vardhana, according to Bāṇa, died shortly before Harsha's accession to the throne in A.D. 606, we may fix the commencement of his rule about A.D. 580. If we regard his mother Mahāsena-guptā as sister of the Later Gupta king Mahāsena-gupta, as appears probable from the similarity of names, we arrive at the same conclusion regarding his date.

It would thus follow that the kingdom of Thāneswar did not attain much power or importance till the last quarter of the sixth century A D. Nothing is known about its history or status before that date. The first three kings, who flourished probably between A.D. 500 and 580, might have been feudatory chiefs, acknowledging the supremacy either of the Hūṇas, or of the Guptas, or of both, at different times. It is also very likely that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over them, for they did not claim the rank of *Mahārājādhirāja* immediately after the fall of the Guptas and the Hūṇas, as we find in the case of the Maukharis, but did so some time after the death of Īśāna-varman, when the Maukhari power had declined. This view is also supported by the statement, put in the mouth of king Prabhākara-vardhana by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, that "at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped, like Śiva's foot-print, by all the world".[1] It may be surmised that the dynasty really came into prominence after the death of Īśāna-varman, and Āditya-vardhana's marriage with a princess of the Later Gupta family probably marks a definite step in their rise to power and importance However, all this is mere speculation, and no definite opinion is possible till more positive evidence is available.

With the accession of Prabhākara-vardhana, the history of Thāneswar assumes a definite shape, thanks to the biography of Harsha (*Harsha-charita*) written by the contemporary scholar, Bānabhatta.

Although Bāna devotes more than one chapter to Prabhākara-vardhana, all that is historically important is confined to the six qualifying epithets to the king, *viz* "a lion to the Hūna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of Gurjara king, a bilious fever to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gandhāra, destroyer of the skill of the Lātas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune (or sovereignty) of Mālava."[2] This poetical description leaves us in doubt whether he actually defeated these

1 See p 65
2 The translation is somewhat different from Cowell's on p. 101. Gurjara, as noted below, is not the same as Gujarāt, and '*pātava*' has been taken in the sense of 'skill' rather than lawlessness.

powers or was a mere threat to them. About the Hūṇas we are told later that shortly before his death, Prabhākara-vardhana sent a military expedition against them under his elder son Rājya-vardhana to Uttarā-patha But the result of the expedition is not known; probably no conflict took place as Rājya-vardhana was suddenly called back to the capital on account of the illness of his father which proved fatal. Whether in the pithy phrases quoted above, Bāṇa alludes to this expedition or a previous one against the Hūnas, we cannot say. It appears from some details that the Hūṇa kingdom lay not far from the foothills of the Himālayas and we may locate it in northern Punjāb.

Of the other kingdoms mentioned, Sindhu, Gandhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava are well known. Whether Malava was ruled by the Maitrakas, Kaṭachuris, or Deva-gupta about this time, is not known with certainty. The Gurjaras must be taken to refer to the kingdom in Rājputāna, then known as Gūrjaratrā, founded by Harichandra [1] A branch of this family was probably ruling in Lāta or Southern Gujarāt.[2]

The hostile powers mentioned by Bāṇa may thus be divided into two groups of almost contiguous states, *viz.* Hūna, Gandhāra and Sindhu in the north and west, and Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara in the south. But it is difficult to believe that Prabhākara-vardhana could directly invade all these states, particularly Sindhu (the lower Sindhu valley) and Lāṭa, which lay too far to the south and south-west. The probability is that he fought with two groups of confederate states or rather was on hostile terms with them If we assume that Prabhākara-vardhana's kingdom was contiguous to both these groups we may regard it as bounded by the Yamunā (or the Gaṅgā) and the Beās on the east and the west, and the Himālayas and Rājputāna on the north and the south

As noted above, when Rājya-vardhana had proceeded several stages in his expedition against the Hūṇas, the news of his father's illness reached him and he returned in hot haste to the capital. His father had already expired and his mother, queen Yaśomatī, burnt herself on the bank of the Sarasvatī river to avoid widowhood. Distracted with grief, Rājya-vardhana decided to renounce the throne in favour of his younger brother Harsha and to take to an ascetic life. Harsha was, however, unwilling to accept the burdens of sovereignty and decided to follow in the footsteps of his brother and practise austerities as a hermit.

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1. See p 65.
2. This has been fully dealt with by me in *JDL* X. 1 ff. See also, above, pp. 63 ff.

But all this was changed by the arrival of a messenger from Kanauj with grave news. He reported that immediately after the death of Prabhākara-vardhana—in fact, on the very day on which this news was rumoured in the Maukhari court—the king of Mālava killed Graha-varman. He even imprisoned the queen Rājyaśrī at Kanauj and was believed to have planned an invasion of Thāneswar itself. Immediately on receipt of this news Rājya-vardhana marched against the king of Mālava with a hastily collected army of ten thousand cavalry, leaving his younger brother Harsha-vardhana in charge of the kingdom. Rājya-vardhana routed the Mālava army with ridiculous ease, but being "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa," was murdered by the latter.[1]

II. HARSHA AND KANAUJ

As soon as the news of this calamity reached Harsha, he took a vow of vengeance against Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa. "I swear", said he, "that unless in a limited number of days I clear this earth of Gauḍas....then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame."[2] According to Bāṇa, he decided upon world-wide conquest, and even asked his minister to issue a proclamation throughout India asking all the kings either to accept his suzerainty or to fight with him.[3] Then a few days later, at an auspicious moment, Harsha commenced his march "for the subjugation of all the four quarters".[4]

After he had proceeded some distance Harsha was visited in his camp by Haṁsavega, a messenger from the king of Prāgjyotisha (Assam) who was known both as Kumāra and Bhāskara-varman.[5] The envoy reported that his master was firmly resolved never to do homage to any one except Śiva, and therefore sought a perpetual alliance with Harsha. The latter gladly accepted the proposal and expressed a desire to meet king Bhāskara-varman. Haṁsavega replied that his master would arrive in a few days.[6] Although nothing further is said about this alliance by Bāṇa, it is a reasonable presumption that this alliance was concluded as a measure of safety against Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, the powerful neighbour of

1. *HC*, p. 178. See Appendix.
2. *HC*, p. 187. According to Hiuen Tsang, Harsha said: "The enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth." (*Beal* I. 213).
3. *HC*, p. 187.
4. *HC*, p. 197.
5. *HC*, p. 211; *HTW*, I. 348. The name Kumāra also occurs in the original text (p 214), but the English translators have missed it.
6. *HC*, pp. 223, 280.

Bhāskara-varman, and now a common enemy of both himself and Harsha. The results of this diplomatic move will be seen later.

Harsha continued his march for a few days more when he came across Bhaṇḍi who was returning with the remnants of Rājya-vardhana's army and the captured troops, booty and equipments of the Mālava king. After having learnt from him the details of his brother's death, Harsha inquired about Rājyaśrī. Bhaṇḍi replied that he had heard a rumour that Rājyaśrī, after being released from confinement, entered the Vindhya forest with her train, but numerous search parties sent after her had not yet returned.[1] Harsha thereupon left Bhaṇḍi in charge of the army with instructions to advance against Gauḍa, and himself set out in search of his sister He reached the Vindhya forest in a few days, and after a great deal of wandering met Rājyaśrī while she was about to mount the funeral pyre. Then he went back, accompanied by his sister, to his camp stationed along the bank of the Gaṅgā

Bāṇa's narrative, from which the above details are taken, abruptly ends here, and it is not possible to follow the subsequent career of Harsha either in a chronological sequence or with any fullness of detail. Our main source of information for the rest of his life is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled all over India from A D. 630 to 644, and was treated with marked distinction and kindness by Harsha-vardhana

The most singular point in Hiuen Tsang's account is that he regards Harsha-vardhana and his two predecesssors as rulers of Kanauj, and does not refer to them in any way in his account of the kingdom of Thāneswar He describes at length how, after the death of Rājya-vardhana, the ministers, at the instance of the great minister Po-ni,[2] invited Harsha to ascend the throne, the latter, we are told, approached a statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, on the bank of the Gaṅgā, and asked his advice The Bodhisatva pointed out that the king of Karṇasuvarṇa had overturned the law of Buddha, and advised him to ascend the throne in order to revive the glory of Buddhism The Bodhisatva, however, asked him not to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title *Mahārāja*. Thereupon Harsha became king of Kanauj with the title *Rājaputra* and the style Śīlāditya.[3]

It would appear from what has been said above that the account of the Chinese pilgrim is confused and absurd For Harsha-var-

1 *HC*, p 224

2 Po-ni is usually identified with Bhaṇḍi referred to above But as pointed out by Tripathi (*HK*, p 75 fn. 1), if the question discussed was the throne of Kanauj, as seems to be the case, this identification is hardly likely.

3 *HTW* I 343.

dhana had nothing to do with the kingdom of Kanauj at the time of his brother's death. Nor can it be held that the statement of Hiuen Tsang really applies to the accession of Harsha-vardhana on the throne of Thāneswar. For it is contradicted by the very clear and express statement of Bāṇa that as soon as Harsha heard the news of his brother's death, he assumed sovereignty without any hesitation and vowed vengeance against his murderer.[1] The implication in the concluding portion of Bodhisatva's advice also can hardly be accepted as a fact, for Harsha-vardhana did ascend the throne and used royal titles.

But perhaps we may find in Hiuen Tsang's statement a distant echo of the manner in which Harsha came to occupy the throne of Kanauj It is clear from Hiuen Tsang's narrative that about A.D. 636, when he visited Kanauj, Harsha had not only been the ruler of this kingdom but had also fixed his capital in that city for such a long time that his early association with Thāneswar had become merely a memory of a distant past. We do not know how or when Harsha came to rule over Kanauj, but it has been generally assumed that Graha-varman having left no heir, and his widowed queen being unwilling to assume the responsibilities of rulership, the ministers of Kanauj, at the suggestion of their chief Po-ni, as stated by Hiuen Tsang, offered the throne to Harsha. Harsha, after some hesitation, accepted the offer on the advice of the Bodhisatva. At first, he did not assume the title of king of Kanauj, but merely acted as a guardian or regent, but with lapse of time, when he had made his position secure, he declared himself sovereign ruler of Kanauj and formally transferred the capital of the joint kingdom to this city.[2]

This imaginary reconstruction of the course of events is principally based on the assumption that Graha-varman died without leaving any heir to the throne. But a seal discovered at Nālandā, as already noted above, proves that a son of Avanti-varman, other than Graha-varman, ruled after him. As Bāṇa expressly mentions Graha-varman as the eldest son of Avanti-varman, we may safely conclude from this seal that a younger brother of Graha-varman succeeded him. This cuts at the root of the theory that the throne of Kanauj, being vacant, was offered to Harsha.

Now, the inscriptions of Nepāl have preserved the memory of a Maukhari chief Bhoga-varman, who was probably the nephew (sister's son) of king Aṁśu-varman and father-in-law of king Śivadeva II. His father's name was Śūrasena and he was a *dūtaka* in a royal charter dated A.D. 637-8. It has been surmised by Dr.

1 Cf Tripathi, *HK*, p 68.

2. Cf. Tripathi, *HK*, pp. 74 ff.

Basak[1] that Śūrasena was a Maukhari prince who might have ruled at Kanauj after Harsha's death. But in view of the Nālandā seal he might be regarded as a successor of Graha-varman, particularly as his name on the seal also begins with 'SU'. In any case it is almost certain that there was a Maukhari ruler of Kanauj after Graha-varman's death, and we can no longer rest content with the very simple explanation of its vacant throne being offered to Harsha.

The fact that the distinguished Maukhari chiefs lived in Nepāl even during the rule of Harsha-vardhana is not compatible with the view of his peaceful occupation of Kanauj. A mystery surrounds it, and Hiuen Tsang's story, which is the result of either ignorance or clumsy effort to conceal true facts, is hardly acceptable. The Chinese work entitled *Fang-chih* represents Harsha as carrying on the government, along with his widowed sister. This evidently refers to Kanauj, and probably shows that Harsha first administered the government of Kanauj in the name of his sister whose cause he espoused against other rivals. Later, he openly assumed the crown and full right of sovereignty. As will be shown later, this probably took place c. A D. 612.

But in whatever manner Harsha might have come to rule over the Maukhari kingdom, it seems to have been his first acquisition of territory, and its vast resources must have helped him greatly in his subsequent career of conquest.

III. HARSHA'S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Unfortunately very little is known of the early part of Harsha's career As noted above, his army was marching against Śaśāṅka, when he went to find out his sister, and after the recovery of his sister, he joined the camp on the bank of the Gaṅgā. The progress and result of this campaign are not, however, known from any source Dr. Tripathi's attempt[2] to fill up, by imagination, the void left by the abrupt ending of Bāṇa's narrative, has hardly anything to commend it. He draws a graphic picture of how 'on the approach of Harsha's army, Śaśāṅka thought discretion was the better part of volour' and 'beat a masterly retreat,' but unfortunately this is a mere gratuitous assumption. For aught we know, Śaśāṅka might have left the younger brother of Graha-varman on the throne of Kanauj as his own protégé, and it was by ousting him that Harsha occupied Kanauj after Śaśāṅka had retired to his kingdom.

1 *HNI* 290 Cf also *IHQ*. XI, 320

2. *HK*, pp. 73-4.

But although we are totally in the dark regarding the progress and result of Harsha's campaign against Śaśāṅka, undertaken immediately after his accession, there is no doubt that Harsha carried on a series of military expeditions which made him the most powerful ruler in North India. Unfortunately we know very little of his military campaigns, for Hiuen Tsang, who should have been our most valuable guide in this respect, scarcely alludes to them except in a vague and general manner. It is not possible, therefore, to give any details of Harsha's conquests or even to follow them broadly in a chronological order. All that we can do is to name the powers with which he fought and indicate the result, as far as it is possible to do so with the very meagre materials in our possession.

We can broadly distinguish at least four main phases of Harsha's military career which brought him into conflict with (1) the rulers of Valabhī and Gurjara, (2) the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II, (3) Sindhu, and (4) eastern countries like Magadha, Gauḍa, Oḍra and Koṅgoda.

1. *Valabhī*[1]

The rise of Valabhī as an important kingdom and its great power under Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya have been narrated above.[2] Śīlāditya who ruled at least till A.D. 612, was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha, and the latter by his son Dharasena III. Nothing is known of these two kings save that they were ruling respectively in A D. 616 and 623, and that during the reign of the latter the Valabhī kingdom included Northern Gujarāt.

Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II Bālāditya some time before A.D. 629. It was during his reign that Hiuen Tsang visited India, and we learn from him that this king, whose name is written in a form that seems to correspond to Dhruvapaṭu or Dhruvabhaṭṭa, was the son-in-law of Harsha-vardhana. He was, we are told, of hasty temper and of a shallow mind, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism. He attended the religious assembly convoked by Harsha at Prayāga and probably also at Kanauj, early in A.D. 643.

Dhruvasena II certainly ruled till at least A.D. 640-641 and was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV. This king, for the first time in the history of the dynasty, assumed imperial titles, and his known dates are A.D. 646 and 650.

1 For the inscriptions of the Valabhī and Gurjara kings referred to below, cf. Bh List Nos. 1330 ff. under the dates mentioned. For Hiuen Tsang's account cf. *HTW*, II. 246.

2. See p. 63.

All the five kings mentioned above, from Śīlāditya I to Dharasena IV, were contemporaries of Harsha. As noted above, Śīlāditya I ruled over Mālava. Hiuen Tsang describes Mo-la-po as an independent kingdom with several neighbouring kingdoms subject to it, but a grant of Dhruvasena II, dated A D. 640-641, shows that he was still in possession of at least a part of Mālava As Hiuen Tsang passed through the country about the same time, it is difficult to account for this discrepancy, except on the supposition that there were constant struggles between the two with alternate success and failure. But on the whole we may assume that during at least the greater part of the reign of Harsha-vardhana, Valabhī was a powerful and independent kingdom and exercised supremacy over Northern Gujarāt and a part of Mālwā

The inscriptions of the Gurjaras of Broach exultingly mention the fact that Dadda II obtained great glory by protecting (or rescuing) the lord of Valabhī who had been overpowered by the great lord, the illustrious Harshadeva.[1] This proves that a conflict took place between Harsha and the king of Valabhī, but excepting this casual reference, we have no other information regarding it. The circumstances which led to this struggle and its incidents are completely unknown. All that we can reasonably conclude is that Harsha at first gained some successes against the king of Valabhī, but the latter retrieved the situation with the help of Dadda II, and perhaps other allies There is no basis at all for the view that Valabhī was conquered by Harsha and that its ruler became his subordinate vassal [2]

It might be wondered how the ruler of the small Gurjara state was in a position to protect the king of Valabhī against Harsha It has been shown above that the Gurjara ruling family of Broach was an offshoot of the main family ruling over a principality further north, in Rājputāna It may be held, therefore, that they acted in unison, and either Dadda II merely aided the Gurjara king, or was helped by the latter in his efforts on behalf of the Valabhī king. But probably the Gurjaras were not the only power to help Valabhī.

It has been noted above that Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara were hostile to Prabhākara-vardhana, and the enmity with Mālava continued in the next reign It may be presumed, therefore, that these three principalities were hostile to Harsha also. On the other hand, according to the Aihole Inscription, the same three principalities were feudatories of Harsha's contemporary Pulakeśin II, and voluntarily accepted this position, evidently for protection against some

1 *IA* XIII 77-79

2 Tripathi, *HK*, p 109 Dr D C Sircar maintains the view that the king of Valabhī was a subordinate ally of Harsha (*POC* XII 525)

other power.[1] Whether this power was the Kaṭachchuris[2] or Harsha, we cannot definitely say. But in any event they formed a group of buffer states between Harsha and Pulakeśin II, and could rely upon the protection of the latter against the aggressive designs of the former.

Whether Dadda II of Broach incurred the hostility of Harsha by taking up the cause of Mālava and the defeated king of Valabhi, or from the very beginning all these states had made common cause against a common enemy, we cannot definitely say. But we can well imagine that hostility between Harsha and Dadda II directly or indirectly precipitated the conflict between Harsha-vardhana and Pulakeśin II.

2. *War with Pulakeśin*

The war between Harsha and Pulakeśin has been regarded as a memorable event both by the successors of Pulakeśin and by modern historians. But such a degree of importance is not reflected in contemporary records. Pulakeśin's own record[3] merely says that Harsha's elephants fell in the battle and he was seized with fear. Hiuen Tsang tells us that although Harsha had conquered many countries, he could not defeat Pulakeśin. Harsha, he says, "has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops."[4] This shows that Harsha took the aggressive, and implies rather that he failed in his object to conquer the enemy than that he suffered any decisive defeat. The successors of Pulakeśin undoubtedly regarded his achievement against Harsha in a different light. Not only was the defeat of Harsha referred to as a matter of special pride, but it was also claimed that Pulakeśin acquired the title Parameśvara "by defeating Harsha-vardhana, the war-like lord of all the region of the north." There is no doubt that the result of the battle was magnified in favour of Pulakeśin by his successors, and also by those modern historians who hold that the Chālukya king inflicted a crushing defeat on Harsha.

We do not know where the battle was fought. There is nothing to support V. A. Smith's view, now generally adopted,[5] that Pulakeśin 'guarded the passes on the Narmadā so effectually that Harsha was constrained to retire discomfited, and to accept that river as his frontier.' The Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras are referred to as

1. *EI.* VI. p. 10, fn. 5.
2. See below, Ch. XI, B, III.
3. *EI.* VI. p. 10.
4. *HTB.* II. 257.
5. *BG.* I. Part II, p. 350; *EHI.*[4] 350; R. Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 43.

feudatories of Pulakeśin in the Aihole Inscription, and there is no evidence that they ever submitted to Harsha. Hiuen Tsang also refers to independent kingdoms in Mālava and Bundelkhand. We can, therefore, hardly regard the empire of Harsha as extending up to the Narmadā on the south, and it is not unlikely that the actual battle was fought much further to the north.[1]

3. *Sindh*

The great southern campaign, or campaigns, in the course of which Harsha fought with Dhruvasena II of Valabhī, Dadda II of Broach, and the Chālukya king Pulakeśin ended in failure. Nor was Harsha more successful in his campaign against Sindh. In a rhetorical phrase Bānabhaṭṭa refers to Harsha as having 'pounded the king of Sindhu and appropriated his fortune'.[2] Sindh was hostile to Prabhākara-varman as well, and it is just possible that Harsha might have led a campaign against it. But the detailed description of Hiuen Tsang leaves no doubt that Sindh was a strong and independent kingdom when he visited it, and Harsha's military campaign, if there was any, evidently bore no fruit.

4 *Eastern Campaign*

We may now turn to the military campaign of Harsha in the east which was attended with brilliant success We learn from the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*[3] that about the beginning of A.D. 643, when the Chinese pilgrim had gone to Kāmarūpa at the invitation of its king Bhāskara-varman, Harsha had completed the subjugation of Kongoda and Orissa, and was halting at Kajaṅgala near Rājmahal on the bank of the Gangā This shows that Harsha must have launched one or more victorious campaigns to the east before this date in the course of which he had subjugated the intervening territories Some light is thrown on the progress of this eastern campaign by the statement of the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma-twan-

1 Some writers hold that Harsha even penetrated far into the Deccan and fought with the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I This view is based on the Gaddemane inscription assignable to the seventh century, which mentions the death of one Pettani Satyānka in a fight against the Beḍa chiefs when Śīlāditya invaded the south and Mahendra took to flight But as already pointed out by the author of this chapter (*IHQ*, V 235), Śīlāditya and Mahendra of this inscription should be identified respectively with Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya (a son of Pulakeśin II) and Pallava Mahendravarman II, both of whom flourished in the second half of the seventh century Again, a verse of Mayūra, a court-poet of Harsha, is quoted to prove his patron's success against Aṅga, Kuntala, Chola, Madhyadeśa and Kāñchī But the author conceives the earth as his patron's wife and uses the words *anga*, etc., also in the additional sense respectively of her body, hair, cloth, chest and girdle There is no doubt that here is a poetic imagination, showing the author's knowledge of the *Kāmaśāstra*, but having nothing to do with geography or history.

2 *HC*, Text, p 91.

3. Trans. by Beal, pp 172, 159.

lin that Śilāditya assumed the title of king of Magadha in A.D. 641.[1] *That Harsha did not conquer Magadha long before this date is proved by the statement of* Hiuen Tsang. While travelling through Magadha in A.D. 637-38 he noted that Śaśāṅka had lately cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā and died shortly after. Then the king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarmā, the last of the race of Aśokarāja, revived the tree by having its roots bathed with the milk of a thousand cows.

The date of Śaśāṅka's death is not known. His last known date is A.D. 619 and he must have died before, probably not long before, A.D. 637, when Hiuen Tsang refers to it as a recent event.[2] It would thus follow that in spite of all loud boast which Bāṇabhaṭṭa puts into the mouth of Harsha and his solemn oath to take speedy revenge for the death of his brother, Harsha could not achieve any success against Śaśāṅka. It was probably after his death that he conquered Magadha and carried on his victorious raids up to Koṅgoda, with a view to subjugate the territories which hitherto formed the dominions of Śaśāṅka. Presumably he conquered West Bengal which intervened between Magadha and Orissa. But all this happened more than 30 years after Harsha had ascended the throne.

It is not definitely known whether Harsha ever came into actual conflict with Śaśāṅka. The only evidence in support of it is a passage in *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* according to which Harsha marched against Puṇḍra, the capital of Śaśāṅka, defeated him and forbade him to move out of his country, and then returned, having (or not having) been honoured in that kingdom.[3] How far this vague and obscure statement in the mediaeval Buddhist Chronicle can be regarded as historical, it is difficult to say. But even assuming it to be a fact, this first campaign of Harsha evidently led to no permanent results. Harsha returned and, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, Śaśāṅka regained possession of Magadha. The very fact that at least up to A.D. 619, and probably for many years after that, Śaśāṅka ruled over Bengal, South Bihar and Orissa, with all the imperial titles, proves definitely that the earlier efforts of Harsha against Śaśāṅka, referred to in the *Harsha-charita* and *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, did not meet with any conspicuous success.

It is a moot point whether Harsha ever got possession of that part of Bengal which lay to the east of the Bhāgīrathī or north of the Padmā river While there is nothing in support of this, there is positive evidence that Bhāskara-varman, the king of Kāmarūpa,

1. Ettinghausen, *Harsha Vardhana*, p. 54 The passage is quoted below in Section VI.
2. "In recent time Śaśāṅka cut down the Bodhi tree" (*HTW* II. 115) and he died soon after (*Beal* II. 122).
3. Verses 719-20, 726. The whole passage has been fully discussed in *HBR*, 64.

and the ally of Harsha, was for some time master of this territory, or at least a considerable portion of it.[1] It is probable that he rendered substantial help to Harsha in his eastern campaign, and obtained, as his share of the spoils of war, a part of the province of Bengal. But we cannot altogether exclude the possibility that Harsha was suzerain of Bengal for a short time and it was not till after his death that Bhāskara-varman gained the same position.

5. *The Chronology of Harsha's Campaigns*

Harsha-vardhana had to embark upon his military campaigns almost immediately after his accession. Although the immediate objective was to avenge the death of his brother by punishing Śaśānka, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's description also implies that he was preparing for a *digvijaya* or 'world-wide conquest.' Hiuen Tsang also makes a statement which confirms this, and gives fuller details. His narrative may be thus summarised. 'As soon as Śīlāditya became ruler, he got together a great army (a body of 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot soldiers) and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare, until in six years he had fought the five Indias[2] Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry to 100,000, and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon'[3]

According to this statement, Harsha fought his battles between A.D 606 and 611-612 and reigned in peace between A D. 611-612 and 641-42. The eastern campaigns against Orissa and Kongoda, referred to by Hiuen Tsang, and the campaign against Magadha, as noted above, would then fall in the second period of his military activity after A.D 641 There is thus no inherent absurdity in the statements of Hiuen Tsang, as has been supposed by some.[4] On the other hand, it stands corroborated if we accept Dr Fleet's view that Harsha's fight with Pulakeśin took place in A D. 608-9.[5]

But considering the unsettled political conditions of the time it would be unreasonable to expect that Harsha could reign in peace for 30 years without any struggle, though he had to fight hard both before and after that period. Besides, Ma-twan-lin categorically states that Harsha was engaged in severe battles in the years 618

1 Cf Ch X Section 6
2 According to another reading "Harsha had brought the five Indias under allegiance" (*HTW* I 343, *HTB* I. 213)
3 Beal translates it differently (I 213), implying that he fought for 30 years.
4 Tripathi, *HK*, p. 127.
5. *BG*. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 351.

and 627.[1] It is thus difficult to place implicit faith in the statement of Hiuen Tsang, quoted above, and reconstruct the chronology of Harsha's campaigns accordingly. *Hiuen Tsang did not meet Harsha before A.D. 643 and was ill-informed about his early career, as is evidenced by his confused statement about Harsha's accession discussed above. As regards Fleet's view, it is based on the fact that* Pulakeśin is called Parameśvara in a record dated A.D. 612, but the hypothesis that Pulakeśin assumed this title on defeating Harsha cannot be regarded as satisfactory. For according to Pulakeśin's own records, he acquired it by defeating many hostile kings, and it is only in the records of his successor that the title is said to have been assumed by him on account of his victory over Harsha. The contest between Harsha and Pulakeśin must have taken place before A D. 634-5 as it is mentioned in the Aihole inscription recorded in that year; but how long before that it is difficult to say. Different scholars have suggested dates varying between A.D. 620 and 630.[2]

The battle with the king of Valabhī has to be placed before this date if we believe it to be one of the causes of Harsha's hostility to Pulakeśin. The identity of the king of Valabhī with whom Harsha fought depends upon the date of this battle. It is generally assumed that this king was Dhruvasena, who is described by Hiuen Tsang as the son-in-law of Harsha. It has been held that Dhruvasena II, being completely defeated, was compelled to sue for peace and to accept the hand of the victor's daughter. It has been pointed out, on the other hand, that 'the offer of a daughter's hand in marriage which involves humility cannot be expected in a victor.'[3] But, as has been shown above, the theory of complete defeat has no ground to stand upon, and instances are not wanting where the hostilities between two contending sovereigns are closed by a matrimonial alliance. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Dhruvasena II was the king of Valabhī who was at first defeated by Harsha, but was saved by the support of the Gurjara king Dadda II. It is, however, interesting to note that the records of Dadda II, dated A.D. 629 and 641, make no reference to the support given by him to the Valabhī king, and his achievement is extolled only in subsequent records issued by his successors. The successful opposition to Harsha on the part of a petty chief is so important an event that the silence of Dadda's records in this respect requires an explanation. Some hold that Dadda fought with Harsha in the company, and merely

1. *JRAS* N S IV. p 86, *JASB*. VI. 68.
2 The date of the campaign has been fully discussed in Ch XII. Cf also Tripathi, (*HK*, p 125); *ABORI*. XIII. 300, *PIHC* III. 596.
3 *PIHC*. III 596-7.

as a feudatory, of Pulakeśin who bore the brunt of the struggle, and hence Dadda did not dare take any credit for his success during the lifetime of his suzerain [1] Others, however, hold that Harsha's battle with the king of Valabhī took place after A.D. 641, and that his opponent was Dharasena IV. It is pointed out that Dharasena's assumption of imperial titles was a direct challenge to the authority of Harsha, and he was thus forced to declare war on the king of Valabhī.[2] It may be argued that this means a war between the maternal grandfather and the grandson. But such a thing is not unknown in history, and besides, Dharasena might have been born of a queen other than Harsha's daughter. The main drawback to this theory is that it places the battle after A D 644 when Pulakeśin was probably worsted in his fight with the Pallavas and was not in a position to render any help to the king of Valabhī or Gurjara Dadda II. On the whole, both the date of the battle and the identity of the Valabhī king must be left undecided

It would appear from Hiuen Tsang's statement as well as Bāṇa's narrative that Harsha's eastern campaign preceded his other campaigns But then this campaign must be different from the later one in the course of which he conquered Magadha, Orissa, and Koṅgoda in A D 641 and 642 The nature of the earlier campaign and the extent of its success are alike unknown

IV THE EXTENT OF HARSHA'S EMPIRE

Having thus discussed briefly the military campaigns of Harsha so far as they are known to us, we may now proceed to form an idea of the extent of his empire The treatment of this subject is rendered difficult by the extravagant estimates formed by old scholars on weak and insufficient basis. At a time when the study of Indian history was in its infancy, and people were not critical of the few contemporary data of ancient Indian history, then known, the scholars readily accepted the vague statements of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇabhaṭṭa and pictured Harsha as a great monarch and the last great empire-builder of Hindu India This erroneous conception persisted down to comparatively recent times The present writer was perhaps the first to challenge its accuracy, and it is gratifying to note a gradual change of view in the right direction.[3] Nevertheless prejudices die hard, and it is necessary to notice the subject in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary

1 EI, XXIV 179 2 PIHC, III, 598
3 Cf JBORS, 1923, pp 311 ff This view, expressed therein, is generally endorsed by Tripathi (HK, pp 78 ff)

In order to form an idea of the limits of Harsha's empire, it is necessary to review briefly the political condition of Northern India as described by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim has given a short account of all the kingdoms through which he passed. He was primarily a Buddhist devotee, and he has mainly described sites and events of religious importance, but in a good many cases he has also briefly noticed the political status of the kingdom. This invests his account with a degree of historical importance which is lacking, for example, in similar accounts of Fa-hien. In spite of uncertainties of exact identification of sites and some other minor details, we may, following Hiuen Tsang, take a bird's-eye view of political India as seen by the great Chinese pilgrim between A.D. 630, when he reached Kāpiśa (in Afghānistān), and A.D. 644, when he recrossed the Sindhu on his way home.

Kāpiśa, immediately to the south of the Hindu Kush mountains, was a powerful state under a Kshatriya king who directly ruled over the old kingdoms of Lan-po (Laghman), Nagarahāra (Jelālābād) and even Gandhāra, and held Fa-la-na (Bannu) in subjection. The only other important kingdom to the west of the Sindhu was Udyāna which occupied the upper Swāt valley.

To the east of the Sindhu, Kāshmir was the first important state. The old kingdoms of Takshaśilā, Siṁhapura, Uraśā, Pan-nu-tso and Rājapura, comprising nearly the whole of western and north-western Punjāb, were now incorporated into it, and the kingdom thus comprised not only the whole of Kāshmir but also a considerable part of the Punjāb The most important kingdom in the Punjāb is called Cheh-ka, which probably stands for Takka. Its capital was near Siālkot and it extended from the Beās in the east to the Sindhu on the west. Multān, and another country called Po-fa-to (Parvata) to the north-east of it, were both dependencies of Ṭakka.

Hiuen Tsang notices four more kingdoms in the East Punjāb and the hilly regions to the north-east, *viz.* Chi-na-puh-ti, Jālandhara, Kulūta, and Śatadru, but does not say anything about their political condition. It is probable that they were included in the empire of Harsha, but we cannot be quite sure of it. A king of Jālandhara is mentioned in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* as having supplied a military escort to the Chinese pilgrim on his return journey, and although Harsha afterwards added a great elephant to this escort and provided some money for defraying the expenses of the Chinese pilgrim, it does not prove, as has been suggested, that Harsha exercised some measure of influence over this kingdom.

To the east of the Yamunā, the only states whose rulers are mentioned are Mo-ti-pu-lo, Su-fa-la-na-ku-ta-lo (Suvarṇagotra),

Nepāl and Kāmarūpa. The first was situated in Western Rohilkhand and was ruled by a Śūdra king. The next was in the Himālayas. It was ruled by women and was known as the kingdom of the women. The other two are well-known states and will be treated in detail later. A large number of other states in U.P., Bihār and Bengal are noted, but nothing is said about their political status. We can reasonably assume that all or most of them were comprised in Harsha's empire.

In Central India there were three states in Bundelkhand, Gwālior, and Ujjain (E. Mālava) ruled over by Brāhmaṇa kings. In Western India the most powerful kingdom was Mo-la-po or W. Mālava which exercised suzerainty over three other states, *viz.* Kutch or Kheḍa, Ānandapura and Surāshṭra. Further to the west were the kingdoms of Valabhī, Broach, Gurjara and Sindhu. The two kingdoms Pi-to-shih-lo and A-fan-tu were subject to Sindhu which thus comprised the whole of the lower Sindhu valley.

This detailed account of the important kingdoms of Northern India, based on the express statements of Hiuen Tsang, leaves no doubt that Harsha's empire could not possibly comprise any substantial territory outside U P., Bihār, Bengal and Orissa. But M. Ettinghausen and Panikkar, the two modern biographers of Harsha, regard him as sovereign of the whole of Northern India; the latter specifically describes Harsha's empire as having extended from Kāmarūpa to Kāshmir and the Himālayas to the Vindhyas. The more moderate estimate of V A Smith excludes from this area Kāshmir, Punjāb, Sindh, Rājputāna and Kāmarūpa for the very simple reason that Hiuen Tsang clearly refers to them as independent kingdoms, and even mentions the states that were subordinate to some of them.

But even V. A Smith's estimate can hardly be regarded as sober. His belief that the king of Valabhī was a feudatory or vassal of Harsha has no real grounds to stand upon. But he exceeds the bounds of probability when he includes Mālava, Gujarāt, Kutch and Kāthiāwār Peninsula within the limits of Harsha's empire. For Hiuen Tsang describes Mo-la-po to the east of the Mahi river, as a powerful kingdom and expressly states that the kingdoms of Ānandapura (Ahmedābād District), K-i-ta (Kutch or Kaira District) and Su-la-cha (Kāthiāwār Peninsula) were subject to it. There can be no doubt that Mo-la-po denotes the western part of Mālwā with its dependent states and Valabhī covers the whole western region south of Rājputāna. Again, Hiuen Tsang describes the three states to the east of Mālwā corresponding roughly to E. Mālwā (with capital at Ujjayinī), Bundelkhand and Gwālior as being ruled by

Brāhmaṇa kings. It is thus clear that Harsha's suzerainty did not extend much to the south of the Yamunā.

To the west of the Yamunā the empire of Harsha could not possibly extend beyond Jālandhara. To the north Kāshmir was certainly an independent kingdom, and although Nepāl is supposed by some to be subject to Harsha, the evidence in support of it is very weak. It is likely, however, that he conquered some territories at the foot of the Himālayas.[1] In the east, as noted above, there is nothing to show that Harsha exercised any suzerainty over North, South or Eastern Bengal, or that Kāmarūpa was a vassal state of Harsha.[2]

This detailed examination forces us to the conclusion that at first Harsha's kingdom comprised merely the territories of the old states of Thāneswar and Kanauj, though he probably added some small principalities to the north and west. It may be said to have comprised the Eastern Punjāb and Uttar Pradesh. Towards the close of his reign, he had annexed Magadha and even pushed his conquests as far as Orissa and Koṅgoda. It is not definitely known, however, whether the last two with the intervening territory were ever incorporated in his dominions.

This limit of Harsha's empire is much narrower than what is generally believed. But excluding the doubtful case of Bengal it seems impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to regard Harsha as exercising his authority over a larger area. It is significant that the find-spots of his coins and inscriptions, and the locality where the new era started by him was undoubtedly in vogue, are all situated within this limit.

V. ESTIMATE OF HARSHA

It would be quite wrong to assume, as many have done, that Harsha was the last great empire-builder in the Hindu period and his death marked the end of all successful attempts to restore the political unity of Northern India. Several empires, which did not compare unfavourably with his, rose and fell in Northern India during the next five centuries, and some of them, like the Pratihāra empire, were not only bigger but more enduring. While, therefore, it would be idle to pretend that Harsha-vardhana's reign constitutes a distinctive age or marks an epoch in Indian history in any way, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise and admiration which is

1. Bāṇabhaṭṭa says (*HC*, p. 76) that Harsha exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains. Bühler (*IA*. XIX. 40), and following him, others take the country to be Nepāl, while Lévi (*le Nepal*, II, 145-6) and Ettinghausen (*Harsha Vardhana*, p. 47) think that it refers to the Tukhāra country.
2. See on this point, Tripathi (*HK*, p. 104), and *PIHC*, VI 48.

due to him as a great ruler, a brave military leader, a patron of arts and letters, and a man of noble impulses and distinguished personality.

Harsha-vardhana came to occupy the throne of Thāneswar at a most critical moment in its history. The friendly and neighbouring state of Kanauj was overrun by a powerful enemy who had designs upon Thāneswar itself, and its king met with a tragic end in an attempt to retrieve the disaster. The death of two successive rulers within a short space of time rendered the position of the young king still more difficult in the face of the heavy task that lay before him, particularly if we remember that his relations with the surrounding states were far from friendly, and hostile operations were actually in progress against one of them That Harsha not only surmounted these difficulties, but raised the small principality of Thāneswar into the most powerful kingdom in Northern India, reflects the greatest credit upon his military skill and general ability. The disintegrating forces, let loose by the dissolution of the Gupta empire, made the task of an empire-builder particularly difficult, and he had to engage in a series of military engagements with the numerous states that arose all over Northern India He had also to measure his sword with the great emperor who successfully emulated his own exploits in the Deccan and South India. Harsha's military expeditions did not prove uniformly successful, but in spite of occasional failures, he built a strong and powerful empire, and established his reputation as a great conqueror. His supremacy in Northern India was undisputed, and even rulers who did not acknowledge his suzerainty stood in awe of him, and were eager to win his favour and friendship. This is well illustrated by the host of crowned monarchs that attended the religious ceremonies organised by him, and in particular by the story that Hiuen Tsang tells of his first meeting with the great emperor Harsha was then staying in his camp at Kajangala (near Rājmahal) after his return from his Orissa campaign. On hearing that Hiuen Tsang was then staying in Kāmarūpa, he sent a messenger asking king Bhāskara-varman to send the Chinese priest to him at once Bhāskara-varman replied: "He (Harsha) can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) yet" On receiving this reply Harsha sent a brief message: 'Send the head per bearer.' Bhāskara-varman, deeply alarmed at his own folly, now made amends by a personal visit to Harsha along with Hiuen Tsang[1] This story need not be taken as literally true; nevertheless it reflects the high regard and consideration that Harsha commanded even from independent rulers.

1. *Life*, p 172

But while Harsha must be regarded as a great and powerful monarch, it is difficult to form a proper estimate of his military genius and statesmanship. To all appearances his accession to the throne of Kanauj paved the way for his future success and considerably facilitated his task. We do not know the means by which he acquired that kingdom, and we cannot say what part luck, diplomacy, or military ability played in this initial achievement. As regards his campaigns, we know of only two enemies who may be regarded as first class powers, *viz.* Pulakeśin and Śaśāṅka. He was defeated by one of them, and certainly achieved no conspicuous success against the other. About his other adversaries like the kings of Sindh and Valabhī, we possess too little knowledge to form any idea of their comparative strength. The view that Harsha carried his military expeditions as far as South India has no basis to rest upon.[1]

There are two extraneous evidences of the eminent position that Harsha occupied in contemporary politics. The Chālukya records state that Pulakeśin acquired the title 'Parameśvara' by defeating the glorious Harsha-vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the North. Although the title 'Sakalottarāpatha-nātha' should not be literally taken to mean the lord of whole of Northern India, the references in South Indian records certainly indicate that Harsha occupied a pre-eminent position in his time.

Secondly, an era, counting from the date of Harsha's accession, was probably in use even long after his death Inscriptions bearing date as late as 298, and one of the year 563 (or 562) have been referred to this era.[2] Although in not a single instance has the era been expressly associated with the name of Harsha, its existence has been inferred from certain remarks of Alberuni. Alberuni notes[3] that there was an era of Śrī-Harsha prevalent in Mathurā and Kanauj, which commenced 400 years before the Vikrama era, *i.e.* about 458 B.C. But he adds that he read in the Kāshmirian calendar that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. This would place the accession of Harsha in A.D. 606, a date now generally accepted. It is further held on the same authority that there were two Harsha eras, the later of which, founded by Harsha-vardhana, commenced from this date. The accession of Harsha-vardhana in A.D. 606 cannot, however, be easily reconciled with a statement in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*,[4] which implies that Harsha reigned for 30 years or a little more when he performed his sixth quinquennial

1. Cf. Tripathi, *HK*, p. 121. See above, p. 106, fn. 1.
2. Cf. Bh. List 189 ff. Tripathi, *HK*, p. 123.
3. Sachau's Tr. Vol. II p. 5.
4. Trans. by Beal, p. 183.

celebrations at Prayāga in A.D. 643, unless we count this period from his accession to the throne of Kanauj which would then fall *in c. A.D. 612.*[1] *In any event, it must be pointed out that there is no reliable evidence in support of the generally accepted views that* Harsha-vardhana ascended the throne of Thāneswar in A.D. 606, and that an era was counted from his accession.[2]

Hiuen Tsang draws a vivid picture of Harsha as an energetic ruler who was constantly on the move, being either engaged in military campaigns, or visiting different parts of his wide empire, meting out justice to all, showing honour to the worthy, and correcting irregularities in the conduct or behaviour of all. He maintained a large standing army, and Hiuen Tsang's estimate of its strength is interesting. At first it is said to have comprised 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. But, later, the number of elephants and cavalry were raised respectively to 60,000 and 100,000.[3] The number would appear almost incredible, and if the infantry were increased in anything like the same proportion, it must have well nigh reached almost a million Even the army of Chandragupta Maurya, who ruled over a much bigger empire, included only 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants, besides 600,000 infantry. The statement of Hiuen Tsang is certainly open to grave doubts. That great attention was paid to cavalry is also hinted at by Bāṇa, for we are told that the horses for the army were brought from Persia, Afghānistān, and N.-W. Frontier Province which are still famous for their good breed [4]

Harsha distinguished himself almost equally in arts of peace and war. He could wield the pen as well as the sword, and three of his dramatic plays, *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*, survive to testify to the literary skill of the royal author, which won him high reputation as a poet both from contemporaries and posterity.[5] He was, besides, a great patron of learning, and his court was graced by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Mayūra, and other literary men of

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1. According to V A Smith 'Harsha did not boldly stand forth as avowed king of Thāneswar until A.D. 612 and he suggests that up to that time Harsha "considered himself to be Regent on behalf of his sister, or possibly, an infant child of his late brother" (*EHI*^{4} 338) It is absurd to suggest that his sister had any claim to the throne of Thāneswar, and as already noted above, Bāṇa's account leaves no doubt that Harsha became king of Thāneswar immediately after his brother's death.
2. This question has been fully discussed by the present writer (*IHQ*, XXVII, 183) For further discussion cf. *Ibid*, 321, and *IHQ* XXVIII.
3. *HTB*. I 213.
4. Bāṇa saw Harsha's stable filled with the king's favourite horses from Vanāyu, Āraṭṭa, Kamboja, Bharadvāja, Sindh, and Persia (*HC*, p. 50).
5. Doubts have been entertained whether Harsha himself composed these plays. This has been fully discussed by Tripathi (*HK*, p. 185) who also cites references to Harsha's literary activities (p. 182), cf infra Cr. XV.

less renown. Hiuen Tsang observes, in his general account of India, that royal revenues are divided into four parts; one for the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects.[1] If this picture applies to Harsha's government, as we have every reason to believe, we may find in it indirect reference to the royal patronage of learning, which finds support from other sources of information. A story is told in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*[2] that Harsha was deeply impressed by the remarkable learning and scholarship of a Kshatriya householder named Jayasena, a native of Surāshṭra, living in Magadha, and offered him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. The offer was declined, but it proves the generosity of Harsha towards learned men and his unstinted liberality to them. Harsha was also a patron of the great University of Nālandā, which was then the most renowned centre of learning in the whole of the Buddhist world. We learn from Hiuen Tsang that he built there a magnificent *vihāra* and a bronze temple.[3] I-tsing tells us that "Śīlāditya was exceedingly fond of literature" and that he not only "versified the story of the Bodhisatva Jīmūtavāhana" (i.e. *Nāgānanda*) "but had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting."[4]

Even making due allowances for the pompous rhetoric of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and enthusiastic exaggeration of Hiuen Tsang, their narratives leave no doubt that Harsha was a ruler of versatile ability and wonderful personality. Naturally Hiuen Tsang has given more details of the religious beliefs and activities of Harsha. Any one who goes through the pilgrim's bulky volumes is struck by his enthusiasm, bordering almost on fanaticism, in matters concerning Buddhist religion. He was so much blinded by faith and devotion that he even describes supernatural phenomena as happening before his very eyes. He saw everything in India through the spectacles of Buddhism, and regarded its inherent superiority to all other religions as beyond question. The account of such a person about the religious proclivities of Harsha must be accepted with more than usual reserve. To judge, as we do in other cases, from the epigraphic records of Harsha, he must be regarded as a pious and devoted Śaiva. His royal seals, which refer to his three ancestors as worshippers of the Sun and his elder brother as Buddhist, describe him as a devoted Śaiva, and this is corroborated by the two records that we

1. *HTW*. I. 176.
2. Trans. by Beal, p. 154.
3. *Life*, p. 159, *HTW*. II. 171.
4. *IRT*. 163-64.

possess of him. Yet the accounts of Hiuen Tsang would leave the impression that Harsha was not only a devoted follower of Buddhist religion, but even deliberately treated with scant respect the other religious sects, including Śaivas, as being distinctly inferior. Hiuen Tsang describes, for example, the great ceremony which Harsha performed every five years at Prayāga, at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, when, *after the example of his ancestors*, he 'distributed in one day the accumulated wealth of five years.' But we are told that an image of Buddha was first offered the most costly jewels, and the Buddhist priests, from far and near, were entertained with gifts, before his charity was extended to 'retired scholars and recluses of other religions and the kinless poor.'[1] This lavish distribution exhausted all the public and private wealth of the country, but in ten days the empty treasury was again filled by the gifts of the rulers of different countries. This account is of a piece with the general tenor of Hiuen Tsang's statements, and undoubtedly contains a great deal of exaggeration, and perhaps even perversion of truth.

Still more striking is his account of Harsha's religious assembly at Kanauj,[2] which was attended by Bhāskara-varman, with his immense host, and twenty (or eighteen) other kings[3] A special tower, 100 ft. high and with a golden statue of Buddha of the size of the king inside it, was constructed at Kanauj, and every day in the midst of a huge procession, escorted by the kings, a smaller golden image of Buddha was carried on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant. On its left went king Harsha, dressed as Śakra (Indra) holding a canopy, and on the right was Bhāskara-varman, dressed as Brahma holding a white *Chāmara*. After having reached an altar, specially constructed for the purpose, the king first washed the Buddha image in scented water, and then himself bore it on his shoulder to the tower where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems This worship was followed by a grand feast After the feast the kings and followers of different religious sects gathered in an assembly and discussed the most abstruse subjects till evening when the king retired in state to his own residence. This programme was followed for 21 days in succession

It is needless to add that in the assembly for discussion Hiuen Tsang is represented as towering head and shoulders above the rest. The members of the assembly were selected by Harsha himself, and included, in addition to the kings and their two hundred ministers, 1,000 renowned Buddhist priests and five hundred Brāhmanas and

1 *HTW* I 364. 2 *HTB* I 218, *Life*, 177
3 The number of kings is given as 18 in the *Life*

followers of other religious sects. Hiuen Tsang was nominated as 'Lord of the discussion,' and having selected a subject, he offered his head to any one who could find fault with his arguments. None dared challenge him for five days, and then the followers of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism plotted to kill him. Thereupon Harsha issued a proclamation threatening with instant death any one who 'should hurt or touch' the Chinese pilgrim. Further, he announced that 'whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out.' No wonder, that after this 'the followers of error withdrew' and no one joined the discussion.

But murder seems to have been in the air of the religious assembly at Kanauj. The heretics, we are told, felt great resentment against Harsha and planned to kill him, because while he 'exhausted his treasury in offerings to the Buddhists, he scarcely even spoke to them.' On the last day of the assembly the great tower suddenly caught fire, and in the confusion that ensued, a heretic, knife in hand, rushed on the king. The man was seized and confessed that he was hired by the heretics, who had deliberately set the tower on fire to get an opportunity to assassinate the king. Five hundred Brāhmaṇas, all of singular talent, questioned by the king, confessed to their share in the plot, adding that they were "jealous of the *Śramaṇas,* whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured." The king punished the ring-leaders and banished the 500 Brāhmaṇas to the frontiers of India.

Thus ended the strange assembly of Kanauj. The whole scene is dominated by the towering personality of Hiuen Tsang, and Harsha cuts a sorry, almost a pitiable figure. An extreme partisan of Buddhism, and a blind admirer of his illustrious guest, he even forgot his royal duties and the allegiance he owed to the faith officially accepted by him and his numerous subjects. The sight of the Buddha image carried by the king, dressed as a Brahmanical god, was sure to wound the feelings of millions who thronged the capital. It was again queer indeed to convoke an assembly for religious discussion with Hiuen Tsang as the chief spokesman, and then to declare publicly that whoever speaks against him shall have his tongue cut out. The result was, of course, a foregone conclusion,—Hiuen Tsang occupying the Presidential chair in splendid isolation, with no one entering the Hall to join the discussion. Such is the picture which Hiuen Tsang presents to us of his patron and hero, but we may well doubt whether Harsha was really capable of such folly.

Hiuen Tsang's account leaves no doubt that Harsha was greatly attached to Buddhism, and showered great honours upon the Chinese

pilgrim for his learning, piety and devotion. But we should, perhaps, give too much credence to it if we believe that he formally gave up his old faith, and his zeal for Buddhism and respect and reverence for Hiuen Tsang led him to show scant courtesy, if not positive disrespect, to the other religious sects and their revered leaders.

VI. HARSHA'S RELATION WITH CHINA

Harsha's intimacy with Hiuen Tsang led to one important result. He must have been impressed with the pilgrim's description of the power and prestige of the Chinese emperor, and accordingly sent an envoy[1] to him in A.D. 641. Ma-twan-lin has preserved the following account of it:

"(In 641) Śīlāditya assumed the title of king of Magadha and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. The emperor, in his turn, sent Liang-hoai-King as an envoy with a royal patent to Śīlāditya with an invitation to him to submit (to the authority of the Chinese emperor). Śīlāditya was full of astonishment and asked his officers whether any Chinese envoy ever came to this country since time immemorial. 'Never', they replied in one voice. Thereupon the king went out, received the imperial decree with bended knees, and placed it on his head."

Ettinghausen has inferred from this submissive attitude of Harsha that he must have been in great trouble and badly needed the help of China. Such a conclusion is absolutely unwarranted. It has been invariably the practice of Chinese chroniclers to represent customary presents given by an envoy as the tribute paid by a vassal state, and no wonder that ordinary marks of courtesy and politeness, which Harsha showed to the ambassador, were represented as an act of submission. It is impossible to believe that Harsha could really expect any material aid from such a distant country as China, of which he knew very little before he met Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the close of the year A D. 643 a second Chinese embassy came to Magadha under Li-y-piao and Wang-hiuen-tse. They brought with them a Brāhmana envoy sent to the Chinese emperor by Śīlāditya, probably soon after he made the acquaintance of Hiuen

1 For an account of the embassies, cf. Ettinghausen, *Harsha Vardhana*, pp. 54-7. Dr. P. C. Bagchi in enumerating the embassies from China does not refer to the Chinese embassy under Liang-hoai-King and takes the embassy under Li-y-piao as the first sent by the Chinese emperor in return to that sent by Harsha (*India and China*, p. 82). He writes *Li Yi-pao* and *Wang Hiuan-ts'ö* as the names of the two Chinese ambassadors, and gives the date of the second embassy of the latter as A.D. 647 (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 69).

Tsang. This embassy brought the reply of the Chinese emperor to the king of Magadha (as Harsha was called in the Chinese account) and was received with similar honours as the previous one.

Scarcely had Wang-hiuen-tse returned to China when he was again sent back to the court of Harsha. This third embassy was probably the result of detailed communications about the Indian king which the emperor received from Hiuen Tsang on the latter's return to China in A.D. 645.

Wang-hiuen-tse left for India in 646 with Tsiang-Cheu-jenn as the second in command. But when they arrived in India the great king was no more. We may thus infer that Harsha-vardhana probably died in the beginning of A.D. 647 or towards the close of the previous year. The exact time and circumstances of his death, as well as the events following it, are unknown, and no light is thrown on them by any Indian record.

No successor of Harsha-vardhana is known, and with him ended the famous Pushpabhūti family and the mighty empire founded by his prowess and ability.

APPENDIX

The Death of Rājya-vardhana

Bāṇabhaṭṭa's account[1] of Rājya-vardhana, summarised above, is distressingly vague and incomplete, and suffers from all the defects of partisan authorship. He does not, for example, mention even the name of either the king of Mālava or the king of Gauḍa, who inflicted such calamity on the house of Thāneswar. That the latter is Śaśāṅka admits of no doubt, as Hiuen Tsang refers to the murder of Rājya-vardhana by Śaśāṅka. The inscriptions of Harsha-vardhana refer to Deva-gupta and other kings being defeated by Rājya-vardhana. As the king of Mālava was the only important king defeated by Rājya-vardhana in his brief career, it is a reasonable presumption that Deva-gupta of the inscriptions and the king of Mālava denote one and the same person.[2]

The first part of Bāṇa's narrative seems to imply that Deva-gupta alone defeated and killed Graha-varman and put Rājyaśrī in prison. But the chance mentioned of 'Gauḍa trouble' in connection with the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī, and the fight between Śaśāṅka and Rājya-vardhana almost immediately after Deva-gupta's death, can hardly be explained except on the theory of an alliance between Mālava and Gauḍa against the Maukharis.

1. *HC*, pp. 173, 177-8, 224, 250.
2. For other views on the subject, cf. *IHQ*, XXXII, 431; XXXIII, 235.

There is much that is vague in the account of the allied conquest of Kanauj. Not only are details lacking about the initial stages of the campaign which ended so disastrously for Graha-varman, but no clue is given regarding the identity of the nobleman named Gupta who set Rājyaśrī at liberty; nor are we told how or why Rājyaśrī chose to betake herself to the distant Vindhya hills when she could far more easily fly to her native kingdom of Thāneswar.

The subsequent events are also not easy to follow. Why Rājya-vardhana marched with such a small army against powerful foes; why Deva-gupta met him without his ally Śaśāṅka; whether Rājya-vardhana was at all aware that Śaśāṅka's army was near at hand, and if so why he advanced, with his depleted army, against this new enemy without re-inforcement;—these are questions to which it is difficult to give any satisfactory answer.

Similar uncertainty hangs round the story of Rājya-vardhana's death. Bāṇa says he was allured by Śaśāṅka to his house and killed when he was alone and without any weapon Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not mention the nature of the allurements which induced Rājya-var-dhana to visit the house of his enemy without any guard Śaṅkara, a later commentator of Bāṇa, explains the allurements by saying that Śaśāṅka enticed Rājya-vardhana through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand, and while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner in his enemy's camp, he was killed by the Gauḍa king in disguise Apart from its inherent absurdity, the story is hardly consistent with the express statement of Bāṇa that Rājya-vardhana died while he was alone and weaponless in his enemy's house

Hiuen Tsang gives us a different story altogether. Śaśānka, it is said, frequently told his ministers, with reference to Rājya-var-dhana, that 'if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the un-happiness of the mother-kingdom.' Thereupon the ministers of Śaśāṅka asked Rājya-vardhana to a conference and murdered him. Elsewhere Hiuen Tsang quotes the following speech of Harsha's ministers "Owing to the fault of his (Rājya-vardhana's) ministers, he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the king-dom has suffered a great affliction, but it is the fault of your ministers"

Lastly we have the express statement in the inscriptions of Harsha-vardhana that Rājya-vardhana gave up his life at the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to a promise.

It would appear from these varying accounts that while there is no doubt that Rājya-vardhana was killed by Śaśāṅka, it is not just

or reasonable to accept the view that this was accomplished by treachery. That both Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Hiuen Tsang were bitter against Śaśāṅka is evidenced by their writings, and their accusations must be treated with a great deal of reserve. It is not a little curious that all the three contemporary accounts, which refer to Rājyavardhana's murder, maintain a conspiracy of silence regarding its cause or details. It is no use stressing the fact that Śaśāṅka's treachery is mentioned by contemporary writers, for the varying accounts of Shivaji and Afzal Khan in Muslim and Marāṭhā chronicles illustrate the danger of relying upon contemporary evidence if it comes from interested or prejudiced sources. On the whole, it is better to reserve judgment until further evidence is available.[1]

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(c) K. M. Panikkar—*Śrī Harsha of Kanauj*.

(d) R. S. Tripathi—*History of Kanauj*. (Chs. III-VIII).

1. For a full discussion of this question, cf. *HBR*, pp. 71 ff; *IHQ*, XXIII. 51.

CHAPTER X

NORTHERN INDIA DURING A. D. 650-750

1. THE CHINESE RAID

It is generally held that the death of Harsha was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion throughout Northern India. This view must be considerably modified in view of what has been stated above regarding the limits of Harsha's empire. For there is no ground to suppose that the large number of kingdoms in Northern India outside that empire were directly affected by his death to any appreciable extent. The break-up of the empire, no doubt, led to the rise of a number of independent states on its ruins, and the period of transition might have witnessed troubles and disorders, possibly even internecine wars between rival claimants for power. No light is thrown on this by any Indian record. But the Chinese account of the embassy of Wang-hiuen-tse which, as noted above,[1] reached India immediately after the death of Harsha, has preserved some curious details of the history of this period. Accustomed as we are to the exaggeration and self-adulation of the Chinese writers, this account beats all records and reads more like a romance or a string of fables than sober history. It may be summed up as follows[2]:—

"Before the embassy arrived in India, Harsha-vardhana was dead and his minister, named A-la-na-shuen (Arjuna or Aruṇāśva?), the king of Tīrabhukti(?), had usurped the throne. The usurper attacked the ambassador who had only 30 horsemen as his escort. Wang-hiuen-tse was defeated and the articles which the Indian kingdoms paid him as tribute were plundered He fled alone, under cover of darkness at night, and went to Tibet to ask for help. The Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po supplied 1,200 picked troops and Aṁśuvarman, king of Nepāl, gave him 7,000 horsemen as escort. With these recruits, Wang-hiuen-tse, determined to take revenge,

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1 See p 121

2 The different versions are given in S Lévi's account in *JA*. 1900, pp. 297 ff. Brief summary is also given by Dr P C Bagchi (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 69) and E Chavannes (*Documents sur les Toukiue occidentaux*, p 16 of the Additional Notes) The usurper is called the ruler of Ti-na-fu-ti, which has been regarded as equivalent to Tīrabhukti This shows that he was a local ruler rather than the imperial successor of Harsha Lévi's identification of Cha-puo-ho-lo with Ḍavāka (Nowgong district, cf p. 8 above) also points in the same direction. The river K'ien-t'o-wei has been equated with Gaṇḍavatī, a possible variant form of Gaṇḍakī The differences of details in the different versions have not been noted in the above summary The whole question has been critically discussed in *JASL*, XIX 37 ff

advanced as far as Cha-puo-ho-lo, the capital of Mid-India, and captured it after a siege of three days. The carnage was terrible. Three thousand of the besieged were beheaded and ten thousand were drowned. The usurper Arjuna fled, rallied his scattered troops and again offered battle. He was defeated and captured, and one thousand of his troops were beheaded. The guards of the royal harem opposed the enemy's passage of the river K'ien-t'o-wei. They were defeated. The wives and children of the usurper fell into the hands of the enemy who also took 12,000 prisoners and more than 30,000 domesticated animals of all kinds. Then whole India trembled and 580 walled towns offered their submission. Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), the king of Eastern India, sent the victor large quantities of provisions and equipment. After this great triumph Wang-hiuen-tse returned to China in A.D. 648, taking with him Arjuna as a prisoner. The latter remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of the Chinese emperor T'ai-tsong."

It was indeed a great marvel! With only eight thousand soldiers, borrowed from two neighbouring states, Wang-hiuen-tse, far from his home, defied the great king who sat on Harsha's throne, fought a series of battles, and won an easy and complete victory in each, killing 13,000 and imprisoning 12,000 over and above a large unspecified number. He captured the enemy's capital city only after three days' siege, and 580 walled towns submitted to him, evidently out of fear, though his force consisted mainly of cavalry. And all these, including a return journey to China, were accomplished in the course of a year or a little more. Such marvels do not often or easily happen, and one might justly feel sceptical about the whole affair. In any case, it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusion from this picture of an invincible hero painted by himself. What appears to be probable is that Wang-hiuen-tse's party was attacked and pillaged by some petty chief near the Himālayas, and Wang, with the help of some Nepalese and Tibetan soldiers, retaliated. It is also quite likely that Harsha's death was followed by political disintegration and rise of ambitious chiefs who scrambled for the inheritance of the vast empire left without any strong or legitimate heir. Wang himself might have espoused the cause of one such rival and thus created enemies for himself. Apart from such a provocation, it is difficult to imagine why his camp was suddenly attacked by the minister of Harsha who had usurped the throne. No motive is alleged, and it is interesting to note that the scene of action is laid in Nepāl border of North Bihār, and not anywhere near Kanauj, the capital of Harsha. It is equally difficult to account for the posthumous honours shown to the rebellious Indian ruler, guilty of wanton

violence against the Chinese ambassador. On the whole, the story of Wang-hiuen-tse has little historical value, except as a general indication of the anarchy and confusion prevailing in North Bihār and the neighbouring region after the death of Harsha. What happened to the kingdoms of Thāneswar or Kanauj we cannot say, but there is no ground to suppose that Harsha's death was followed by a political upheaval in the whole of North India.

Although the process of the disintegration of Harsha's empire cannot be traced in detail, it is clearly marked by the rise of two or three powerful states in its component parts. We may first briefly sketch their history and then take up the other states which lay outside the empire.

2. THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA

The most important succession-state of the empire was the kingdom of Magadha. Shortly after the death of Harsha we find the Later Guptas ruling over it. Mādhava-gupta, the son of Mahāsena-gupta and the friend of Harsha, occupied the throne, and the records of the family leave no doubt that henceforth they ruled over a powerful principality in Magadha for nearly a century. The Aphsad stone inscription,[1] engraved in the reign of Ādityasena, the son of Mādhava-gupta, is the earliest record of the family, and traces its history from the very beginning. It does not refer to any break in the rule of the dynasty after Mahāsena-gupta, though it is almost certain that the family exercised no sovereign authority for a fairly long time during which Deva-gupta was ruling in Mālwā, and at first Śaśāṅka, then Pūrṇavarman, and lastly Harsha-vardhana were ruling over Magadha. All the while Mādhava-gupta and his elder brother Kumāra-gupta were living in Thāneswar court as companions of Rājya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana. There is a casual reference in the *Harsha-charita* to the anointment of Kumāra (as king) by Harsha-vardhana.[2] This Kumāra has been identified with Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. But as the latter was an independent ruler, and had ascended the throne before Harsha, this view is hardly acceptable[3] The probability is that Kumāra-gupta was anointed sovereign by Harsha-vardhana If this supposition be correct, we must hold that Mādhava-gupta succeeded his brother, though there is no mention of it in the Aphsad Inscription. On the other hand, it is equally likely that when the death of Harsha was followed by a scramble for power, either Mādhava-gupta or his brother seized the opportunity to make himself master of Magadha. As noted above,[4]

1 *CII*, III. 202.
2 *Harsha-Charita* (Nirnayasāgar) p 91
3 Mookerji, *Harsha*, p 44, *THK*, 104
4. See p. 75.

his ancestors were probably rulers of Magadha, and Mādhava-gupta's action in that case merely amounted to a recovery of the paternal kingdom.

Mādhava-gupta must have been fairly advanced in age when he ascended the throne, and his reign was probably a short one. He was succeeded by his son Ādityasena, the only ruler of the family about whom we know some details. His daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhoga-varman, son of the sister of king Aṁśu-varman of Nepāl; and Bhoga-varman's daughter Vatsadevī, the granddaughter of Ādityasena, became the queen of Śivadeva, king of Nepāl. The express reference to these marriage alliances in the official records of Nepāl seems to indicate that the Later Gupta kings enjoyed high political and social status in Eastern India. This is further borne out by the fact that Ādityasena assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. An inscription,[1] engraved in a temple at Deoghar (Santal Parganas), refers to his conquest of the Choḷa country and performance of several sacrifices, including three *Aśvamedhas*. The characters of this inscription are, however, of much later date, and it seems to be the copy of a record originally set up at Mandar hill, near Bhāgalpur. It is difficult to place much reliance on it, and we shall not be justified in assuming, on the basis of this record alone, that Ādityasena really carried his victorious arms to the Choḷa country. Unfortunately, no other specific event is recorded of his reign except some pious foundations by his queen Koṇadevī.

The date in a short record of Ādityasena has been read as 66[2] and has been referred to the Harsha era. It is accordingly held that Ādityasena was ruling in A.D. 672. The reading of the date is, however, uncertain, and no definite conclusion can be drawn from it. But there is hardly any doubt that he ascended the throne in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We know the names of three successors of Ādityasena, *viz.* Deva-gupta, Vishṇu-gupta and Jīvita-gupta.[3] They all continued the imperial titles and were evidently rulers of some power, but we do not know much about them. Vishṇu-gupta ruled for at least 17 years,[4] and Jīvita-gupta probably extended his authority to some territory on the banks of the Gomati which once formed part of the Maukhari kingdom.

No successor of Jīvita-gupta is known, and the end of the Later Guptas is obscure. When Yaśovarman of Kanauj set out on his victorious campaign in the east, some time in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D., he found one king in possession of Gauḍa

1. *CII*, III. p. 213 fn.
2. *Ibid.* 210.
3. *Ibid.* 215.
4. *EI*, XXVI. 241.

and Magadha.[1] It has been suggested that this ruler, whose defeat and death at the hands of Yaśovarman is described in the poem *Gauḍa-vaho* (killing of the king of Gauḍa), is no other than Jīvita-gupta. But as the ruler is expressly called Lord of Gauḍa, and the poem is named *Gauḍa-vaho,* we should infer that the opponent of Yaśovarman was a king of Gauḍa who also ruled over Magadha, rather than a king of Magadha, as Jīvita-gupta undoubtedly was, whose sway extended over Gauḍa. In any case, we must hold that the power of the Later Guptas came to an end in or shortly before the second quarter of the eight century A.D., the last ruler Jīvita-gupta being defeated either by a king of Gauḍa or king Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

3. YAŚOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

The city of Kanauj was raised to the position of an imperial capital by Harsha-vardhana. But an impenetrable gloom surrounds its history for more than half a century after his death. When the obscurity lifts we find a powerful monarch Yaśovarman occupying its throne. Nothing is known of the early history and antecedents of this king, but one of his court-poets, the famous Vākpati, wrote a poetical work in Prakrit to celebrate the victorious campaign of his patron, and this forms the chief source of our knowledge of his life and reign. The name of Vākpati's poem, '*Gauḍa-vaho*',[2] implies that the defeat and death of the king of Gauḍa formed the main theme of the work, but as a matter of fact this event is merely alluded to at the very end, and the rest of the work deals with the other conquests of Yaśovarman The facts narrated in the poem may be summed up as follows:—

'At the end of a rainy season, Yaśovarman proceeded with his army on an expedition of conquest (*vijaya-yātrā*) Passing through the valley of the Son, he reached the Vindhya mountain, and propitiated the famous goddess Vindhyavāsinī (a form of Kālī) residing in one of its caves. Proceeding further he met the king of Magadha, who fled in terror. But the vassal kings who accompanied the latter felt ashamed of their conduct and immediately returned to fight Yaśovarman A great battle ensued, and the blood of Yaśovarman's enemies reddened the field The lord of Magadha was pursued and slain by Yaśovarman who then proceeded to the seacoast and conquered the king of the Vaṅgas The Vaṅgas were powerful and in

1. This is very doubtful cf *HBR*. pp 94-5.
2. This work has been edited by S P Pandit, with a learned Introduction discussing the history of Yaśovarman. Mr N B Utgikar has brought out a second edition, with another learned Introduction discussing recent views.

possession of a large number of warlike elephants, but they submitted to Yaśovarman and acknowledged him as their suzerain.

'The conquering hero then proceeded across the Malaya mountain after receiving the submission of the king of the Deccan (king of south). Then he reached that shore of the sea where Vālin, taking the mighty Rāvaṇa under his arm, roamed about at ease. Yaśovarman then marched upon the Pārasikas and conquered them after a protracted and hard-fought battle. He levied tributes from the regions rendered inaccessible by the Western Ghāts. He then came to the bank of the Narmadā and, passing by the sea-coast, marched to Maru-deśa (Desert of Rājputāna). Thence he advanced towards Śrīkaṇṭha, the district round Thāneswar. Passing through Kurukshetra, and visiting the scenes of the war described in the *Mahābhārata*, Yaśovarman proceeded to Ayodhyā. He then received the submission of the people living on the Mandara mountains and proceeded towards the Himālayan region.

'Having thus conquered the world, Yaśovarman returned to his capital Kanauj and the vanquished kings, who were compelled to accompany him, were sent back to their kingdoms.'

It is curious that no mention is made of the king of Gauḍa in the course of this narrative of the world conquest, though the poem is entitled *Gauḍa-vaho* or slaying of the king of Gauḍa. The event is only incidentally alluded to in a single verse towards the end of the poem. An old commentator, Haripāla, took the lord of Magadha, defeated and killed by Yaśovarman, to be the king of Gauḍa This is at best an assumption,[1] but even this would hardly justify the title, as the number of verses devoted to the particular episode is very few, indeed fewer than those relating to other kings.

As the summary shows, the description of Yāśovarman's conquest is highly conventional, and it is difficult to accept as an historical fact that he conquered all the regions in the north and south as described in the poem. But we possess some independent evidence which corroborates in a general way his conquests in the east An inscription,[2] found at Nālandā, refers to Yaśovarman as the paramount suzerain, and it may be taken to indicate that his authority extended over Magadha. We may therefore believe that he carried his arms as far as Bengal and defeated the lord of Gauḍa.

The story of the southern conquests of Yaśovarman appears, on the face of it, highly improbable. But there may be some basis for it. The inscriptions of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya, great-

1. Cf *HBR*. pp 94-5
2 *EI* XX. 37 For various views and inferences, cf references in Bhandarkar's List No 2105.

grandson of the famous Pulakeśin II, refer to a fight with a king who is not named but is described as the 'Lord of the North, or whole of Uttarāpatha (*sakalottarāpatha-nātha*).' The battle took place during the reign of Vinayāditya and most probably towards its close, about A.D. 695. The Chālukya king defeated the enemy and obtained from him 'the symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the Pālidhvaja banner,' and other insignia of imperial power. Now the reference to the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā shows that the battle probably took place in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *doab*. Considering the date and the locality of the battle, and the designation of the defeated king as the 'Lord of the whole of Uttarāpatha', it is not unreasonable to identify him with Yaśovarman. The account of the victory, as reported in the Chālukya inscriptions, need not be taken as literally true. For there are good grounds to believe that it was in the northern campaign that Vijayāditya, the Chālukya crown-prince, was taken captive by the enemy. Thus both sides might claim victory, and if the identification of the northern king with Yaśovarman be accepted, we can easily account for the panegyrics of his court-poet.[1]

As regards his conquest in the west, there is only slight indirect corroboration. It is now generally recognised that Yaśovarman is possibly identical with Yi-sha-fu-mo, king of Central India, who sent his minister, the Buddhist monk Pu-ta-sin (Buddhasena), to the court of China in A D. 731.[2] Lalitāditya, king of Kāshmir, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 736, and probably referred to Yaśovarman as an ally[3] It may be held that both these kings asked for Chinese help against the Arabs and Tibetans who were making inroads upon India.[4] If this view be correct, we must hold that Yaśovarman had extended his power in the west. As will be shown later, the Arabs, after conquering Sindh, sent an expedition against Kanauj which did not meet with any success. The defeat of the Pārasikas by Yaśovarman possibly refers to his victories against the Arabs of Sindh.

But although Yasovarman took up the noble cause of defending India against foreign invaders in alliance with Lalitāditya, the two soon fell out. The imperial ambition of both was probably the real cause of the enmity, though it might have been accelerated by other circumstances. We learn from the *Rājataraṅginī*[5] that there was

1. *IHQ* XX. 183; 356-7. *IA*. IX, pp 125 ff; 130 ff.
2. Chavannes (*Tou-kiue*, Additional Notes, p. 53 f.n. 2) and Dr. P. C. Bagchi (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I 71) give this name of the envoy, but other authorities name him Seng-po-ta (Saṅghabhadra)
3. Stein—Transl of *Rājataraṅginī*, IV. 134 note
4. Dr. Bagchi (*op cit*) thinks that Yaśovarman had appealed to the Chinese emperor for intervention in his dispute with Kāshmir.
5. IV 132 ff.

a prolonged struggle between Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman. The war was at first cut short by a truce, but when the formal treaty was drawn up, the minister of Lalitāditya took objection to the document as it was entitled "a treaty of peace concluded between Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya." thus giving precedence to Yaśovarman and not to his own master. Neither party was willing to yield, and though Lalitāditya's generals 'were uneasy at the prolonged duration of the war,' he renewed the struggle. The result is described in the three following verses of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1]

"Yaśovarman, who had been served by the poet Vākpati and the illustrious Bhavabhūti, upon being defeated, was reduced to the position of a minstrel to eulogize his (Lalitāditya's) virtues.

"What more need be said? The territory of Kānyakubja, from the bank of the Yamunā to the bank of the Kālikā, was, like the courtyard of his residence, under his subjection.

"Passing over Yaśovarman .... his army reached in comfort the eastern ocean."

It appears from the first two verses that Yaśovarman was thoroughly defeated and lost his kingdom. The third verse may be taken to indicate that Yaśovarman's empire extended up to the eastern ocean, and the whole of this territory passed into the hands of Lalitāditya in consequence of the defeat of Yaśovarman. But though Yaśovarman lost the battle, it is doubtful whether he was also slain Kalhaṇa incidentally remarks that Lalitāditya "tore up Yaśovarman from the root."[2] But it need not be taken literally to mean that he was killed. Whether he was killed or not, his power was utterly broken by Lalitāditya, and he fades out of history.

The date of Yaśovarman is not definitely known, but his reign may be placed between A.D. 700 and 740.[3] If, as proposed above, Yaśovarman can be identified with the Lord of the North defeated by the Chālukya king Vinayāditya, his accession has to be placed about A.D. 690.

4. KĀSHMIR

Of all the kingdoms in ancient India, Kāshmir alone has the unique advantage of possessing a written history from the earliest times. This work, called *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, was written by Kalhaṇa in the twelfth century A.D. Although the author was well-versed in historical methods, and was surprisingly modern in his outlook, he

1. IV. 144-46. 2. IV. 140.
3. Other views on this subject are discussed in the Introduction to *Gauḍa-vaho* (2nd Edition).

had not got sufficient reliable materials for the early period of his history. The result is that this part of his work is full of legends, and although we meet with familiar names like Kanishka, Toramāṇa, and Mihirakula, the whole story is too confused and fanciful for sober history. According to the scheme of chronology adopted by Kalhaṇa, nearly the whole of the Gupta age is covered by the reign of a single king of the Gonanda dynasty who is said to have ruled for 300 years. Such an extraordinary regnal period of a king indubitably indicates the loss of true history of the period. The next two reigns of two brothers covering a period of 80 years is also of dubious authenticity.

But the detailed narrative of subsequent history beginning with a new dynasty may be taken as fairly reliable. The chronology adopted by Kalhaṇa for this dynasty has proved to be wrong only by about 30 years. When we remember that it was more than five hundred years before the author's time, this error appears to be surprisingly small and invests his narrative with a fair degree of authenticity.

The new dynasty, known as the Kārkoṭa or Nāga dynasty, was founded by Durlabha-vardhana. He had married the daughter of the last king of the Gonanda dynasty named Bālāditya, and as the latter had no son, succeeded to the throne (c. A.D. 627). During his reign Kāshmir was visited by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim has given a very long account of Kāshmir, but it contains little of historical interest. We, however, learn from him that five other states, *viz.* Takshaśilā (Rāwalpindi district), Siṁhapura (Salt Range region), Uraśā (Hazārā or Abbottābād district), Pan-nu-tso (Punch), and Rājapura (Rajaori) were subject to Kāshmir We may thus hold that Durlabha-vardhana ruled over not only Kāshmir proper, but a part of the western and north-western Punjāb as well.

Nothing of historical importance is known of Durlabha-vardhana and his son and successor Durlabhaka, who reigned respectively for 36 and 50 years.

Durlabhaka was succeeded by his eldest son Chandrāpīḍa. In A.D. 713 this king sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking for aid against the Arabs. As will be noted below (§12), Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim probably reached the frontier of Kāshmir about this time. Although Chandrāpīḍa did not receive any aid from China, he was able to defend his kingdom against Arab aggression. The recall and death of the Arab leader, which shortly followed, gave a brief respite to Kāshmir According to the Chinese chronicles the Chinese emperor granted the title of king to Chandrāpīḍa in A.D. 720. This

probably means no more than that Chandrāpīḍa was recognised as king by the Chinese emperor.

King Chandrāpīḍa was renowned for his piety and justice. It is recorded by Kalhaṇa that when the king proposed to build a temple, a tanner refused to give up his hut which was on the proposed site. When the matter was reported to the king, he considered his own officers to be at fault, not the tanner. "Stop the building," he cried out, "or have it erected elsewhere." The tanner himself came to the king and represented: "Since my birth this hut has been to me like a mother, witness of good and evil days. I cannot bear to see it pulled down today." Still he agreed to give up his hut "if His Majesty would come to his dwelling and ask for it in accordance with propriety." As soon as the king heard this, he went to the tanner's hut and bought it. The reign of this king was full of just and humane acts like this, and he may almost be said to have been a martyr to his sense of justice. Once he punished a Brāhmaṇa who had secretly murdered another Brāhmaṇa by witchcraft. The former nursed deep wrath over his punishment, and was instigated by the king's younger brother Tārāpīḍa to use his witchcraft against the king. Thus died the noble king Chandrāpīḍa after a reign of eight years and a half. The fratricide Tārāpīḍa then ascended the throne. His inglorious rule of four years was full of cruel and bloody deeds. He was followed by his younger brother Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the greatest king of the dynasty.

Lalitāditya ascended the throne about A.D. 724. He was 'eager for conquests and passed his life chiefly on expeditions.' As already related, he entered into an alliance with Yaśovarman, and defeated the Tibetans. Like Yaśovarman, and probably for similar reasons, he sent a diplomatic mission in A.D. 733 to the Chinese emperor in order to induce him to make common cause against the Tibetans.[1] The mission was received with honour by the emperor who recognised the king of Kāshmir as his royal ally,[2] but no military assistance was sent from China. But even unaided, Lalitāditya succeeded in defeating not only the Tibetans but also the mountain tribes on the north and north-western frontier of his kingdom, such as the Dards, Kāmbojas and Turks.

But the most important of the expeditions of Lalitāditya was that against Yaśovarman to which reference has already been made. By that victory, Lalitāditya not only made himself master of Kanauj,

1. Cf Chavannes, *Tou-kiue*, pp. 166-8, 209. According to Dr. P. C. Bagchi official correspondence was exchanged between China and Kāshmir in A D. 724 (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 71). This possibly refers to the reign of Lalitāditya.
2. The Chinese official history says that "the Emperor awarded the title of the 'king of Kāshmir' to Muktāpīḍa" (*Ibid*).

but also acquired the theoretical right of suzerainty over the vast conquests of his late enemy. In order effectively to assert these rights Lalitāditya, according to Kalhaṇa, undertook a *digvijaya* or world-wide campaign which is described in detail by Kalhaṇa. After defeating Yaśovarman, he proceeded to the eastern ocean and reached Kalinga. The king of Gauḍa probably acknowledged his suzerainty without a fight, for he sent elephants to join the army of Lalitāditya. Passing through Karṇāṭa, ruled over by queen Raṭṭā who paid him homage, Lalitāditya reached the bank of the Kāverī and even conquered some of the islands. Turning west he overran the seven Konkaṇas and advanced as far as Dvārakā (in the western extremity of the Kāthiāwār Peninsula). Then he conquered Avanti and many other states till he reached the hilly regions in the north-west. Here he conquered the Kāmbojas, Tukhāras (Turks), Bhauṭṭas (Tibetans), Daradas and also a king called Mammuni. Mention is also made of Prāgjyotisha, Strīrājya (Realm of the Amazons) and the Uttara-Kurus which are more conventional and mythical than real names.

It is difficult to say how far this conventional account may be regarded as historically true. That Lalitāditya proceeded in his conquering expedition as far as Bengal in the east is corroborated by a story told later by Kalhaṇa and by the casual mention of an image of Buddha brought from Magadha. But it is difficult to believe without corroborative evidence that he conquered the Deccan or South India. It is likely that Mammuni, whom he is said to have defeated thrice, refers to the Arab ruler As will be noted below, the Arabs are said to have reached the frontier of Kashmir and conquered Kāngra. It is very likely, therefore, that Lalitāditya met them in this region. The fact that the Arabs could not gain any lasting success in this direction supports the view that Lalitāditya thoroughly defeated them and freed the Punjāb from their depredation. There may also be a great deal of truth in the reputed victories of Lalitāditya against the Kāmbojas, Turks, Dards and Tibetans who surrounded the kingdom of Kāshmir. But nothing can be asserted with certainty.

Although corroborative evidence is lacking, and final judgment about the nature and extent of Lalitāditya's victorious campaign has to be suspended, there is no valid reason to regard the whole thing as mere fiction. It should be remembered that we have here to deal with, not a conventional poetic description in a Kāvya, but a statement of facts made by a historian whose sobriety of judgment and regard for historical truth are vouched for by his work. Making due allowance for the partiality and exaggeration of a court historian

and the imperfect knowledge of events which had taken place more than four centuries before Kalhaṇa's time, we cannot but regard Lalitāditya as a great conqueror. His extensive conquests made the kingdom of Kāshmir, for the time being, the most powerful empire that India had seen since the days of the Guptas. No wonder that for centuries the Kāshmirians celebrated the victories of the great emperor whom, with pardonable exaggeration, they chose to call the universal monarch.

Lalitāditya lavished the great resources of this mighty empire in adorning his kingdom with beautiful towns, and decorating the towns with fine buildings, monasteries, temples and images of gods. The most famous of his works is the Mārtaṇḍa temple, ruins of which still form "the most striking remains which have survived of the ancient architecture of Kāshmir."

Kalhaṇa the author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, has drawn a magnificent picture of this celebrated king. But two incidents have left an indelible stain on the character of this great emperor. Once in a fit of drunkenness he ordered the town of Pravarapura to be burnt down; though afterwards in his sober moments he repented of it, and was glad to find that the ministers had disobeyed his orders. The second incident is more revolting. He summoned the king of Bengal (Gauḍa) to Kāshmir and promised him safe-conduct, making the image of Vishṇu Parihāsakeśava the surety for his promise. All the same he had the king assassinated by hirelings. It is as difficult to find any motive for this foul treachery as to condone it in any way. The sequel of this story is interesting in the extreme. A few devoted followers of the murdered king undertook the long journey from Bengal to Kāshmir, and invested the temple of the god who had been made the surety. The priests closed the gates, but they were forced open. The Bengali heroes reached the statue of Vishṇu Rāmasvāmin, and mistaking it for that of Parihāsakeśava, they overturned it and broke it into pieces. While doing this, they were all cut to pieces by the Kāshmirian soldiers who had just arrived from the capital. Kalhaṇa pays a just tribute to the heroism of the small but devoted band of Bengalis. "What of the long journey which had to be accomplished, and what of the devotion for the dead lord? Even the creator cannot achieve what the Gauḍas did on that occasion. Even to this day the temple of Rāmasvāmin is seen empty, whereas the world is filled with the fame of the Gauḍa heroes."

Lalitāditya died about A.D. 760[1] after a reign of thirty-six

1. According to the data furnished by *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Lalitāditya reigned from A.D 695 to 732. But Cunningham suggested, in the light of Chinese evidence, that the dates of kings of this period, as given by Kalhaṇa, should be brought

years. He was followed by a succession of weak kings who were unable to maintain the power and prestige of the family. One among them, his grandson Jayāpīḍa, seems to have made a serious attempt to regain the lost ascendancy, but no conspicuous success attended his efforts. The dynasty, however, continued to rule over Kāshmir till about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

5. NEPĀL

The death of Aṁśu-varman, about A.D 623, was followed by a period of confusion in Nepāl Jishṇu-gupta, who succeeded to his position, is known from four inscriptions to have ruled over the entire valley between the years 48 and 59 (A D. 626 and 637). It appears from the name-ending that he was probably not related to Aṁśu-varman although both used the same era and lived in the same palace, Kailāsakūṭa-Bhavana. Lévi has identified Jishnu-gupta with Kishnoo-gupta, one of the three Ābhīra chiefs mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvalīs.*[1] Be that as it may, there seems to be no doubt that Jishnu-gupta was a usurper. In one of Aṁśu-varman's inscriptions, dated year 39, reference is made to *Yuvarāja* Udayadeva. This heir-presumptive to the throne probably belonged to the Lichchhavi family. But either he died before Aṁśu-varman or was removed by Jishnu-gupta The latter issued coins in his own name, but continued the fiction of the Lichchhavi sovereignty by placing on the throne of the Lichchhavis at Māna-griha, first Dhruvadeva and then Bhīmārjunadeva.

Jishnu-gupta was succeeded by his son Vishṇu-gupta, though the fiction of the nominal suzerainty of the Lichchhavi Bhīmārjuna was still continued. The known dates of Vishṇu-gupta are 64 and 65 (A D 642-3), and he must have been ousted from the throne after a brief rule For already in A.D 643, or a little later, we find Narendradeva of the Lichchhavi family on the throne of Nepāl. He occupies a prominent place in the Nepalese chronicles, being very intimately connected with the cult of Matsyendranātha, the patron-saint of the valley of Nepāl Chinese sources give us some interesting information about him They tell us that the father of Narendradeva was removed from the throne by his younger brother. Narendradeva fled to Tibet, and with the help of the Tibetan king

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down by about 25 to 31 years This view is now generally accepted The whole question has been thoroughly discussed by S P Pandit who maintains the correctness of Kalhana's date (Cf Introduction to his Edition of *Gauḍa-vaho*).

1 *Nepal* II 157 ff.

recovered his paternal throne. He consequently became a vassal of the Tibetan king.[1]

It was during the reign of Narendradeva that a Chinese mission visited Nepāl, for the first time, in A.D. 643 or a little later.[2] The king received, with all honours, the envoy Li-y-piao and his party who then proceeded to the court of Harsha-vardhana. The memorable mission of Wang-hiuen-tse to India in A.D. 647-648 passed through Nepāl, and the envoy returned shortly after to ask for aid against the Indian king who had usurped the throne of Harsha and ill-treated the Chinese embassy. This episode has already been narrated above[3] in detail. Narendradeva helped the envoy with 7,000 horsemen, and throughout his reign maintained friendly relations with China. A large number of Chinese pilgrims visited Nepāl during his reign and he sent a mission to the Imperial court in A.D. 651. The Chinese account represents Nepāl, under him, as a peaceful, civilised and flourishing country.[4]

For the period after Aṁśu-varman the account given in the *Vaṁśāvalis* differs widely from what is given in the epigraphic records, and it is impossible to reconcile the two. The Paśupati Temple inscription informs us that Narendradeva was succeeded by his son Śivadeva and the latter by his son Jayadeva. We learn from the same record that Śivadeva's queen Vatsadevī was the daughter of the Maukhari Bhoga-varman, and grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of Ādityasena, king of Magadha. Now, Bhoga-varman was the sister's son of Aṁśu-varman, and as Narendradeva reigned within 25 years of Aṁśu-varman's death, the marriage between Śivadeva and Vatsadevī not only fits in with the chronological scheme, but may be looked upon as a political alliance between rival claimants to the throne. Narendradeva had a long reign of more than thirty years, his known dates extending from 69 to 103 (A.D. 647 to 681). He must have died before 109 (A.D. 687), the earliest known date of his son and successor Śivadeva who ruled till at least 125 (A D. 703). The only known date of Jayadeva, the son and successor of Śivadeva, is 159 (A.D. 737).

Thus the two Lichchhavi kings, Śivadeva and his son Jayadeva, ruled in Nepāl during the first half of the eighth century A.D. The

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1 Cf the account of Nepāl given in the *History of the T'ang dynasty*. The author of *Che-kia-fan-che*, compiled in A D. 650, also says that the kingdom of Nepāl is really a vassal state of Tibet (*JA*, 1894, Part II, pp. 64-5 ff).

2 *Nepāl*, II. 164 Elsewhere (*ibid*, I 156) Lévi says that the embassy was received by Narendradeva either on its way to or back from Magadha which it visited in A D 643 Lévi's statement that Narendradeva was already king in A.D. 643 is contradicted by his observation that about A.D. 645 Jishnu-gupta's successor was expelled and king Narendradeva of the legitimate dynasty had recovered the throne (*Nepāl*, II. 162).

3. See p. 124 ff. 4. For the account of the Chinese embassies cf. *Nepāl*, I. 155 ff.

Tibetan kings were very powerful during this period and undoubtedly exercised suzerainty over Nepāl, but probably they did not interfere in the internal administration of the kingdom. Nepāl revolted in A.D. 702, but was soon reconquered. In a grant of Śivadeva, dated in the year 619 (A.D. 697) reference is made to Bhoṭṭa-Vishṭi or 'Corvee' payable to Tibet.[1]

Jayadeva married Rājyamatī, daughter of Śrī Harshadeva, king of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kosala and other countries, who was descended from the race of Bhagadatta. The identity of this king Harsha is not yet satisfactorily established. The reference to the dynasty of Bhagadatta seems to associate him with Assam, but this is by no means certain.[2]

Jayadeva assumed the epithet *para-chakra-kāma* (desirous of the domains of enemies), and a verse of the Paśupati Temple Inscription is so worded as to yield a double meaning, one describing the personal beauty of the king, and the other implying that he had conquered or exercised supremacy over Anga, Kāmarūpa, Kāñchī and Saurāshṭra. Although some scholars have accepted this latter meaning as historical fact,[3] it would perhaps be wiser to regard it as mere poetic effusion.

The reign of Jayadeva practically closes the period under review. But a brief reference may be made to the culture and civilisation of Nepāl. Hiuen Tsang[4] remarks about the people that their manners are false and perfidious, and their temperament is hard and fierce with little regard to truth or honour. We are further told that they are unlearned but skilful in the arts, and their appearance is ungainly and revolting. This description, though hardly flattering, is more applicable to the primitive hill-tribes who formed the mass of the people. But there is no doubt that there was also a cultured and civilised element in the population. This is evident from the large number of inscriptions dated between fourth or fifth and eighth century A.D They show that in language, literature, art, religion and social ideas, Nepāl formed an integral part of India and was completely saturated with its culture. It had close political and social association with India, and had not yet developed that isolation which characterised it in later ages. It was a strong centre of both Brahmanical and Buddhist

1 *Nepāl*, II. 173 ff
2 *HBR*, 85 For Bhagadatta family ruling in Gilgit cf. *EI*, XXX 227
3 Dr Basak in *HNI*, 301 Lévi, however, thinks that the verse is merely a poetic effusion (*Nepāl*, II 170) Indraji also did not attach any political significance to the verse.
4. *HTB*, II. 80-81.

religions, and in spite of strange vicissitudes of fortune, it has still retained vestiges of its old Indian culture.

6. KĀMARŪPA

We have already traced the history of Kāmarūpa up to the accession of Bhāskara-varman.[1] He is the best known king of the dynasty which had been ruling in Kāmarūpa since the fourth century A.D. We have seen how he formed a diplomatic alliance with Harsha-vardhana. This was probably due to the growing power of Śaśāṅka who was a common enemy of both. The speech which Bāṇabhaṭṭa puts into the mouth of his ambassador Haṁsavega supports this view. The latter said with reference to his master, that it was his "firm resolution never to do homage to any being" except Śiva, and one of the means of realising this ambition was friendship with Harsha. Harsha, too, in accepting the "imperishable alliance" offered by Bhāskara-varman, remarked: "With me for his friend, to whom save Śiva need he pay homage?"[2] These statements indicate that Bhāskara-varman was apprehensive of some ruler imposing suzerainty upon him, and he sought to avert this evil by forming an alliance with Harsha. There can be hardly any doubt that this dreaded ruler was Śaśāṅka.

Nothing is known about the practical results of this alliance. Whether Bhāskara-varman offered any help to Harsha in his military campaigns, particularly those against Śaśāṅka, we cannot say. But his main object was evidently fulfilled, as his kingdom does not seem to have suffered in any way from Śaśāṅka or any one else. Probably the alliance bore more fruits after the death of Śaśāṅka, for Bhāskara-varman was in occupation of a large part of Bengal, at least for some time. This is clear from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang.

When Hiuen Tsang was staying at Nālandā, Bhāskara-varman sent a messenger to Śīlabhadra, head of that monastery, with a request to send the 'great priest from China' to him. Śīlabhadra did not comply with it, and even refused a second request. Then Bhāskara-varman grew angry and threatened Śīlabhadra that if the Chinese priest were not sent, 'he will equip his army and elephants and trample to the very dust the monastery of Nālandā.' The threat had the desired effect. Hiuen Tsang visited Kāmarūpa and stayed there for a month. It was now the turn of Harsha-vardhana to get angry, for he, too, had asked the Chinese priest to see him,

1. See pp. 88-92 2. *Harsha-charita*, Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 217.

but his request was disregarded. He now sent a messenger to Bhāskara-varman 'bidding him to send the priest of China to him at once.' Bhāskara-varman replied: "He can take my head, but he cannot take the Chinese priest." Harsha was "greatly enraged," and replied by the laconic message: "Send the head so that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it here." Bhāskara-varman, deeply alarmed, immediately ordered his army of 20,000 elephants and his ships, 30,000 in number, to be equipped. Then embarking with Hiuen Tsang he passed along the Gaṅgā to Kajangala where Harsha was staying This submissive attitude pleased Harsha, and the two were reconciled. Bhāskara-varman accompanied Harsha to Kanauj to attend the great festival, referred to before He also attended the quinquennial assembly at Prayāga.[1]

If the curious wrangle between Harsha-vardhana and Bhāskara-varman, as reported by Hiuen Tsang, be true in any degree, we must hold that the relation between the two kings had suffered a great change. It was no longer an alliance on equal terms, but such as normally subsists between a haughty powerful monarch and his weaker neighbour. But neither this story, nor the fact that Bhāskara-varman attended the religious ceremonies of Harsha can legitimately lead to the conclusion that Bhāskara-varman was a feudatory of Harsha, or was politically subordinate to him in any way Considering the difference in power and prestige between himself and his old ally, Bhāskara no doubt thought it politic to be in the good graces of Harsha by avoiding unpleasant acts, but there is nothing to show that he lost his political independence in any degree or that Harsha had any pretensions to suzerainty over him.[2]

On the other hand, Hiuen Tsang's story implies that Bhāskara-varman had some political hold over Bengal. It is otherwise difficult to explain his threat to send an army to reduce Nālandā to dust, and his voyage along the Gaṅgā with his fleet and army. This view is supported by the fact that he issued a land-grant from his victorious camp at Karṇa-suvarṇa, the old capital of Śaśāṅka.[3] This grant is not dated, and it may be argued that Bhāskara-varman came into possession of Bengal after Harsha's death. But as the other two facts relate to the lifetime of Harsha, it is more likely that Bhāskara occupied Bengal even before the death of the former. Possibly Śaśāṅka's empire was partitioned between the two, Harsha taking West Bengal, Orissa, and Koṅgoda, and Bhāskara-varman

1 *Life*, 171-2 2 *PIHC*, VI 48 3. *EI*, XII. 65.

taking the rest of Bengal. But no definite opinion can be hazarded with the meagre information available.

We hear of Bhāskara-varman again in connection with the strange expedition of Wang-hiuen-tse.[1] After the latter had thoroughly crushed the power of the minister who had usurped the throne of Harsha, he received large quantities of provisions and equipments from Bhāskara-varman. Whether the king of Kāmarūpa was connected in any way with the strange political events that took place after the death of Harsha, cannot be determined. But the sequel was positively unfavourable to him and his kingdom. The Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who was drawn into Indian politics by the expedition of Wang-hiuen-tse, is said to have conquered Assam.[2] There may be some truth in this, for so far as we can judge from available records, the dynasty of Pushya-varman came to an end with Bhāskara-varman after a rule of more than three hundred years, and the kingdom of Kāmarūpa was occupied by a Mlechchha ruler named Sālastambha.[3] It is not unlikely that the downfall of the old dynasty was caused by the Tibetan invasion, though nothing definite can be said on this point. We know the names of a few successors of Sālastambha, but nothing of their history. A king of this dynasty, called both Harsha and Harsha-varman, has been identified with king Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who is referred to in a Nepāl Inscription as the father of Rājyamatī (queen of Jayadeva) and the king of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga, Kosala and other countries.[4] This identification must remain doubtful until independent evidence of these great achievements of Harisha or Harsha is forthcoming. There were other dynasties in India who traced descent from Bhagadatta,[5] and it is doubtful whether Harsha had really any claim to this title[6] On the whole, the century following the death of Bhāskara-varman may be regarded as a dark period in the history of Kāmarūpa.

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1. See p 125.

2 Lévi, *Nepāl*, II 148.

3. V. 9 of the Bargaon CP of Ratnapāla (*JASB*, 1898, p 99) leaves no doubt that Śālastambha belonged to a different dynasty. It has been argued on the basis of the copper-plates of Vanamāla (*JASB*. IX. 766) and Balavarman (*JASB*. 1897, p. 285) that Sālastambha belonged to the dynasty of Naraka and Bhagadatta (*KSS*. 19; *IHQ*, 1927, p 844) But v. 7 of the former and v. 9 of the latter refer respectively to Prālambha and the predecessors of Sālastambha, and not to Sālastambha himself, as descended from Naraka. The former implies that kings beginning from Sālastambha and ending in Harisha belonged to a dynasty different from that to which Prālambha belonged (cf. *DHNI*. I 241-2).

4. *IA*, IX. 179; *JRAS*, 1898, pp 384-5; *DHNI*, I 241 See above, p. 138.

5. *Eg*. the Kara dynasty of Orissa. There was also another ruling in Chitral (*IHQ*, XIV. 841; *BV*. VI. 111).

6. See footnote 3 above.

7. BENGAL

The history of Bengal during the century following the death of Śaśāṅka is obscure in the extreme. It is certain, however, that Bengal lost the political solidarity brought about by that great king and was divided into a number of independent principalities. Hiuen Tsang, travelling in Bengal about A.D. 638, shortly after the death of Śaśāṅka, mentions the names of five such kingdoms, *viz.* Kajaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa, Tāmralipti and Samataṭa.[1] The first roughly comprises the region round Rājmahal, the second, Northern Bengal, the third and fourth, West Bengal, and the fifth, East Bengal.

This political disintegration of the kingdom of Śaśāṅka immediately after his death is hinted in *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*. It describes the Gauḍa-tantra or the political system of Gauḍa as reduced to mutual mistrust, leading to civil war in course of which one king ruled for a week, another for a month, and then a republic was established. Thereafter Śaśāṅka's son gained the throne, but he ruled only for about eight months.[2] This anarchy and confusion were probably the causes or results of the invasion of Harsha and Bhāskara-varman, each of whom, as noted above, ruled over parts of Bengal for some time.

Soon a powerful kingdom was established in Gauḍa or West Bengal by Jayanāga. He issued a land-grant[3] from Karṇasuvarṇa, which was the capital of Śaśāṅka and subsequently passed into the hands of Bhāskara-varman. The date of Jayanāga is not definitely known, but he flourished probably a little while after Bhāskara-varman,[4] and freed Karṇasuvarna and the surrounding region from the yoke of that king The title *Mahārājādhirāja* assumed by Jayanāga and the coins issued by him show that he was a powerful ruler of considerable authority, but the extent of his kingdom is difficult to determine.

We do not know the name of Jayanāga's successor or anything about the kingdom of Gauḍa after his death. It has been held by some that it passed into the hands of the Later Guptas,[5] but of this we have no evidence.

Of Vaṅga or East Bengal we possess a little more information. According to Hiuen Tsang, Brāhmana kings ruled over this territory in the first half of the seventh century A D., and Śīlabhadra, the head of the University of Nālandā, was a scion of this family.[6] This

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1 *HTB*, II. 193, *HTW*, II 182 2 *IHIJ*. 51. 3 *EI*, XVIII 60
4 According to Dr R G Basak Jayanāga was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka (*HNI*, 140). For full discussion cf *HBR* 80
5 *HNI* 128. 6 *HTW*, II. 109.

dynasty was overthrown by a Buddhist family, four of whose king are known to us, *viz.* Khaḍgodyama, Jātakhaḍga, Devakhaḍga, and Rājarājabhaṭa, each being the son of his predecessor. The king of Samataṭa, named Rājabhaṭa, referred to by I-tsing, can certainly be identified with Rājarājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty. It is also very likely that king Devavarmā of Eastern India, mentioned by the same Chinese pilgrim, is the same as Devakhaḍga. This and other evidences indicate that the Khaḍga dynasty was ruling in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. in East Bengal, and probably also over a considerable part of Southern and Central Bengal.[1]

In the first half of the eighth century A.D. Bengal was subjected to a series of foreign invasions. A king of the Śaila dynasty conquered North Bengal. This dynasty, which originally ruled in the Himālayan region, later spread to the east and south, and founded branches in Kāśī, Vindhya region and North Bengal. Nothing is, however, known of their rule in any of these kingdoms.

Later, some time between A.D. 725 and 735, Yaśovarman conquered both West and East Bengal. If, as noted above,[2] it is assumed that in those days both Magadha and Gauḍa were under one ruler, then we must hold that Magadha was conquered by Gauḍa, rather than that Gauḍa was conquered by Magadha. For otherwise, there is no rational explanation of the name *Gauḍa-vaho* (killing of Gauḍa) applied to the great poetical work which describes Yaśo-varman's conquests.[3]

Yaśovarman's conquest was short-lived, but Gauḍa had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Lalitāditya, king of Kāshmir.[4] Later, Gauḍa regained its independence, but the whole of Northern and Western Bengal was split up into a number of independent states. According to *Rājataraṅgiṇī* when Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya, lost the throne of Kāshmir, he came to the city of Puṇḍravardhana (near Bogra) in North Bengal, whose ruler Jayanta was subordinate to the king of Gauḍa. Jayāpīḍa married Jayanta's daughter, defeated the five Gauḍa chiefs, and made his father-in-law the overlord of them all.[5]

1. *HBR.* 86. 2. See p. 127 f. 3. *HBR.* 94. 4. See pp. 134, 5.
5. *KRT.* IV. 402-468. The whole episode reads more like a romance than history and can hardly be regarded as historical. As Jayāpīḍa ascended the throne about 19 years after the death of Lalitāditya, this event must have taken place after A.D. 780 according to the chronology adopted above (p. 135). Some scholars, however, as noted above (p. 135, f.n. 1), place Lalitāditya's death in A.D. 732 and so Jayāpīḍa's accession would fall about A.D. 751. The political condition of Gauḍa described by Kalhaṇa would be more suitable to this earlier date. But in any case the passage preserves a memory of the political disintegration of Gauḍa.

In an inscription of Nepāl, Harsha, the father-in-law of king Jayadeva,[1] is described as the lord of Gauḍa and other countries. As Harsha is said to have belonged to the Bhagadatta dynasty it is generally assumed that he was a ruler of Kāmarūpa. But this is by no means certain, as kings claiming descent from Bagadatta are known to have ruled, not only in Kāmarūpa, but also in Orissa and other regions. We have no independent evidence that any king of Kāmarūpa or Orissa ruled over Bengal during this period, and we cannot say how far the assumption of the title 'Lord of Gauḍa' by Harsha was justified by his actual conquests.[2]

Epigraphic evidences supply the names of two kings of Samataṭa of the Rāta dynasty, *viz*. Jīvadhāraṇa, and Śrīdhāraṇa, and also of a few kings in East Bengal such as Lokanātha, Jayatuṅgavarsha, ruling about this time, but we do not possess any definite information about their mutual relations and of their status or the extent of their kingdom.[3] The Tibetan priest Tāranātha refers to a Chandra dynasty in East Bengal, the last two kings of which, Govichandra and Lalitachandra, probably ruled early in the eighth century A.D.[4]

Although it is not possible to reconstruct, even in outline, the political history of Bengal after the death of Śaśāṅka, the facts mentioned above leave no doubt that anarchy and confusion caused by political disintegration marked its course throughout the period A.D. 650-750. This was mainly due to a series of foreign invasions and rapid changes of ruling dynasties. The result was, as Tāranātha so characteristically puts it, that there was no powerful ruler in either Gauḍa or Vaṅga, but every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa, or merchant was a king in his own house.[5] A contemporary record describes the political condition of Bengal by the well-known term '*Mātsyanyāya*' (like fish), which denotes a state of anarchy in which might alone is right, as in a pond where the stronger fish devours the weaker ones.[6] Such was the miserable state of Bengal for more than 100 years after the death of Śaśāṅka.

8. ORISSA

The Śailodbhavas continued to rule in Koṅgoda even after Harsha's conquest. Several records give us an account of the family beginning with Ayaśobhīta born in the family of Sainya-

1 See pp. 138, 141.
2 *HBR* 85. For an account of the royal families in different parts of India claiming descent from Bhagadatta, cf. *BV*, VI, 111.
3 *IHQ*, XXIII, 221.
4 *HBR*, 88-89.
5 *Ibid.* 183.
6. *Ibid.* 97.

bhīta. This Ayaśobhīta had a son named Sainyabhīta. As we have seen above,[1] a group of three kings in this family named Sainyabhīta I (Mādhavarāja I), Ayaśobhīta and Sainyabhīta II (Mādhavarāja II) ruled in the latter half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Some scholars[2] think that the two groups of kings are identical. But there are two objections to this view. In the latter group Ayaśobhīta is said to be a son of Sainyabhīta, but in the former he is said to be born in the family of that king. It is very doubtful whether a son of a king would be referred to, in an official record, as born in his family. Secondly the alphabets of the records of the former group of kings are distinctly later. But recently one record of this family (No. 2)[3] has come to light which is written in characters not very dissimilar to those used by the other group of kings. This has no doubt strengthened the case for the identification of the two groups of kings, but this point must still be regarded as uncertain, and some scholars[4] regard the former group as different from and reigning later than the latter.

The two theories would thus give us two alternative schemes of chronology as follows:—

I

1. Raṇabhīta (c. A.D. 550)

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2. Sainyabhīta I Mādhavarāja I (c. A.D. 575)

|

3. Ayaśobhīta I (c A D. 600)

|

4. Sainyabhīta II Mādhavarāja II (c. A.D 615)

II

In continuation of the above:—

5. Ayaśobhīta II (born in the family of No. 4)

|

6. Sainyabhīta III Mādhavavarman (also called Śrīnivāsa).

Those who hold that kings numbered 5 and 6 above were different from 3 and 4, place them in the seventh, eighth or even in the ninth century A D. Those who identify them naturally fix the date on the basis of the Ganjām copper-plate according to which Sainyabhīta II (4 and 6) was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka in A.D. 619. Another copper-plate (No. 2) issued by the king is dated in the year 50, and this, referred to Harsha Era, would be equivalent to A.D 656. The king would thus have a long reign of more than forty years.

1. For the earlier history of the dynasty see above pp. 92ff
2. N. G. Majumdar (*EI*, XXIV, 151), N. P. Chakravarti (*EI*, XXI, 36), R. D. Banerji, *Orissa* I. 130.
3. See Bibliography, List of Inscriptions.
4. R. G. Basak (*HNI*. 170; *EI*, XXIII. 126-7), Kielhorn (*EI*, VII. 102). For further references, cf. *JAHRS*, X. 5.

According to the last-mentioned record and several others, he was a very powerful ruler and performed great sacrifices like *Aśvamedha*. He was succeeded by his son Ayaśobhīta II (or III) Madhyamarāja, who ruled for at least 26 years and performed *Vājapeya*, *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices. The king granted lands in Kaṭaka-bhukti, and if this be the same as the region round modern Cuttack, the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas apparently extended up to the Mahānadi in the north beyond the traditional boundary of Koṅgoda. It would thus appear that the Śailodbhavas recovered their independence and extended their authority, either immediately after the death of Harsha-vardhana or some time later

Ayaśobhīta II (or III) was succeeded by Mānabhīta Dharmarāja. During his reign there was a disastrous civil war Mādhava, a junior member of the royal family, rebelled and seized the throne, but was defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsika. Mādhava then made an alliance with king Trivara, but they were defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas. This king Trivara has been identified by some scholars with the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Tīvaradeva,[1] but as the chronology of both the Śailodbhava and the Somavaṁśī kings is extremely uncertain, this identification is highly problematical Be that as it may, it reflects great credit upon king Dharmarāja that he quelled the rebellion and could pursue his enemies up to the Vindhyas

A single record the Tekkali grant, gives the names of three kings who succeeded Dharmarāja, but no particulars about them are known These are (1) his son Madhyamarāja II Raṇakshobha; (2) Allavarāja, paternal cousin of No 1; and (3) Madhyamarāja III, son of No. 2[2] It is difficult to say how long these kings ruled That depends upon the chronology of the earlier kings. If we accept the identity of the two groups of kings mentioned above,[3] the dynasty must have continued to reign up to the middle of the eighth century A D, and we may presume that they were ousted by the Karas who also ruled over Kongoda in the latter part of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A D If the identification be not upheld, it may be presumed that the later kings ruled between A D 825 and 1000

In conclusion reference may be made to some hypotheses usually assumed about the Śailodbhava dynasty A copper-plate grant found at Ragholi in Bālāghāt District, Madhya Pradesh, gives a

1 *JAHRS* X 4 This identification depends upon the date of Tīvaradeva which has been discussed in Ch XI, C III, under the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Mekala
2 This genealogy is somewhat different from that given by MM. H P Sastri who edited the Tekkali Grant (*JBORS*, IV 165), as I have accepted the interpretation given in the *Ann Rep of South Indian Epigraphy* 1935-36, pp 64-5.
3 See p 145

short account of a royal family called Śailavaṁśa founded by Śrī-vardhana I. His son Pṛithu-vardhana overran the country of the Gurjaras. In his family was born Saṁvardhana, one of whose sons conquered Pauṇḍra (N. Bengal) and another took Kāśi. The son of the latter, Jaya-vardhana I, conquered the Vindhya region, and there ruled his son Śrī-vardhana II and grandson Jaya-vardhana II who had the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* and whose kingdom included the Bālāghāt District. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who edited the grant,[1] thinks that this Śailavaṁśa is most probably identical with the Śailodbhavas. He has also suggested that the Śailavaṁśa was a branch of the Gangavaṁśa. Both these conjectures are plausible, but cannot be definitely proved.

It has also been suggested that the Śailendra dynasty, which established a powerful empire in the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago in the eighth century A D, and probably migrated from Kaliṅga, was connected with the Śailas or Śailodbhavas[2] But this, too, must be regarded as a mere hypothesis lacking definite evidence.

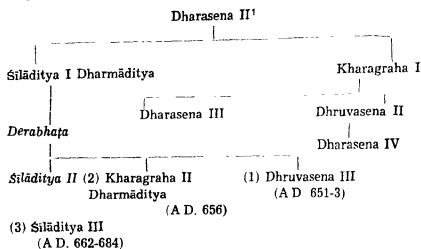
9 VALABHĪ

We have already seen[3] that Dharasena IV, who ascended the throne of Valabhī about A D. 644, assumed imperial titles and called himself a *Chakravarti* Whether this led to hostility between him and Harsha-vardhana, which forced him to take refuge with king Dadda II of Nāndīpuri,[4] we do not definitely know. But two of his land-grants, dated A.D 648, were issued from Bharukachchha (Broach), within the dominion of the Gurjaras. As the donated lands lay in Kheṭaka-vishaya (Kaira District) outside the territory of the Gurjaras, these grants do not conclusively prove that Dharasena had conquered the Gurjara kingdom. It is usually held that Dharasena was enjoying the hospitality of the friendly Gurjara king in the latter's territory when these grants were issued It is, however, more probable that he had reached Broach in the course of a victorious military campaign, particularly as the word 'victorious' is prefixed to the name of the camp[5] Gratitude in politics is seldom of long duration, and it is not surprising that the king of Valabhī should have so soon forgotten the help rendered by the Gurjara king The occupation of Broach was only temporary, for the Gurjaras continued to rule over that city for many years after this.

It is worthy of note that even in the later Valabhī records Dharasena IV alone, of all the kings preceding Śīlāditya III, is given

1 *EI*, IX 41.
2 R C Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*, I 226
3 See p 103
4 See p. 104
5 *IHQ*, XX 358.

imperial titles, and the title *Chakravartī* is given to no other king. Dharasena's reign thus marks an important epoch in the history of Valabhī, and he must have increased the power and prestige of the kingdom. The great poet Bhaṭṭi lived at his court. Dharasena's reign was, however, of short duration and he died some time before A D. 653. His death seems to have been followed by a period of troubles, for we find a quick succession of kings in an irregular order. The position would be cleared by the following genealogical table, indicating the chronological sequence of the successors of Dharasena IV by Arabic numerals within brackets. The names of those who did not rule are put in italics and the known dates of kings are put in brackets.

(3) Śīlāditya III
(A D. 662-684)

The reversion of the crown, after Dharasena IV, to the family of Śīlāditya I, and the reversal of the natural order of succession in that line, both indicate some internal trouble, the nature of which is unknown. The stability of the kingdom was, however, restored with the accession of Śīlāditya III.

Śīlāditya III was undoubtedly a very powerful ruler. Like Dharasena IV, he assumed imperial titles and conquered the Gurjara kingdom For, in the year A D 676 he granted some lands in the Bharukachchha-*vishaya* (district) This time also the occupation of Gurjara territory was of short duration and the Gurjaras recovered it In doing so, they were probably helped by the Western Chālukyas

A passage occurring in several Rāshtrakūṭa records mentions Harsha and Vajrata among the enemies defeated by the Chālukyas.

1 See pp 62 ff

It is evident from this that, like Harsha-vardhana, Vajraṭa was a very powerful king, and the Chālukyas won great renown by defeating him. Unfortunately nothing is known of this Vajraṭa. According to a Chālukya record dated A.D. 685, Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, a son of Pulakeśin II, defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā. There can be hardly any doubt that this Vajjaḍa is identical with king Vajraṭa of the Rāshṭrakūṭa records. As he was defeated in the territory between the Mahī and the Narmadā, he was probably the Valabhī king Śīlāditya III who had occupied the Gurjara territory, for it is difficult to conceive of any other powerful king ruling in this region in or shortly before A.D. 685. The name Vajraṭa is not found in the Valabhī records, but as all the kings of Valabhī after Śīlāditya III bear the same name, it is likely that each of them had an additional personal name.[1]

If we assume the identity, it would appear that when Śīlāditya III conquered the Gurjaras, the latter appealed to their Chālukya overlord for help. The latter could hardly remain indifferent to the extension of the Valabhī power to his own frontier; and so he sent an army to drive the Valabhī king out of the Gurjara province. Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha, who was put at the head of this army, evidently performed this task successfully.

An echo of the fight between the Valabhī ruler and the Chālukyas is supposed by some to have been preserved in a *vīragal* found at the village of Gaddemane, in Sagar *Tāluk*, Mysore. It commemorates the death of one Pettaṇi Satyāṅka, a commander in the army of Śīlāditya, in a battle with king Mahendra. This king has been identified with Mahendra-varman II Pallava who ascended the throne some time after A.D. 650. It has been suggested that the Valabhī king Śīlāditya inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mahendra-varman II and conquered a part of the Chālukya dominions which had been but a short while ago conquered by the Pallavas.[2] But, as noted above,[3] king Śīlāditya of the *vīragal* should be identified with the Chālukya Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, rather than with a Valabhī king or Harsha-vardhana, none of whom is known to have carried any victorious expedition to Karṇāṭaka.

The fact that Śīlāditya III *alias* Vajraṭa was mentioned along with Harsha-vardhana shows the power and prestige of the Valabhī kings. This is quite in keeping with the imperial titles assumed by all the four kings, named Śīlāditya (IV-VII), who succeeded Śīlāditya III *alias* Vajraṭa. They were all related as father to son and

1 *IHQ*, XX. 181, 353.
2 Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 64-66
3. See p. 106, f.n. 1.

the last of them, also known as Dhrubhaṭa (i.e Dhruvabhaṭa), was ruling in A.D. 766-7. Although the imperial titles denote eminence and distinction, we hardly know anything of these kings whose reigns cover the period from c. A.D. 690 to 770.

It was probably during the reign of Śīlāditya V that Valabhī was invaded by the Arabs. The details of the Arab invasion will be given in a separate section It will suffice here to state that the Arabs, starting from their base in Sindh, overran a great part of Rājputāna, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār Peninsula, and advanced as far as Ujjayinī. Although they obtained considerable success at first, their incursions led to no permanent results, and they were ultimately repulsed by the Chālukya king of Lāṭa and the Pratīhāra king of Mālava These raids took place probably during A D. 725 to 735.

The Arab invasion is not referred to in the Valabhī records. We learn, however, from a record of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV of Broach, that in the city of the Lord of Valabhī he inflicted a defeat on the Tājjikas (Arabs) who had caused immense suffering to numerous people [1] It is probable that at this crisis, too, as in the past, the Gurjaras came to the rescue of the Valabhī king

Though the Arabs retired from the Kāthiawār Peninsula, the Valabhī king was not destined to rule in peace A record, dated A.D 738, refers to one Jāikadeva as the lord of Surāshṭra-maṇḍala, with imperial titles, ruling at Bhūmilikā (modern Bhumli in Porbandar). The genuineness of this record has been doubted,[2] but we know from other sources that the south-western part of Kāthiāwār had passed out of Valabhī about this time and formed a separate kingdom under the Saindhavas whose history will be dealt with in the next volume

Even apart from this, there were other troubles The gradual advance, first of the Chālukyas and later of the Pratihāras of Avantī and Rāshṭrakūṭas,[3] must have constituted a grave menace to the state, though its exact relations with those powers in the eighth century are not known

Śīlāditya VII is the last known king of Valabhī. He was on the throne in A D. 766-7 and the rule of the family came to an end probably not long after that The city of Valabhī seems to have been destroyed about the same time or a little earlier

"The destruction of Valabhi", wrote Bühler in 1872 "is an event around which there hangs more than a mystery"[4] The mystery still persists and baffles definite solution

1 EI, XXIII 151, f.n 7, 154 f.n 1 2 IA XII 155 BG Vol I Part I 87 137
3 This will be dealt with in connection with the history of these dynasties
4 IA, I 130

We know from a famous passage in Jaina *Harivaṁśa* that in A.D. 783 Saurāshṭra was being ruled by one Varāha or Jaya varāha.[1] It is certain, therefore, that the Maitraka power came to an end some time between A.D. 766 and 783.

As there is an interval of only seventeen years between the last known date of the Valabhī king and the only known date of Varāha, it is likely that the Valabhī kingdom was overthrown by Varāha, or his predecessor. We do not know anything more of this Varāha, and although the passage in the *Harivaṁśa* seems to indicate that he was an independent king, it is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of a more powerful ruler. It has been suggested, for example, that Varāha was possibly a Chāpa king and an ancestor of Dharaṇīvarāha who ruled in Kāthiāwār Peninsula as a feudatory of the Imperial Pratīhāras in A.D. 914.[2] Shortly before this date, we find two members of a Chālukya family ruling in Saurāshṭra as feudatories of the Imperial Pratīhāras. Kalla, the founder of this family, was the great-great-grandfather of Balavarman who issued a Grant in A D. 893, and must therefore have lived in the second half of the eighth century A.D.[3] It is not improbable that this feudatory family was set up in Saurāshṭra about this time.

As will be noted later, the neighbouring Gurjara kingdom of Broach was ruled in the middle of the eighth century A.D. by a Chāhamāna family owning allegiance to king Nāgabhaṭa I, who founded the Imperial Pratīhāra family. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that the Pratīhāra king destroyed the kingdom of Valabhī and set up one or more feudatory families, like the Chāpas and the Chālukyas referred to above, to rule over the kingdom. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the downfall of the Maitraka kings.

The general belief, however, is that the Valabhī kingdom was destroyed by the Arabs. This is primarily based on a story recorded by Alberuni. It is said that a rich citizen of Valabhī had a quarrel with the king and, 'being afraid of his resentment, fled to the Arab ruler of Sindh. He offered the latter presents of money, and asked him to send a naval force against Valabhī. The Arab ruler accordingly made a night attack, killed the king and his people, and destroyed the town.'[4]

The story belongs to the domain of folk-lore and is hardly credible in all details But it may be a faint echo of some historical incidents. That the Arabs actually raided Valabhī during A.D. 725-735 and reduced the kingdom to sore straits, has been already noted.

1. *EI*, VI. 195-197.
2. *IA*, XII 193.
3. *EI*, IX. 1 ff.
4. *Alberuni's India*, Tr. by Sachau, I 192

The Arab historians of Sindh record that in A.D. 758 Caliph Mansūr sent Amru-bin-Jamal with a fleet to the coast of Baraḍa— a name applied to the Porbandar range of hills. About A.D. 776 a second expedition succeeded in taking the town, but as sickness broke out among the troops, they returned without securing any permanent result. Some scholars find in this account a corroboration of Alberuni's story by taking Barada as a mistaken form for Balaba or Valabhī.[1] But this is extremely doubtful, particularly as the more authentic account says nothing about the destruction of the town or of its royal power. On the whole, although one or more Arab expeditions might have been instrumental in causing the downfall of Valabhī, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion about it.

What we know of the naval power of the Arabs makes it extremely unlikely that they could have overthrown the kingdom of Valabhī by a naval expedition without the strong support of an Indian power. If any credit is to be given to the story of Alberuni, we may hold that the destruction of Valabhī was caused by internal revolution or by invasion of an Indian power, aided by the Arabs But as no such victory is definitely claimed by the Arabs, their share, if any, in causing the downfall of Valabhī was not probably of any substantial nature.

It has been suggested that the rival kingdom of Bhūmilikā, referred to above, in south-western Kāthiāwār, fought with the Maitrakas and even assisted the Arabs against them. It is pointed out in support of this theory that the Jeṭhva clan, to which the rulers of the kingdom are *supposed* to have belonged, survived till the tenth century A D, whereas the Maitrakas disappeared after the eighth[2] But these speculations are of little avail so long as it is not definitely established that the Maitraka power was destroyed by an Arab invasion.

Alberuni's story, for all we know, may be merely an echo of the Arab invasion of A.D. 725-735, and even assuming that king Jaika of south-western Kāthiawār treacherously helped the Arab expedition against the Maitrakas, we cannot attribute to it the final collapse of the Maitraka power. It is, however, interesting to note that the plates of Śilāditya V and his successors are issued, not from Valabhī, but from Kheṭaka and other places. The destruction of the city of Valabhī, might, therefore, have been caused by the Arabs, as noted by Alberuni, in course of their raid during A.D. 725-35. But it is certain that the Maitrakas ruled over the kingdom for nearly half a century after that event.

1 IHQ, IV. 467, f n 4. But cf the history of the Saindhavas in the next volume.
2 Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 31

10. RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT

The territory which to-day we call Rājputāna was not known by this name in ancient times. In the tenth century A.D. the whole or at least a large part of it was called Gūrjaratrā, an older and Sanskritised form of Gujarāt. As we have seen above,[1] the Gurjaras set up one or more principalities in Rājputāna as early as the sixth century A.D., and Hiuen Tsang visited a kingdom in this area which he calls Ku-che-lo or Gurjara. It is probable, therefore, that the name Gūrjaratrā was applied to Rājputāna as early as the sixth or seventh century A.D.

But although we cannot trace the name of the locality as Rājputāna at this early period, we find there already settled a number of clans or tribes who became famous as Rājputs in later days. These were the Pratīhāras, the Guhilots, the Chāpotkaṭas and the Chāhamānas.

(i) *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*

The dynasty founded by Harichandra, whose early history has been traced above,[2] is known as Pratīhāra. There was another Pratīhāra family which rose to power in the eighth century. These two probably belonged to the same Gurjara clan and were called Gurjara-Pratīhāra, a name actually met with in connection with a feudatory chief of the Imperial Pratīhāras.

The part played by the Gurjaras in the troubled politics of the first half of the seventh century A.D. has been noticed in connection with Harsha-vardhana and Pulakeśin. It is probable that the Gurjaras in the records of this age denoted the Gurjara principality in Rājputāna with its feudatory state in South Gujarāt, the early history of which has been related above.[3]

There can be hardly any doubt that the Gurjara kingdom described by Hiuen Tsang refers to that ruled over by the descendants of Harichandra. The Chinese pilgrim describes the young Gurjara king as a devout believer in the law of Buddha, and distinguished for wisdom and courage. He may be identified with king Tāta, son of Nāgabhaṭa, about whom it is said in a record of the family that, considering life to be evanescent as lightning, he abdicated in favour of his younger brother, Bhoja, and himself retired to a hermitage practising there the rites of true religion.

Hiuen Tsang refers to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom as Pi-lo-mo-lo This has been identified with Bhillamāla, modern Bhinmāl. But since he notes its distance as 300 miles north of

1. See pp 63 ff. 2. See p. 65. 3. See pp. 66 ff.

Valabhī, we should look for the capital further north, and Balmer would be a more probable site. Bhillamāla is associated with the name of the famous astronomer Brahmagupta who is called *Bhillamālakāchārya*. Since Brahmagupta wrote his great work *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* under the patronage of king Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty, it has been held by some that this dynasty had its capital at Bhillamāla. This is not, however, a legitimate conclusion, as a great scholar might write a work under the patronage of a foreign king. So even if we identify Bhillamāla with Pi-lo-mo-lo mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, as the capital of the Gurjara kingdom, we cannot identify the Chāpas as the Gurjaras, as some scholars have done.[1]

King Tāta and his three successors ruled probably between A.D. 640 and 720. Nothing is known about them beyond what has been said about Tāta. The next king Śīluka, great-grandson of Tāta, was however an important king He is said to have fixed the boundary between Valla and Stravaṇi and gained supremacy by defeating Devarāja, the Bhaṭṭi king Śīluka evidently achieved some success against neighbouring powers and increased the power of his family by enlarging the extent of his kingdom If Stravaṇi be regarded as identical with Taban of the Arab writers, which probably consisted of a part of the Punjāb just to the north-west of Rājputāna, Śīluka's kingdom must have roughly corresponded to modern Jodhpur and Bikaner. The Bhaṭṭi king Devarāja was probably the ruler of the Bhaṭṭi clan who occupied Jaisalmer, and by defeating him Śīluka established his supremacy in Rājputāna

Śīluka has been called Valla-*maṇḍala-pālaka*. This presumably refers to a confederacy of states of which he was the recognised head It has been noted above[2] that there were probably several Gurjara states, founded by the several sons of Harichandra. One of these was in Lāṭa or southern Gujarāt with its capital at Nāndipurī. There was probably another such state in Avanti with its capital at Ujjayinī, for, early in the eighth century A.D a Pratīhāra chief Nāgabhaṭa was ruling in this region There can be hardly any doubt that his family was closely related to the Pratihāra family of Jodhpur. Probably the same wave of conquest which brought one branch of the Gurjaras to South Gujarāt also established another dynasty in Mālwā, and the Kalachuris had to give way to them in both these regions The title Valla-*maṇḍala-pālaka* perhaps denotes that Śīluka was the head of this Gurjara confederacy which ruled over an extensive region including parts of Rājputāna, Mālwā and Gujarāt.

1 Cf *IHQ*, XV. 595

2 See p 65

Either Śīluka or his successor was on the throne when the Arabs swept over the whole of Rājputāna and Gujarāt, and advanced as far as Ujjayinī. The Gurjara kingdom of Jodhpur was overrun, but the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa of Avanti withstood this terrible shock and hurled back the invaders. The credit of saving Western India from the hands of the Arab invaders belongs to him, and he shares the glory with the Chālukya king Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśirāja who stopped their advance into Southern India.[1]

The Arab invasion must have brought about great changes in the political condition in Western India by destroying or weakening numerous small states. The triumphant success of the Pratīhāras of Avanti offered a sad contrast to the serious reverses sustained by other states, and in particular by the Jodhpur family which had hitherto exercised the suzerain power. The prestige of Nāgabhaṭa must have risen very high, and it was inevitable that he should make a bold bid for the position of supremacy. It is also natural that the minor Gurjara states, and probably also others, should favourably entertain this claim of one who had proved himself their true saviour.

An indication of the sad and distracted condition of Gurjara dominions is furnished by the claim of king Pṛithuvardhana, of the Saila dynasty that he overran the Gurjara dominions.[2]

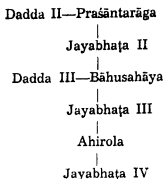
The supremacy over the Gurjara confederacy passed out of the hands of Śīluka's family about the middle of the eighth century A.D. The changed condition is faithfully reflected in the family record. After describing the military exploits of Śīluka it states that his son and grandson, who ruled after him, were both of a pacific nature and spent their last days on the banks of the Gaṅgā.

King Nāgabhaṭa now occupied the supreme position and his successors were destined to raise the Pratīhāras to the highest power and glory. Their history will be dealt with in the next volume.

(ii) *The Gurjara kingdom of Nāndīpurī*

The small kingdom of South Gujarāt continued throughout this period under the Gurjara royal family of Dadda I. The records supply the names of the following successors of Dadda II to whom reference has already been made.[3]

1 Cf *Bh. List*, No 1220.
2 *EI*, IX p. 41. See above, p. 147.
3 *EI*, XXIV 178. See p 66

Dadda II—Praśāntarāga
|
Jayabhaṭa II
|
Dadda III—Bāhusahāya
|
Jayabhaṭa III
|
Ahirola
|
Jayabhaṭa IV

Dadda II, whose known dates are A.D. 629 and 641, gave protection to the lord of Valabhī against Harsha, but this did not save his kingdom from the greed of his powerful neighbour. As noted above,[1] the kings of Valabhī conquered this kingdom, on at least two occasions, about A.D. 648 and 685. On the last occasion, the Valabhī king was driven out by the Chālukyas. Dadda III was probably ruling at this time. He assumed the title Bāhusahāya meaning that his own arms were his support. He is said to have waged war with the great kings of the east and of the west. The western king was undoubtedly the king of Valabhī. The king of the east with whom he fought, probably as a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas, might have been Yaśovarman[2] or the Pratīhāra king of Avantī

The Gurjaras were hemmed in by great powers on all sides The Chālukyas had gradually established an independent kingdom in South Gujarāt with Navasārikā (Navsārī) as capital It appears that the northern boundary of this kingdom extended up to the Narmadā. The Gurjaras probably acknowledged them as their overlord and, as noted above, drove away the king of Valabhī with their help.

When the Arab invasion burst upon his kingdom, Jayabhaṭa IV probably saved himself with the help of the Chālukya king Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśirāja who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them As noted above,[3] Jayabhaṭa takes the credit for having defeated the Arabs at Valabhī, and probably here, too, he fought as a feudatory of the Chālukya overlord.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Indra I, a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas, is said to have married the daughter of a Chālukya king at Kheṭaka by the Rākshasa form of marriage In other words, he carried off the princess by force and married her As Khetaka has been identified with Kaira in Gujarāt, the statement indicates the occupation of this part, at least temporarily, by the Chālukyas some

1 See pp 147, 149. 2. See p 130 3 See p 150.

time about A.D. 725. The Gurjaras, though saved from the Arabs, thus fell a prey to the Chālukyas. The Rāshṭrakūṭas shortly afterwards supplanted the Chālukyas in this region and Dantidurga, son of Indra I, is said to have conquered Lāṭa and Sindhu. But the Rāshṭrakūṭa domination, too, was of short duration, and by the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Pratīhāras of Avantī established their supremacy over this region. For in A.D. 756 a Chāhamāna was ruling in Broach as a feudatory of Nāgāvaloka who has been identified with Nāgabhaṭa I, the Pratīhāra king of Avantī.[1] Whether the Gurjaras of Nāndīpurī refused to recognise the suzerainty of this new family, or for other reasons incurred their displeasure, we cannot say; and for the present, no definite reasons can be assigned as to why the Pratīhāras of Avantī drove out the royal family, which belonged to their own clan, in favour of an outsider. Jayabhaṭa IV is the last known king of the Gurjara family of Nāndīpurī and his only known date is A.D. 735.

(iii) *The Guhilots*

The Guhila-putras or Guhilots of Mewār are rightly regarded as the crest-jewel of the Rājput clans, and many mediaeval Rājput legends have clustered round this name. These romantic tales and bardic traditions are of so varied a character that it is well-nigh impossible to reconstruct from them the true history of this family. There is also a wide divergence of opinion among modern writers on this subject. The scope of this work will not permit a detailed discussion of this topic, and only a brief sketch of the origin and early history of the family will be attempted here on the authority of reliable epigraphic records.

A full genealogy of the family is given for the first time in the Atpur Inscription, dated A.D. 977. It gives the names of 20 kings from Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra. If we allot an average of 20 years to each reign, Guhadatta may be regarded as having flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D. This date is corroborated by two records of Śīla (Śīlāditya) and Aparājita, the fifth and sixth kings in the list, dated respectively in V.S. 703 (646-7) and V.S. 718 (A.D. 661-2). This demolishes the traditional account, recorded in the bardic chronicles, that Guha, the founder of the family, was the son of Śīlāditya, the last king of Valabhī; for as we have seen above, the latter was on the throne till A.D. 766.

The most famous name among the Guhilot rulers is that of Bappā Rāwal. His name does not occur in the Atpur Inscription,

1. *EI*, XII. 201.

but it heads the genealogical list given in subsequent records dating from the thirteenth century A.D. According to the early records of this series, Bappā came from Ānandapura, worshipped at the feet of a sage named Hārita-rāsi, and through his grace obtained royal fortune and became the king of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor). Later records state that Bappā, who obtained the favour of Hārita-rāsi, conquered Chitor from the Mori king Mnurāja and adopted the title of Rāwal

Now, the different chronicles agree in placing Bappā in the first half of the eighth century A D According to Tod, he occupied Chitor in A.D. 728 and abdicated the throne in A D 764 Pandit Ojha gives 734 and 753 as the dates of these two events Other authorities give varying dates within these limits.

It is obvious from the date of Bappā that he could not be the founder of the family, and must have flourished about two centuries after the first ruler Guhadatta, mentioned in the Atpur list. He has accordingly been identified with the eighth king Kālabhoja by Pandit Ojha, and the ninth king Khommāna or Khummāna I by Dr Bhandarkar The latter theory seems preferable in view of the celebrity of the name Khummāna in the history and traditions of Mewār [1] Bappā Rāwal was evidently a designation, and not a proper name. Several meanings have been suggested for each of these two terms, and it is probable that this designation was applied to more than one king [2]

Although Bappā is represented to have come from Ānandapura and conquered Chitor, there is no doubt that Guhilots were ruling in Mewār long before him The earliest seat of their power was Nāgahrada (Nāgdā), and its place was taken by Āghāta (Ahar) in the tenth century There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Chitor was the capital of the family till a much later period, and in a record of the fifteenth century A D even Bappā is said to have flourished at Nāgahrada in Medapata (Mewār) Nevertheless the tradition that Bappā founded a new kingdom by conquering Chitor may not be absolutely without any foundation. It is likely that the Mauryas or Moris were ruling at Chitor when the Arabs overran this part of the country between A D 725 and 738.[3] The Mauryas probably succumbed to these raids and Bappā, a neighbouring chief who was more successful in his resistance to the Arab raiders, seized the fortress of Chitor Tod states, on the authority of bardic Chronicles, that Bappā captured Chitor after expelling the *mlechchhas* i e. non-Hindu foreign hordes who had attacked the Mori kingdom, and this may be an echo of his successful fight with the Arabs It is not unlikely that the small Guhila state was also temporarily over-

1 Banerjee, *Rajput Studies* p 25   2 *PIHC*, III 817 f n.   3. See p 150

whelmed by the Arab invasion and Bappā restored its independence. That would surely entitle him to be regarded as the founder of the kingdom.

We may therefore sum up the history of the Guhilots as follows:—

After the fall of the Gupta empire in the middle of the sixth century A.D., a chief named Guhadatta established a small principality in the western part of the old State of Udaipur. A long line of kings, called after him Guhilas or Guhila-putras, succeeded on the throne, though nothing of importance is known about them. When the Arabs overran this part of the country between A.D. 725 and 738, Khummāṇa I, the ninth king, called also Bappā Rāwal, obtained great renown by his successful resistance to the Muslim invaders. His success was probably due as much to his valour as to the natural strategic advantages of the territory over which he ruled. In any case he took full advantage of the chaos and confusion that followed the Arab raids, and made himself master of the strong fortress of Chitor, and probably also of a part of the neighbouring region. He raised the power and prestige of the family to such an extent that posterity regarded him not only as the greatest ruler, but even as the real founder of the family It is also likely that when in a later age Chitor became the capital of the family, popular memory clung round the name of the hero who first conquered this impregnable fortress. Bappā Rāwal came to be the most revered name in the history of the Guhilots and, as usually happens, romantic episodes gathered round his name to such an extent that he became almost a legendary hero rather than an historical king. It is needless to repeat the numerous legends about Bappā, for no historical conclusions can be drawn from them.

The Guhilots, at a later age, regarded themselves as Kshatriyas of the solar race, and claimed descent from the epic hero Rāma. Of this there is no trace in the early records. On the other hand, some early epigraphic records clearly refer to the Guhila princes as Brāhmaṇas. Guhadatta, the founder of the family, as well as Bappā are called *vipra* or Brāhmaṇa in two records dated respectively in A.D. 977 and 1274. Another record, dated A.D. 1285, tells us that Bappā exchanged *brahma* (priestly) for *kshatra* (military) splendour. In spite of the arguments of Pandit Ojha and Mr. C. V. Vaidya to the contrary, the conclusion is irresistible that the early Guhilots professed to be Brāhmaṇas, and never claimed to belong to the Kshatriyas of solar race till at a much later age [1]

1. Dr. Bhandarkar holds the view that the Guhilots were Nāgara Brāhmaṇas hailing from Ānandapura, who were of foreign origin (*JPASB*, 1909, p 170) This view is challenged by Ojha and Vaidya. The controversy is summed up by Banerjee (op. cit. pp. 8 ff). Cf. also *IHQ*, XXVI. 263; XXVIII. 83.

In addition to the dynasty ruling at Udaipur there were probably other branches of the Guhilots ruling in the neighbourhood. One such branch is known from a record found at Chatsu, a town in Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of the capital city. This Guhila branch was founded about the beginning of the seventh or the latter part of the sixth century A.D. by one Bhartṛipaṭṭa who, according to this inscription, "was like Paraśurāma endowed with both priestly and martial qualities." This obviously means that just as Paraśurāma was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, but performed the feats of a Kshatriya, Bhartṛipaṭṭa also was Brāhmaṇa by birth, but followed the pursuits of a Kshatriya. This fully supports the view that the Guhilots were originally Brāhmaṇas

The earliest record[1] of the family is an inscription of Dhanika, son of Guhila, third in descent from Bhartripaṭṭa. It was found near the city of Nagara, which was a stronghold of the Mālava tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era. The locality is about 50 miles south of Chatsu, and the inscription is dated A.D. 684. This Dhanika is probably identical with Guhilaputra Dhanika mentioned in a record dated A D. 725.[2] In that case, this branch of the Guhilots ruled over an extensive region in Jaipur and Udaipur.

In this record, dated A D. 725, Dhanika is said to have ruled in Dhavagartā as a feudatory of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Śrī Dhavalappadeva who is probably the same as the Maurya ruler named Dhavala[3] Dhavagartā has been identified with the present town of Dhor in the Jahāzpur District of the Udaipur State. This record has been taken as an evidence of this branch of the Guhilots being feudatory to the Mauryas ruling in Udaipur. It is, therefore, thought to be not unlikely that the main branch was also a feudatory of the same family, and Bappā founded an independent State on the ruins of the Maurya kingdom destroyed by the Arab invasion. But the record of Dhanika, found at Nagar, makes this theory somewhat doubtful, as it contains no reference to any overlord

The subsequent history of the family does not concern us here. We do not know when it was established as a ruling power in the Jaipur State, and what was its relation with the main branch up to A.D. 750 In the following period both the branches had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Imperial Pratīhāras.

1 *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, I. p 267
2 EI, XX 122 Dr Bhandarkar read the date as 407 G E (=A.D. 725) but Mr. R. R Halder reads it as 207 and refers it to Harsha Era. Dr. Bhandarkar's reading seems preferable Guhila Dhanika could not have flourished in 207 H.E (=A D. 813) as Harsharāja, fourth in descent from him, was contemporary of Pratīhāra Bhoja I.
3 See later under Mauryas.

(iv) *The Chāpas*

The Chāpas are probably the same as the Chāpotkaṭas or Chāvoṭakas, commonly known as Chāvaḍās (also as Chauḍā, Chaura or Chāvara). According to the Gujarāt chronicles[1] they ruled in Pañchāśara in Vadhiar, between Gujarāt and Kutch, in the period c. A.D. 720-966.

According to these chronicles, the Chāpotkaṭa king Vanarāja, son of Jayaśekhara of Pañchāśara, founded the famous city of Aṇahilapāṭaka (modern Patan) in A.D. 746. Leaving aside the further statement in these chronicles that Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarāt in the tenth century A.D., was a son of a Chāpa princess who destroyed his maternal uncle and seized Aṇahilapāṭaka, the existence of the Chāpas in the first half of the eighth century A.D. is proved by epigraphic records. An inscription, dated A.D. 738, mentions Kachchhella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings as being defeated by the Arabs. The Kachchhellas probably denoted the people of Kutch, and Saurāshṭra undoubtedly refers to Kāthiāwār Peninsula. The exact locality of the Chāvoṭakas at this period cannot be determined. But as the Arabs did not proceed beyond Mālwā in the east and Navsāri in the south, the Chāvoṭaka principality may be located in Rājputāna or its immediate neighbourhood. The Chāpa king Dharaṇīvarāha was ruling in eastern Kāthiāwār in the year A.D. 914.[2] As he is described as fourth in descent from Vikramārka, the first king, it is likely that the family had been ruling there for a century or more. It has been suggested that king Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty, who was a patron of the astronomer Brahmagupta and was ruling in A.D. 628, had his capital at Bhillamāla. As noted above,[3] neither this view nor the identification of Bhillamāla with the Gurjara capital, noted by Hiuen Tsang, can be definitely accepted. Consequently, there is no justification for regarding the Chāpas as Gurjaras.[4] As a matter of fact the Chāpas are distinguished from the Gurjaras in the list of countries overrun by the Arabs, quoted above.

Thus on the whole the Chāpas may be located in southern Rājputāna or in northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, and they might have had more than one settlement including Pañchāśara or Aṇahilapāṭaka referred to in the Gujarāt chronicles.

(v) *The Mauryas*

The Mauryas are evidently the same as the Mori Rājputs who, according to the bardic chronicles, ruled in Chitor. There is still

1 *DHNI*, II. 935; Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 35-36.
2. Haḍḍālā plates (*IA*, XII. 193).
3. See above pp. 153-54.
4 This is the view of Jackson and Indraji (*BG*, I. Part I, p. 155).

a sub-clan of the Paramāras known as Morya or Maurya.[1] The existence of several ruling families of this name, both in Northern and Southern India, in the seventh century A.D. and later, is proved by epigraphic records.[2] The name no doubt recalls the famous imperial dynasty of ancient India, but although Hiuen Tsang refers to Pūrṇa-varman of Magadha as a descendant of Aśoka, it is difficult to regard him or any ruling Maurya clan as connected with that illustrious family.

The Mauryas are referred to in a record at Jhalrapatan dated A.D. 690.[3] Another record[4] in Kotah State, dated A.D. 738-39, refers to the local prince as a friend of king Dhavala of Maurya lineage. This Dhavala is probably the same as Dhavalappadeva who is given imperial titles and is described as the suzerain of the feudatory Guhila-putra Dhanika who ruled in Udaipur.[5] We may, therefore, give some credit to the tradition, mentioned above, that the Guhilot ruler Bappā conquered Chitor from the Mori king Manurāja. Tod gives the name as Māna, and this ruler has been identified with the author of an inscription, dated A.D. 713, found at Chitor, which will be referred to later.

It is to be noted that if Māna, ruling in A.D. 713, was the last Maurya king in Udaipur, we can hardly regard Dhavalappa also as a Maurya king ruling in Udaipur in A.D. 738. Further, as this Dhavalappadeva was the suzerain of Guhila Dhanika, we can hardly regard Bappā as occupying Chitor before A.D. 738. In the present state of meagre information, therefore, the identity of Manurāja and Māna must be regarded as doubtful.

As already noted above, the Mauryas fell a victim to the Arab aggression, and it was probably after this catastrophe that Bappā defeated them and took possession of Chitor.

(vi) *The Chāhamānas*

An inscription, dated A.D. 756, gives the names of six generations of Chāhamāna princes, ending with Bhartṛivaḍḍha II, a feudatory of Nāgāvaloka, who is generally identified with the Imperial Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa I.[6] Bhartṛivaḍḍha ruled in the Broach District, and if his five ancestors did the same, we must presume that the Chāhamānas ruled in this region from about A.D. 600. But this is in conflict with what we know of the Gurjaras ruling in the same region during the same period. It is presumed, therefore, that either the ancestors of Bhartṛivaḍḍha II were not ruling chiefs, or

1 See above, p 158. *DHNI*, II. 1154. 2. *BG*, I Part II, p 284
3 It mentions Rājā Durgagaṇa of the Maurya family. The inscription has not been edited and there is only a short reference to it in *IA*, LVI. 213.
4 *IA*, XIX. 57. 5 See p. 160 6. *EI*, XII. 201.

that this ruling family migrated from some other locality to Broach after the reign of Gurjara Jayabhaṭa IV, whose last known date is A.D. 735. The more reliable traditions locate the early home of the Chāhamānas in the region round lake Śākambharī, though according to the bardic chronicles the first Chāhamāna or Chauhān king ruled at Māhishmatī on the Narmadā.[1] It is not unlikely that the Chāhamānas were petty ruling chiefs in one of these regions, when Bhartṛivaḍḍha II was appointed by Nāgabhaṭa I to rule in Broach as his feudatory.

It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription[2] dated A.D. 713, found at Chitorgadh, records a dynasty of four kings, *viz.* Maheśvara of the race of Tvashṭṛi, Bhīma, his son Bhoja and his son Māna. Curiously enough, the first two ancestors of the Chāhamāna ruler Bhartṛivaḍḍha II are also Maheśvaradāma and his son Bhīmadāma. Leaving out the common name-ending *dāma*, the two sets of names and their dates agree, and it is not unlikely that they refer to identical persons. In that case we should presume that the Chāhamānas originally lived in or near Chitor during the seventh century A D. It is noteworthy in this connection that the family was originally called the race of Tvashṭṛi, and it was only somewhat later, with the growth of power, that the members used the name-ending *dāma*, first met with in the names of Western Satraps, and called themselves Chāhamānas.

The Chitorgadh inscription, as interpreted by Tod, would seem to imply that in A.D. 713 the territory was under the suzerainty of the lord of Mālwā. But this may be doubted. The expression 'Lord of Mālava' was evidently used with reference to the date, indicating that it was a year of the well-known Mālava era. Māna and his three ancestors were probably local rulers or high officials. As noted above, some scholars regard Māna as the Maurya or Mori ruler defeated by Bappā. Even if this view be accepted, it does not necessarily disprove the identity proposed above. For it is not impossible that the Chāhamāna clan might be a branch or offshoot of the Moriyas. But it is unnecessary to proceed further with these speculations. No historical event connected with Bhartṛivaḍḍha II or any of his five ancestors is known.

(vii) *Minor States*

Contemporary epigraphic records reveal the existence of several other states in Rājputāna between A D 600 and 750.

A suzerain king Varmalāta and his feudatory Rājjila are named in a record[3] found at Vasantgaḍh, in Sirohi State, and dated in the

1. *DHNI*, II 1052 ff. 2 *Bh. List*, No 16 3 EI IX 191.

year A.D. 625. Rājjila's father Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya was also a feudatory of the same king. Rājjila protected Mount Arbuda (Mt. Abu) and had his capital at Vaṭa which is undoubtedly represented by Vasantgaḍh. The king Varmalāta is almost certainly identical with the king of the same name whose prime minister was the grandfather of the famous poet Māgha. Unfortunately, we know nothing of this ruler, but it is not unlikely that Hiuen Tsang, who passed through this region, referred to his kingdom as O-cha-li.

An inscription,[1] found at Shergaḍh in Koṭah State, refers to Sāmanta Devadatta ruling in A.D. 790. As the names of his three ancestors end in Nāga, we may hold that a Nāga family was ruling in the region in the eighth century A D, if not earlier

11. SINDH AND OTHER STATES ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER

The most important kingdom in Western India, besides Surāshṭra and the Gurjara states, was Sindhu. As mentioned above,[2] this kingdom was hostile to the Pushpabhūti dynasty, and is said to have been destroyed by Harsha-vardhana. But there is no doubt that from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. it was an extensive and powerful kingdom, and though Harsha might have gained some success against it, he could not establish any permanent influence. Hiuen Tsang not only describes it as an independent kingdom, but also mentions three other states as its dependencies. It is difficult to locate these states definitely, but Sindh and its subordinate states certainly comprised the whole of the lower Sindhu valley to the south of Multān.

There is a local chronicle of Sindh called *Chach-nāma*[3] which gives some interesting details of its history. According to this work Sahiras, the king of Sindh, ruled over an extensive territory bordering in the north upon Kāshmir and in the west upon Makrān.

To the north-west of Sindh were two other important states on the western borderland of India. In the north was the kingdom of Kāpiśa or Kābul or Kābulistān, comprising the valley of the Kābul river and the hilly tracts surrounding it up to the Hindu Kush mountains. To the south of Kābul was Zābul or Zābulistān which included the upper valley of the Helmand river and a large extent of territory both to the east as well as to the west of it.

According to Hiuen Tsang, the kingdom of Kāpiśa was an extensive one and exercised suzerainty over ten dependent states including Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara (Jalālābād) and Gandhāra. Of Zābulistān we have no detailed knowledge, but it was also a

1. *Bh. List*, No. 21.
2. See p. 98
3. For an account of this work and other authorities, cf *JIH*, X. Supplement, pp. 11ff.

very powerful kingdom. In the seventh century A.D. these two kingdoms formed parts of India both politically and culturally, being Indian in language, literature and religion, and ruled over by kings who bore Indian names. The king of Zābul bore the designation Shāhi, and the rulers of Kāpiśa called themselves Kshatriyas. The boundaries of these kingdoms varied from time to time, and some of their rulers became very powerful. We know from the coins of one Vāsudeva, bearing legends in Sassanian Pahlavi and Indian scripts, that he was the ruler of Bahman (Brāhmanābād?), Multān, Tukan, Zābulistān and Sapardalakshan (Sapādalaksha?). Another ruler of the same region, and belonging almost to the same period, was Shāhi Tigin, who is called the master of Tākan and Khurāsān in the Pahlavi legend, and the supreme lord of India and Irān in the Indian script. These were probably rulers of the borderlands of Kābul and Zābul, but nothing definite is known about them.[1]

It is not possible to give any connected history either of Kābul or Zābul. Of Sindh alone, we possess some detailed account from the local chronicle *Chach-nāma* and some Arabic works. The details recorded in them are not always very reliable, but it is possible, with their help, to construct a general narrative which may be regarded as fairly trustworthy.

According to these chronicles king Sahiras, son of Sahasi Rai, ruled over an extensive kingdom bordering on Kāshmir and Kanauj in the north and east, and extending as far as Makrān in the west. The fact that Harsha-vardhana fought with the king of Sindh lends some colour of probability to this account. The central part of these territories was under the immediate charge of the king, who had his capital at Alor, while the rest was divided into four provinces, each under a governor who is also described as a tributary ruler. This account agrees fairly well with that of Hiuen Tsang.

King Sahiras lost his life in a fight with the king of Nimruz, a province of Persia, who had invaded his territory and entered Kirman. This took place probably at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

Sahiras was succeeded by his son Rai Sahasi II. During his reign a Brāhmaṇa named Chach gradually rose to power and high office, and ascended the throne after his master's death.

The provincial governors at first refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the usurper. But Chach marched in person against

1. Rapson, *Indian Coins* § 109 (pp. 30-31). A somewhat different view is taken by V. A. Smith (*CCIM*, 234); cf. other texts referred to by these writers for other coins of this class.

them and subdued them all. He also proceeded to the hills of Kāshmir and definitely fixed the frontier between the two kingdoms. Taking advantage of the confusion in Persia, due apparently to the Arab invasion, Chach conquered a portion of Makrān and forced the people of Kandabil (east of Kalāt) to pay tribute.

Chach was thus a very powerful king according to *Chach-nāma*, but it is difficult to accept as fact everything mentioned in this work. The date it gives for Chach's accession, *viz.* A.D. 602, is palpably wrong. If we believe Hiuen Tsang's statement that the ruling king of Sindhu was a Śūdra, the accession of the Brahmin Chach must be placed later than A.D 640. Although an Arabic chronicle puts the accession of Chach in A.D. 622, and this date fits in well with the chronological details of the next reigns given in *Chach-nāma*, a date after A.D. 640 accords better with the fact that his son occupied the throne in A.D. 708

Chach married the widowed queen of his predecessor, and had two sons by her, *viz.* Daharsiah and Dāhar. Chach was, however, succeeded by his brother Chandar. After the death of Chandar, his son Durāj and Dāhar were rival claimants for the throne. But Daharsiah ousted Durāj and the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Chach. Then after Daharsiah's death, Dāhar alone ruled over the united kingdom.

This event may be dated about A.D. 700 Eight years later, Dāhar's kingdom was attacked by the neighbouring king of Ramal, but Dāhar easily repulsed him.

The most important event in Dāhar's reign was the Arab invasion which overwhelmed him and his kingdom. This was not an isolated fact nor an unexpected event, as is generally believed, but the culmination of a continuous effort on the part of the Arabs to effect the conquest of India. In view of its great importance in the history of India this episode of the Arab invasion requires separate and fuller treatment.

12 THE ARAB INVASION

The sudden rise of the Arabs in the seventh century A.D as the greatest military power is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the world It is unnecessary to describe in detail the rapid military successes which made them a world-power soon after the rise of Islam But a brief reference to it should be made in order to understand properly the nature and results of their military enterprise against India

At the time of the death of the Prophet Muhammad in A.D. 632, his temporal authority did not extend beyond the Arabian Peninsula.

Within eight years thereafter his successors subjugated Syria and Egypt. Northern Africa was conquered between A.D. 640 and 709, and Spain by A.D. 713. Within a century of the death of the Prophet, the Muhammadans had advanced as far as the heart of France, when their further progress westwards was checked by the victory of Charles Martel between Tours and Poitiers in A.D. 732.

The Muhammadans attained equally rapid and brilliant successes in the east. The mighty Persian empire received its death-blow at the battle of Cadesia in A.D. 637, and within five years the whole of Persia as far east as Herāt was annexed to the growing empire of the Arabs. By A.D. 650, its northern frontier was advanced to the Oxus, and all the countries between that river and the Hindu Kush mountains were included in it.

It was inevitable that the Arabs should cast their covetous eyes on India. As a matter of fact, no less than three naval expeditions were sent against India as early as the Caliphate of 'Umar (A.D. 634-44). The first, in A.D. 637, was directed against Tanah, *i.e.* Thānā near Bombay, and the other two were aimed at Barwas (Broach) and Debal, a port at the mouth of the Sindhu. These were in the nature of raids, and probably ended in failure; at least no conspicuous success attended any of them.

Then the Arabs advanced by land, and the first shock of their invasion was felt equally by the three border kingdoms of Kābul, Zābul, and Sindh. It will be convenient to deal separately with the first two and the third.

(1) *Kābul and Zābul*

About A.D. 650 the governor of Basra sent a force to Sijistān (Seistān). The Arabs gained some successes at first in this region and advanced along the Helmand river as far as Bust. But soon they had to return, and lost everything they had gained.

During the Caliphate of Muāwiyah (A.D. 661-80) a determined effort was made to conquer this region. An Arab force under Abd-ar-Rahmān, the governor of Sijistān, proceeded up to Kābul and stormed it after a few months' siege. From Kābul the Arabs proceeded to Zābulistān and defeated the people who opposed them Soon after Abd-ar-Rahmān was recalled, the chiefs of Kābul and Zābul threw off the Muslim yoke, and the Muslims were driven out from these two countries. The new Arab governor renewed the campaign, but concluded a treaty with these two chiefs on payment of a sum of money by them.

In A.D. 683 Kābul revolted. The governor of Sijistān proceeded against it and a great battle was fought at Junzah. The Muslim

army was completely routed. The governor himself and some distinguished members of the aristocracy lay dead on the field and the rest fled.

The king of Zābul also declared war against the Arabs, but in spite of initial successes he was killed and his army routed (A.D. 685). His son and successor, however, continued the struggle. He did not oppose the advance of the Arabs till they had penetrated deep into his country. Then he blocked the mountain paths and passes and forced the Arab general to conclude a treaty, by which the latter promised, on payment of a sum of money, not to raid this kingdom in future. The Caliph, however, disapproved of the treaty and dismissed the general.

Shortly after Al-Hajjāj became governor of Iraq (A.D. 695), his general 'Ubaidullāh made an attempt to subdue Kābul. The kings of Zābul and Kābul combined and inflicted a severe defeat upon the Muslim army. The retreat of the Arabs was blocked, and although they fought their way out, many perished from thirst and hunger, and 'Ubaidullāh died of grief at the plight of his army.

It was a veritable disaster for the Muslim forces who were, according to some writers, allowed to retire only on payment of a humiliating ransom. To avenge this affront, a huge army was raised and equipped at the cost of a heavy war-cess on Basra and Kufa. Its commander Abd-ar-Rahmān marched against Zābul (A.D. 699), defeated its king, and ravaged the land. Bearing in mind the recent reverses, he wanted to proceed cautiously. Al-Hajjāj, however, urged him to be more active and, when he expostulated, threatened to supersede him. Taking offence at this, he declared war against Al-Hajjāj and the Caliph, marched on Iraq, and captured Basra. Being defeated and pursued he took refuge with the king of Zābul who, however, a year or two later sent his head to Al-Hajjāj. Al-Hajjāj concluded a treaty with Zābul, and agreed not to make war against it for seven or nine years on condition of an annual subsidy in kind. This truce continued till the death of Hajjāj in 714. Then the king of Zābul refused to pay the tribute, and for over forty years thereafter the Arabs could not exact anything from him.

Thus the Arabs had been making persistent efforts for more than half a century to subdue Kābul and Zābul, in the course of which they gained notable successes, but also suffered serious reverses. They could achieve no permanent gain, and were ultimately convinced that the conquest of these territories was beyond their power. Henceforth the Arabs were content to leave them alone and merely sought to impose some sort of suzerainty over them. But even this was achieved with difficulty for a very brief period (A.D. 700-714).

For the next century and a half, Kābul and Zābul maintained their authority practically unimpaired.

(ii) *Sindh*

The first Arab invasion of Sindh was in the form of a naval raid against the port of Debal at the mouth of the Sindhu in or about A.D. 643. The Arab historians record a Muslim victory, but according to *Chach-nāma* the Muslims were defeated and their leader was killed by the governor of Chach at the battle of Debal.

The defeat at Debal must have been a disagreeable surprise to Caliph 'Umar who was accustomed only to reports of success from his armies all over the world. He now planned to send an expedition by land, and commanded the governor of Iraq to send him detailed information about Sindh. The governor reported that this kingdom was very powerful and by no means willing to submit to Muslim domination. Thereupon the Caliph gave up the idea of sending any expedition against it. The next Caliph 'Uthmān also gave up the projected invasion of Sindh by land on getting similar reports from his agent.

During the Caliphate of 'Ali, a great expedition was sent against India (c. A.D. 660). The Muslim army, which included a large number of nobles and chiefs, advanced up to Kikān or Kikanān without any serious opposition. Kikān was a state in the hilly region round Bolān pass, and is referred to by Hiuen Tsang as a kingdom whose people led pastoral lives amid the great mountains and valleys in separate clans, without any ruling chief. It was, however, according to *Chach-nāma*, included in the central division of Sindh, under the direct administration of the king. In any case, the people of Kikān made a brave stand and repulsed the Muslim army with severe losses. The leader of the Muslim host was killed together with all but a few of his followers (A.D. 663).

Henceforth, Kikān became the chief objective of the Muslim expeditions. During the next twenty years, no less than six expeditions against this frontier post of Sindh are recorded, but they failed to make any permanent impression. The only solid gain of the Arabs during this period was the conquest of Makrān.

For more than twenty years thereafter, the kingdom of Sindh enjoyed a respite from Arab aggression on its frontier. But hostilities broke out again, about A.D. 708, with Hajjāj, the governor of Iraq. A ship from Ceylon, carrying some Muslim women proceeding to Hajjāj, was captured by pirates near the port of Debal. Hajjāj wrote to Dāhar, king of Sindh, to set the women free; but

Dāhar pleaded inability, pointing out that he had no control over the pirates who captured them.

This gave Hajjāj a pretext for sending an expedition to Sindh. The general belief that this incident was the origin of the hostility between the Arabs and Sindh is, however, not well founded. That hostility, as we have seen, was of long standing. The incident at Debal merely provoked Hajjāj to make renewed efforts on a large scale for conquering a country which had so long defied the might of Islam. The Caliph was at first unwilling to sanction the risky expedition, but ultimately gave his consent at the importunities of Hajjāj. Hajjāj thereupon sent 'Ubaidullāh to raid Debal, but he was defeated and killed. A second expedition was sent under Budail by way of sea from Oman. Budail got reinforcements and marched towards Debal. He was met by Jaisiṁha, son of Dāhar. A pitched battle ensued, which lasted a whole day. At the end, the Muslim army was routed and Budail was killed.

Hajjāj then made elaborate preparations for the invasion of Sindh. He appointed his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim as commander of the expedition, and provided him with soldiers, arms, and ammunitions on a lavish scale. He also obtained from the Caliph the services of 6,000 Syrian soldiers fully equipped.

Muhammad reached Debal and, with the help of heavy siege-materials sent by sea, stormed the fortress. No quarter was given, and for three days the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered by the victorious foe. Muhammad settled 4,000 Muslim colonists in the city and built a mosque for them. The sea-port of Debal cannot be definitely identified. According to some it occupied the site of Thathah, while others locate it at Bhambor on the north bank of the Gharo creeks, and 3½ miles to the west of the village of Gharo in the *tāluq* of Mirpur Sakro.

From Debal, Muhammad proceeded to Nerun which is represented by modern Haidarābād. The Buddhist priests there were already carrying on treasonable correspondence with Hajjāj, and now openly helped Muhammad with provisions. Muhammad then conquered many cities without any opposition and advanced to Siwistān (Sehwān) Here, too, the Buddhist fifth-columnists welcomed the Arabs and entered into a pact with them against their own governor, who was defeated and fled. The Buddhist sections of other towns are also said to have befriended the Arabs. This may be explained partly by their aversion to slaughter and bloodshed, and partly by their ideal of universal religious fraternity which transcended that of nation or country. Perhaps the superstitious beliefs in the alleged prophetic sayings about the conquest of India

by Islamic force, also, partly account for this attitude. It should be noted, however, that all the Buddhists did not support the Muslims and some actually fought against them. On the other hand, many non-Buddhists also betrayed their king and country.

Some leading chiefs now tendered homage to Muhammad, who proceeded along the western bank of the Sindhu and pitched his camp opposite the army of Dāhar. Here he entered into alliance with an important chief called Mokah, who basely deserted Dāhar and promised to supply Muhammad with boats for crossing the Sindhu on receiving as reward a large stretch of the conquered territory.

Muhammad was re-inforced by 2000 select horse sent by Hajjāj and 4000 warlike Jats from Siwistān, which had revolted but was again subdued. Nevertheless Muhammad halted on the bank of the Sindhu for nearly two months, whereupon Hajjāj reprimanded him and urged him to cross the river and fight with Dāhar.

Muhammad then crossed to the eastern bank of the Sindhu and was joined by the brother of Mokah who had already betrayed Dāhar. By the help and advice of these two chiefs he crossed the lake between him and Dāhar's army, and a pitched battle was fought near Raor. According to *Chach-nāma*, which has described the battle in detail, Dāhar fought with valour, and on the second day the Muslim army was nearly routed. "The infidels", so runs the account, "made a rush on the Arabs from all sides and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islam became irresolute and their lines were broken up in great confusion." As was customary with Indian kings Dāhar, seated on an elephant, led the vanguard of his army. He was an easy target and an arrow struck him in the heart. The death of the king was followed by a complete rout of his army. Jaisiṁha, the son of Dāhar, retreated to Brāhmanābād, leaving the widowed queen to defend the fort of Raor which Muhammad immediately attacked. The queen put up a brave resistance, and being reduced to the last extremity, burnt herself along with other ladies to escape the infamy of falling into the hands of the Arabs.

After capturing Raor, Muhammad proceeded towards Brāhmanābād. Jaisiṁha made elaborate preparations for defending it as well as the capital city Alor, and marched with an army to harass the enemy and cut off his supply. Although his *vizier* or chief minister joined Muhammad, the people of Brāhmanābād fought bravely for six months when some leading citizens entered into a secret pact with the enemy and betrayed the fort.

After having subdued several other places, Muhammad proceeded to the capital city Alor which surrendered after some fighting.

After conquering a few more strongholds, he besieged Multan, which offered stubborn resistance for two months, but was ultimately obliged to surrender owing to treachery.

Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim was undoubtedly a great general, and his remarkable victories gave the Muslims the first foothold on Indian soil. Unfortunately, far from his achievements being appreciated and properly rewarded at home, he met with a cruel end even while he was engaged in making further conquests. The death of Hajjāj in A.D. 714, and that of Caliph Walīd in the year following, brought evil days for him. The new Caliph was an enemy of Hajjāj and wreaked his vengeance on the members of his family. Muhammad was recalled to Iraq where, with certain other adherents of Hajjāj, he was put to death by torture. There seems to be no basis for the romantic story, told in *Chach-nāma*, about machinations of two daughters of Dāhar, who were sent captives to the Caliph and who secured the death of Muhammad by means of false representations to the effect that their modesty was outraged by the latter before he sent them to his master.

The recall and death of Muhammad induced the chiefs of Sindh to throw off the Muslim yoke. Dāhar's son Jaisiṁha re-occupied Brāhmanābād. The Caliph sent Habib to subdue Sindh. He conquered Alor and made some minor conquests.

The next Caliph 'Umar II (A.D. 717-720) offered virtual independence to the chiefs of Sindh, under his suzerainty, on condition of their accepting Islam. Many chiefs including Jaisiṁha accepted the offer. But during the Caliphate of Hishām (A.D. 724-743), he apostatized and declared war against Junaid, the governor of Sindh. Junaid defeated him and took him prisoner. With Jaisiṁha ended the Hindu royal dynasty of Sindh.

(iii) *Western India*

Junaid now planned to complete the work of Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim by extending Muslim domination over the interior of India He himself conquered 'Bailamān and Jurz and his lieutenants proceeded as far as Uzain, overrunning Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaz, Barwas and Malibah.' Most of these places can be easily identified. Marmad evidently stands for Maru-Māra, corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Barwas is undoubtedly Broach, and Bailamān probably refers to Vallamaṇḍala.[1] Malibah and Uzain no doubt stand for Mālava and its capital city Ujjayinī. It would thus appear that the Arabs advanced through Rājputāna and proceeded as far as Mālwā in the east and Broach in the south. From a con-

1 See p. 154.

temporary Indian record we learn that the Arabs defeated the kings of the Saindhavas, the Kachchhellas, Saurāshṭra, the Chāvoṭakas, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras, and advanced as far south as Navsāri.[1] In view of the probable location of these states, mentioned above, the two accounts agree remarkably, except that Saurāshṭra, denoting the Valabhī kingdom, is not included by the Arab chronicler. These Arab expeditions took place between A.D. 724 and 738.

But the success of the Arabs was short-lived, and they were defeated by the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa[2] and the Chālukya ruler of Lāṭa (S. Gujarāt) named Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja. The latter's heroic stand earned him the titles 'solid pillar of Dakshiṇāpatha' and 'the repeller of the unrepellable.'[3] The Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV of Nāndīpurī also claims to have defeated the Arabs.[4] Apart from these claims, authenticated by contemporary records, we have traditions about several Indian rulers as having defeated the Mlechchhas, and some of them at any rate refer probably to the Arab invaders of this period.[5] It is also admitted in the Arab chronicles that under Junaid's successor Tamin, the Muslims lost the newly conquered territories and fell back upon Sindh. Even here their position became insecure. According to the Arab chronicles, 'a place of refuge to which the Muslims might flee was not to be found,' and so the governor of Sindh built a city on the further side of the lake, on which later the city of Mansurah stood, as a place of refuge for them. It is thus clear that the period of confusion in the Caliphate during the last years of the Umayyads also witnessed the decline of Islamic power in India.

(iv) *North-Western India*

No details are known regarding the Arab expeditions to the north of Sindh. According to *Chach-nāma,* Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim had proceeded from Multān to the frontiers of Kāshmir and at the same time sent an expedition against Kanauj; but before he could achieve any material success he was put to death by the orders of the Caliph. The Arab chronicles do not refer to Muhammad's expedition against Kāshmir and Kanauj, but mention his conquest of Kiraj. As Kiraj or Kīra country corresponds to Kāngra, Muhammad must have reached very nearly the frontiers of Kāshmir and Kanauj. But the Arabs lost their conquests in this region during the turmoils that followed the death of Muhammad. Junaid again conquered Kiraj, but his success, too, was short-lived. Both Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, and Lalitāditya, king of Kāshmir, seem to have stemmed

1. *ABORI,* X. 31.
2. See p. 155.
3. *ABORI,* X. 31.
4. See p. 150.
5. Cf. the history of Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya and Bappā in the preceding sections (pp. 128 ff., 133 ff., 157 ff.).

the advance of the Arabs in this direction. They sent embassies to China for making a common cause against the Arabs, but although no help was forthcoming from that quarter, they were able to defeat the Arabs by their own unaided efforts.[1]

Thus by the middle of the eighth century A.D. when the great revolution in the Islamic world transferred the chief power from the Umayyads to the Abbasids, the power and prestige of Islam in India was reduced to its lowest ebb, and the Arabs could only maintain a precarious hold over a part of Sindh.

(v) *Retrospect*

We may now critically review the main incidents narrated above in connection with the early Muslim raids on the western borderlands of India. It is well known that only four routes are open to a hostile army operating against India from the west. One way is by the sea, and the other three lie roughly speaking through Khyber Pass, Bolān Pass and the Makrān coast. From the very commencement, we find the Arabs endeavouring to penetrate into India through every one of these routes. The early naval raids against Thānā, Broach and Debal, and subsequent raids in the same direction, mark their vain efforts to reach India by sea. Of the land-routes, the Khyber Pass was guarded by Kābul and Zābul while the Bolān Pass was protected by the brave Jāts of Kikān or Kikānān. The long-drawn struggles of the Arabs with these powers, narrated above, mark their steady but fruitless endeavours to enter India through the two great passes. The hardy mountaineers of these regions, backed by the natural advantage of their hilly country, offered stubborn resistance to the conquerors of the world, and though often defeated, ever refused to yield. If there had been a history of India written without prejudices and predilections, the heroic deeds of these brave people, who stemmed the tide of Islam for two centuries, would certainly have received the recognition they so richly deserve.

When the other three routes failed, the Arabs attempted the fourth one through Makrān coast. It is not difficult to explain why the Arabs succeeded in this route while they failed in the others. While the equipment of the Arab army was made on a lavish scale, and forces were requisitioned even from distant Syria, Sindh was at the moment exhausted by civil wars, internal discords, and foreign aggression that had been going on for more than half a century. King Dāhar's statesmanship and military skill were also much inferior to those of his rival. It is difficult to explain why he did not oppose the Arab fleet carrying military equipment, especially

1 See above, pp. 130, 134

heavy siege-materials. Evidently he did not possess sufficient naval strength for the purpose. But in view of the persistent endeavours of the Arabs to reach the Indian soil, and the feasibility of the Makrān coast for that purpose, the ruler of Sindh showed a lamentable lack of foresight in neglecting the navy. Possibly this is mainly due to the fact that for nearly thirty years, from c. A.D. 670 to 700, Dāhar had no control over the southern part of Sindh, and it came into his possession only a few years before the Arab invasion. The same reason also explains partly why both Nehrun and Siwistān, the two main strongholds of Southern Sindh, opened their gates to the Arabs without any resistance The unpatriotic character of the Buddhists, the general superstitions of a section of the people, and the want of loyalty towards the royal family which had usurped the throne only a generation ago, account for the desertion and treachery of the chiefs and people which ruined the cause of Dāhar.

All these causes, and perhaps others which are not known, brought about the fall of Sindh. The conquest of Sindh should not, therefore, be regarded as indicating in a general way the military superiority of Muslims over Indians. This is further borne out by the fact that the conquest of Sindh was the first and the last great achievement of the Arabs in India. Junaid, no doubt, was triumphant for a time over the petty states in the neighbourhood of Sindh, but as soon as he clashed with powerful states like Kāshmir and Kanauj in the north and those of the Pratīhāras and the Chālukyas in the south, the spell of victory was broken. Even the greater part of Sindh was lost in a short time Ultimately, after three centuries of unremitting efforts, we find the Arab dominion in India confined to the two petty states of Mansurah and Multān.

When we remember their wonderful military success in other parts of the world, the comparatively insignificant results the Arabs achieved in India certainly stand out in marked contrast. The cause of this, however, does not lie in the religious and social peculiarities of India as old historians like Elphinstone vainly attempted to establish. The cause lies undoubtedly in the superior military strength and state-organisation of the Indians as compared with most other nations of the time. However incredible this might appear in the light of subsequent events, this is the plain verdict of history.

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CHAPTER XI

DECCAN IN THE GUPTA AGE

Numerous ruling families flourished in different parts of the Deccan in the centuries preceding the rise of the mighty Chālukya house of Bādāmi shortly before A.D. 542. They may be classified roughly into three groups with reference to their main spheres of influence in the Central, Western and Eastern parts of the Deccan.

A. CENTRAL DECCAN

I. THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

The rise of the Vākāṭakas as a great power in the Deccan and a part of Central India under Vindhyaśakti and his valiant son Pravarasena I has been narrated in the preceding Volume.[1] We have seen that when the latter died, about the end of the first quarter of the fourth century, he left probably a vast empire extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the former Hyderābād State in the south.

According to the Puranic account, four sons of Pravarasena I became kings. Whether this indicates a division of Pravarasena's empire amongst his four sons cannot be determined. There seems, however, to be some evidence in favour of the suggestion. Inscriptions testify to the division of Pravarasena's empire at least into two parts, one under the descendants of his son Gautamīputra with their headquarters in the Nāgpur District, and another under his son Sarvasena and his successors with their capital at Vatsagulma in the Akola District. It may be suggested that during the lifetime of Pravarasena I his sons were viceroys in the provinces, and that they or their descendants began to rule independently after his death. Nothing, however, is known about the other sons of Pravarasena referred to in the Puranic account, although it is not improbable that their territories were later absorbed in the dominions of the descendants of Gautamīputra, who represented the main branch of the family. The fact that the family is not called *samrāḍ-Vākāṭaka* with reference to any ruler after Pravarasena I may be due to the waning of their power as a result of the division of the empire.

1. Vol. II, pp. 217-221.

1. The Main Branch of the Vākāṭaka Family

The eldest son of Pravarasena I appears to have been Gautamīputra who possibly predeceased his father; for the Vākāṭaka records do not attribute any royal title to him. His son by the daughter of Bhavanāga was *Mahārāja* Rudrasena I, who succeeded his grandfather and is described in the records of his successors as a devout worshipper of the lord Mahābhairava (the terrific aspect of Śiva). It is not improbable that Rudrasena I became a Śaiva through the influence of his maternal relatives, the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, who were noted for their devotion to Śiva. The prominent mention of Rudrasena's relation to the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga in the Vākāṭaka records possibly indicates that he received considerable help from his relatives in making his position secure over large parts of his grandfather's empire. As no inscription of Rudrasena's time has been discovered,[1] little is known about the events of his reign and the extent of his dominions.

Some scholars are inclined to identify Rudrasena I with the king of Āryāvarta named Rudradeva overthrown by Samudragupta.[2] But considerable parts of Bundelkhand acknowledged Vākāṭaka suzerainty as late as the time of Rudrasena's son and successor Pṛithivīshena I Moreover, if Rudrasena had, like his successors, his headquarters in the Nāgpur District in Dakshināpatha, he has to be distinguished from the Āryāvarta ruler Rudradeva, contemporary of Samudra-gupta. It is probable that the Vākātaka king Rudrasena I flourished before the victorious advance of Samudra-gupta in Central India.

Rudrasena I was succeeded by his son Prithivīshena I who, like his father, was a worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva) He is described as an exceptionally pious man in the records of his descendants, and is not only called a *Dharma-vijayin* (one who becomes victorious through virtue), but also a "person acting like Yudhishthira." Another remarkable epithet applied to this king describes him as "one having sons and grandsons and enjoying the continuity of treasure, army, and means of fulfilling desires that had been accumulating for a hundred years" It may be surmised that Pṛithivīshena I lived for more than a century. But the fact that his son and successor is supposed to have died at a comparatively early age would render this interpretation unlikely. The more plausible suggestion would be that during the rule of Pṛithivīshena I (about the third quarter of the fourth century), a century had already elapsed since the foundation of the Vākātaka empire by Vindhyaśakti.

1 Mirashi assigns an inscription at Deotek to Rudrasena I (POC, 1935, pp. 613-22).
2 See above p 8.

No record of Pṛithivīshena I himself has been discovered as yet; but we have two inscriptions of one Vyāghradeva who claims to have been a vassal of *Mahārāja* Pṛithivīshena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He should be identified with Pṛithivīshena I, though some writers take him to be the second king of that name.[1] One of the records has been found at Nachna or Nachne-ki-talai in the old Jaso State and the other at Ganj in the old Ajaigarh State, both in the old Bundelkhand division of Central India, which was evidently included in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas. The Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta however seems to have extended his power over these tracts some time before A.D. 376.

Pṛithivīshena I was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Rudrasena II who married Prabhāvatī-guptā,[2] daughter of Chandra-gupta II *alias* Deva-gupta and his queen Kuberanāgā of the Nāga lineage. Whether the marriage took place during Pṛithivīshena's rule cannot be determined; but it is not improbable that the Vākāṭaka king was ousted from his Central Indian possessions by the Guptas and that

1. Apparently the letters of these epigraphs have not been carefully compared with those of the other Vākāṭaka records The palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those exhibited even by the Basim grant of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasena I; cf the triangular form of *v* and the old forms of *t* and *j* Although copper-plates often exhibit more developed alphabets than contemporary records on stone, it is strange that the palaeography of the Nachna and Ganj records is sometimes considered to be so late as to suggest the identification of Vyāghradeva's overlord with Prithivīshena II who was the great-great-grandson of Prithivīshena I and flourished about a century later That Prithivīshena of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions was the first Vākāṭaka king of that name is also suggested by another piece of evidence As pointed out by Raychaudhuri, from the time of the great-grandfather of Vākāṭaka Prithivīshena II—if not still earlier—down to A D 528, the princes of the Bundelkhand region in Central India acknowledged the suzerainty not of the Vākāṭakas but of the Gupta emperors. The rule of Vyāghradeva and his overlord Pṛithivīshena in Bundelkhand, therefore, could not have been later than the Gupta occupation of Central India as evidenced by the Eran inscription of Samudra-gupta and the Udayagiri and Sānchī inscriptions of Chandra-gupta II (A D. 376-414). Prithivīshena II can hardly be placed after A.D 528 as he was ninth in descent from Vindhyaśakti I who cannot be assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century. It is not reasonable to ascribe more than two hundred years for the eight generations of the Vākāṭakas before Prithivīshena II. But some scholars hold different views (cf. *JRASBL* XII, 1 ff). Vyāghradeva is sometimes identified with the Uchchakalpa ruler of that name who, however, seems to have flourished about the middle of the fifth century. The identification of Vyāghradeva of Bundelkhand in Āryāvarta with the Deccan ruler Vyāghrarāja of the Allāhābād pillar inscription is also untenable

2 There is a tradition in the *Sthala-māhātmya* of the Śrīśaila hill in Kurnool District of Madras State according to which princess Chandrāvatī, daughter of Chandra-gupta, conceived a passion for the god on the Śrīśaila and daily offered him a garland of *mallikā* flowers. It is often believed that Chandrāvatī is the same as Prabhāvatī-guptā. Whatever be the historical value of the tradition, which is apparently doubtful, the identification is untenable in view of the fact that Prabhāvatī claims to have been a staunch Vaishnava while the god in question is Śiva-Mallikārjuna. There is no evidence to show that the Kurnool District formed a part of the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Gautamīputra's house.

he contracted the matrimonial alliance in order to stem the tide of Gupta advance towards the Deccan. The alliance was a turning point in the history of the Vākāṭakas. Rudrasena II became a devotee of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu) through the influence of his Gupta wife and her father, who were devout Vaishṇavas. There is reason to believe that henceforth the Vākāṭakas of Gautamīputra's house became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Although the title *Mahārāja*, applied to the early Vākāṭaka kings, did not imply subordinate rank, it is very significant that in many cases the Vākāṭaka and Gupta rulers are mentioned side by side in the same records, the former with the humbler title *Mahārāja* but the latter with the dignified title *Mahārājādhirāja*.[1] The Guptas probably received considerable help from their southern allies in their struggle with the powers of Central and Western India, especially with the Śakas of Mālwā and Kāthiāwār.

Rudrasena II died probably before or shortly after A.D. 400. He seems to have left three minor sons, *viz.* Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena,[2] by his chief queen Prabhāvatī-guptā. Divākarasena remained a *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) and his mother ruled the country in his name at least for 13 years. In the present state of inadequate information, it cannot be ascertained whether Rudrasena II had other queens older than the *agramahishī* Prabhāvatī-guptā, and other sons older than *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena, and whether the throne passed to Prabhāvatī and her sons by virtue of their relation to the Gupta emperors. It is also unknown if Prabhāvatī-guptā's elder sons predeceased their father[3] or if her elder children, if any, were all daughters. It is, however, generally believed that Rudrasena II died in his youth after a short reign The long period of Prabhāvatī-guptā's rule as guardian of her son shows that Divākarasena was not made a *Mahārāja* even when he had passed his sixteenth year.[4] This may have been due to some special difficulties or to Prabhāvatī's love of power.[5]

1 It is impossible to think that the officials and subjects of the Vākāṭakas were not conscious of the difference in meaning between the two titles

2 It is sometimes believed that Dāmodarasena was only another name of Pravarasena II The theory is rendered untenable by the fact that Pravarasena II is known to have ascended the throne at an advanced age when his mother was more than 80 years old. Prabhāvatī must have ceased to rule long before that age

3. The use of the epithet *jīvat-putra-pautrā* when she was more than hundred years old may go against the conjecture. It is unknown whether epigraphic reference to the son's sons of Pṛithivīshena I points to the sons of Prabhāvatī-guptā, mentioned in inscriptions.

4 This becomes striking when we find a boy, only 8 years old, on the Vākāṭaka throne of Vatsagulma Some unknown reasons may have prevented Divākarasena from occupying the throne as in the case of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugopa-varman Cf. *JRASBL*, XII 71 ff., XIII. 75 ff.

5 For different views on this subject, and a general discussion of the whole chronology of the Vākāṭakas, cf. *JRASBL*, XII. 1 ff.

The date of the Poona[1] grant is the 13th year of Prabhāvatī guptā's own rule as is indicated by the legend on the seal of the charter. The Grant was issued by the queen, who calls herself "Mother of the *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena," from Nandivardhana or Nāndīvardhana which appears to have been the capital of this branch of the family at least from the time of Rudrasena II, if not earlier. The place has been identified by some writers with modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmtek, about 13 miles north of Nāgpur, and by others with Nandpur about 21 miles north of Nagardhan.[2] There is as yet no evidence to show that Divākarasena ever ascended his paternal throne as a *Mahārāja*. In a later inscription of Prabhāvatī-guptā, dated in the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasena II, she is called "mother of the illustrious *Mahārājas* Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena." As Prabhāvatī was more than 100 years old when the charter was issued, *Mahārāja* Dāmodarasena must have enjoyed a fairly long reign in the intervening period between her own rule in the earlier part of her life and the accession of Pravarasena II during its later part.[3] Prabhāvatī was still living in the 23rd year of Pravarasena's reign as we know from the latter's Tirodi Grant.

The second charter of Prabhāvatī-guptā was issued from the feet of the god Rāmagirisvāmin, identified with the deity at Rāmtek near Nāgpur, probably on the occasion of her pilgrimage to the holy temple. In both her records she is described as a devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu) and is credited with the *gotra* (the Dhāraṇa *gotra*) and family designation (Guptā) of her father.[4]

As Prabhāvatī-guptā's death does not appear to have occurred long before the end of the rule of her aged brother Kumāra-gupta (A.D. 414-55), the reign of Pravarasena II may be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century. We have a number of records of the reign of Pravarasena II with dates ranging between the regnal years 2 and 27. These charters have been found in the Wardhā, Chhindwāra, Siwani, Nāgpur, Bālāghāt, Amraoti and Betul Districts, and record the grant of lands usually in the neighbourhood of the find-spots of the inscriptions. Thus Pravarasena II must have ruled

1. The suggestion that the Grants of Prabhāvatī were "drafted by a Gupta officer imported from Pāṭaliputra" is unlikely because of the numerous mistakes of a serious nature found in their sections dealing with Gupta genealogy; cf. *Suc. Sāt*, p. 88, note 1.
2. It is certain that Nandivardhana was not far from Nāgpur; cf Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, the name of the district round Nāgpur, in the Deoli grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishna III.
3. This fact precludes the possibility of Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena having ruled at the same time in different parts of their father's dominions.
4. There is evidence to show that *gotrāntara* was not essential in the popular form of marriage in ancient India, possibly due to the want of *sampradāna* (*PIHC*, 1945, pp 48 ff).

for at least 27 years, and over practically the whole of Berār, with the exclusion of its southern portion, but together with the western districts of Madhya Pradesh. He seems to have inherited these territories from his predecessors. The early charters of Pravarasena II were issued from the city of Nandivardhana, but the later grants from a new city called Pravarapura, apparently founded by and named after him. The new capital was built probably not far from the site of the old one, although it is sometimes identified with Paonar in the Wardhā District. The Tirodi grant of Pravarasena II was issued from the Narattaṅgavāri-*sthāna*, probably a holy place which the king visited on a pilgrimage. The administration of Pravarasena II was characterised by the appointment of officials styled *Senāpati* either as viceroys or as High Commissioners in regard to subordinate states. Some of the *Senāpatis* such as Chitravarman, Namidāsa, Kātyāyana and Bappadeva are known from inscriptions. The subordinate chiefs Śatrughnarāja and his son Koṇḍarāja probably ruled the Bhojakaṭa-*rājya* in the Amraoti District under the supervision of *Senāpati* Chitravarman. The Ārammi-*rājya* in the Chindwāra District was in charge of Senāpati Namidāsa, probably the same as the *rājyādhikṛita* (chief minister) Navamīdāsa of the Tirodi grant. One of the records speaks of a *rajuka* which may be the same as *rajjuka* of the inscriptions of Aśoka.

Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty is usually identified with Pravarasena, author of the *Setubandha Kāvya* written in Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit, although another view attributes its authorship to a Kashmirian king of that name. Some scholars believe that certain literary traditions about the author of the *Setubandha* throw light on the history of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II especially in regard to his relation with his maternal grandfather. There is a verse quoted in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāra-prakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa*, and Kshemendra's *Auchityavichāracharchā* which says that the king of Kuntala left the administration in the hands of some one (believed to have been Vikramāditya) and spent his days in the pursuit of pleasure. According to Bhoja, the verse embodies the report made by Kālidāsa to his patron Vikramāditya who had sent him as an ambassador to the king of Kuntala. Kshemendra attributes the verse to Kālidāsa's *Kunteśvaradautya*, supposed to be a mistake for *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* says that *Setu* or *Setubandha* was Pravarasena's work; but a later work called *Bharatacharita* attributes the authorship to a *Kuntaleśa* (king of Kuntala). According to Rāmadāsa, who wrote the *Rāmasetupradīpa* commentary on the *Setubandha* in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the poem was written by the newly

installed king Pravarasena who was the same as Bhojadeva, and the work was revised by Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. Some weighty conclusions are often made on the basis of these literary traditions. It is believed that the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II was the author of the *Setubandha;* that his territory was known as Kuntala; that he was called Bhojadeva, because the Vākāṭakas were a branch of the Bhoja people; and that in the early years of his reign, he left the charge of administration in the hands of his maternal grandfather Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya. Now, the existence of some relation between Kālidāsa, who is traditionally associated with the court of Vikramāditya, most probably Chandra-gupta II, and the Vidarbha or Berār region is within the bounds of possibility.[1] But most of the conclusions are unjustifiable as they are against the known facts of Vākāṭaka history. That the Vākāṭaka king was the lord of Kuntala is rendered untenable by the fact that Pravarasena II gave his son in marriage to a daughter of the king of Kuntala which was undoubtedly the district round Banavāsi in the Kanarese area.[2] The prominent mention of the Kuntala princess in the record of her son points to the importance the Vākāṭakas attached to the Kuntala alliance. Whatever be the value of the tradition regarding Kālidāsa's embassy at the Kuntala court, a Kuntala king of the fifth century cannot possibly be regarded as any other than a ruler of the Kadamba family. It may be recalled in this connection that the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman (c. A.D. 405-35) is known to have given one of his daughters in marriage to a Gupta prince. Again, at the time of Pravarasena's accession to the throne his mother was more than 80 years old, and so he was no longer young and his maternal grandfather had in all probability been dead long ago. That Pravarasena II was not so much under the influence of Chandra-gupta II, as is usually supposed, is probably suggested by the fact that, while the grandfather's influence caused the wide diffusion of Bhāgavatism (Vaishṇavism) in his age, the grandson was throughout his long reign a *parama-māheśvara* (devout worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva) claiming to be "as virtuous as a person belonging to the Golden Age through the possession of the grace of Śambhu (Śiva)." Pravarasena's authorship of the *Setubandka* may not be altogether impossible, but it is rendered doubt-

1. The style of composition adopted by Kālidāsa came to be known as the *Vaidarbhī rīti* (Berār style) as early as the seventh century A D It is also interesting to note that the poet has immortalised Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek near Nāgpur) in his *Meghadūta*.
2 Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 215-16. The theory that Kuntala indicated the territory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura is based on the interpretation of the expression *Kuntalānāṁ praśāsitā* as "ruler of the Kuntalas" The real meaning of the passage, however, is apparently "chastiser of the Kuntalas" *i e.*, the Kadambas. (*IHQ*, XXII, 309; XXIII. 65, 320).

ful by the fact that while the theme of the *Kāvya* is Vaishṇava, the king was a devotee of Śiva.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Narendrasena who married Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā, daughter of the king of Kuntala. The father of the Kuntala princess may have been the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman who claims to have married his daughters to scions of several royal houses including that of the Guptas. Narendrasena's command is said to have been honoured by the kings of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava, although the actual extent of his political influence in these territories cannot be determined. Kosalā and Mekalā appear to have been the capital cities of the South-Kosala (Raipur-Bilāspur-Sambalpur region) and Mekala (the land about the Amarkantak hills) countries, and Mālava, as suggested by a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, was probably East Mālwā. As these regions had been under the influence of the Guptas, whose position in regard to the outlying provinces and subordinate states deteriorated in the second half of the fifth century, the claim of the Vākāṭaka king no doubt points to the period when he flourished. Nothing definite is known about the kings of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava who probably became subordinate allies of Narendrasena; but the ruler of South Kosala seems to have been a king of Śarabhapura, and the Mekala king, one of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs. While these countries lay within the sphere of Gupta influence, Mālwā formed an integral part of the Gupta empire before it was threatened by the Hūṇas. An epithet applied to Narendrasena in his son's record suggests that he recovered his family's fortune probably from an enemy's hold. This may refer to Narendrasena's success against the vassals of the Guptas whose subordinate allies he and his immediate predecessors had been.

Narendrasena was succeeded by *Mahārāja* Pṛithivīsheṇa II, his son by the Kuntala princess. The Bālāghāt record describes Pṛithivīsheṇa II as a *parama-bhāgavata* (devout worshipper of the Bhagavat or Vishṇu). Whether this indicates a revival of Gupta influence on the Vākāṭakas cannot be determined. It is, however, to be noted that Pṛithivīsheṇa claims to have twice retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. Although nothing definite is known as to the nature of the catastrophes referred to in the claim, it probably refers to Pṛithivīshena's struggles with Harisheṇa of Vatsagulma and Bhavadattavarman of the Nala dynasty. One of Pṛithivīsheṇa's charters was issued from Bembāra (identified with Bembal in the Chānda District) and another probably from Padmapura (modern Padampur in the Bhandāra District). Nothing is known of the history of this family after Pṛithivīsheṇa II.

2. *The Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma*

The city of Vatsagulma or Vatsyagulma is mentioned for the first time in such works as the *Mahābhārata* and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* which, in their present forms, are assignable to the age of the Vākāṭakas. The site of the city has been located at modern Basim in the Akola District of Berār. The earliest epigraphic record of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma is the Basim Grant of *Dharma-Mahārāja* Vindhyaśakti II, son of *Dharma-Mahārāja* Sarvasena, grandson of Pravarasena I and great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I, founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The Puranic reference to the sons of Pravarasena I, who became kings, may suggest that Sarvasena was the founder of a new kingdom in the land round Basim. The distinction between Vidarbha and Vatsagulma made in such works as the *Kāmasūtra* seems to point to the Vidarbha kingdom having been under the main branch of the Vākāṭakas and to the Vatsagulma territory as under a collateral branch of the family. The charter of Vindhyaśakti II, issued from Vatsagulma and dated in the 37th year of his reign, records the grant of a village in the region of Nāndīkaṭa which has been identified with Nānder in the Hyderābād State. Thus it appears that Vidhyaśákti II had a fairly long reign and that his dominions comprised the southern fringe of Berār and the northern districts of Hyderābād, probably with some of the adjoining regions.

A fragmentary inscription in one of the caves at Ajaṇṭā in the Aurangābād District of the old Hyderābād State was formerly believed to contain the names of the Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasena I, his *son* (supposed to be a mistake for *grandson*) Rudrasena I, and the latter's son Pṛithivīsheṇa I. Of late it has been pointed out that the record actually belongs to the Basim branch of the Vākāṭaka family and that instead of the names of Rudrasena I and Pṛithivīsheṇā I we have to read respectively those of Sarvasena and Vindhyasena, the latter being supposed to be identical with Vindhyaśakti II. There is no doubt as regards the correction of the name *Rudrasena* to *Sarvasena;* but the unsatisfactory preservation of the Ajaṇṭā inscription as well as the difference in the forms *Vindhyasena* and *Vindhyaśakti* renders the second correction somewhat doubtful. If the new reading of this name is preferred, Vindhyasena has no doubt to be identified with Vindhyaśakti II; but if the old reading is accepted Pṛithivīsheṇa may be regarded as a brother of that king. In the Ajaṇṭā inscription, this ruler is represented as having defeated the king of Kuntala, apparently a Kadamba king of Banavāsi ruling about the middle of the fourth century A.D. It may be remember-

ed in this connection that, according to the Chandravalli inscription,[1] Kadamba Mayūraśarman came into conflict with the Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas who were neighbours of the Vākāṭakas.

The conqueror of the Kuntala king was succeeded, according to the Ajaṇṭā record, by his son Pravarasena who may be called Pravarasena II of Vatsagulma as distinguished from Pravarasena II of Nandivardhana and Pravarapura. Pravarasena II of Vatsagulma probably died early as his son and successor was only eight years old at the time of his accession. The name of this ruler cannot be traced in the preserved portion of the Ajaṇṭā inscription which, however, speaks of his son and successor Devasena in glowing terms. Mention is also made of Hastibhoja who, according to a Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription, was a minister of Devasena. *Mahārāja* Devasena is further known from a charter which he issued from Vatsagulma.

The next ruler was Devasena's son Harishena who seems to have been a contemporary of the kings Narendrasena and Prithivīsheṇa II of the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family and flourished in the second half of the fifth century. Nothing definite, however, is known about the relations that existed between the independent *Mahārājas* of Vatsagulma and their kinsmen who ruled from the Nāgpur District. The Ajaṇṭā inscription was caused to be incised by Varāhadeva,[2] a devout Buddhist, who was a *sachiva* of king Harisheṇa and probably a son of Hastibhoja.

Harisheṇa appears to have been one of the most powerful rulers of his time. He is probably described in the Ajaṇṭā record as having spread his influence in Kuntala (territories of the Kadambas), Avanti (West Mālwā), Kaliṅga (territories of the Kaliṅgādhipatis of the Śrīkākulam-Vizagapatam region), Kosala (Raipur-Bilāspur-Sambalpur region), Trikūṭa (Traikūṭaka territories about the northern Konkan), Lāṭa (Navsāri-Broach region), Andhra (districts about the mouths of the Krishṇā) and other countries whose names cannot be deciphered. The exact relations of Harisheṇa with the above-mentioned countries cannot be ascertained; but it is difficult to believe that he succeeded in completely subjugating any of them. It is, however, interesting to note that while the Kuntala king was a relative and probably an ally of the Vākāṭakas of the main line, his relation with this branch was unfriendly. South Kosala and the Mālwā region are claimed to have been within the sphere of influ-

1 It is difficult to agree with Prof Sastri's view (*NHIP*, VI 238) that the genuineness of this record is to be doubted For Mayūra-śarman, cf Ch XIII, IV

2 It is not known whether Hastibhoja and Varāhadeva were governors of the Aurangābād District under Devasena and Harishena Another Ajaṇṭā inscription, probably belonging to the reign of Harishena, seems to speak of a family of feudatory rulers Some of the Ajaṇṭā caves may have been excavated by these officials and feudatories.

ence of both houses. It is not improbable that Harisheṇa's success temporarily eclipsed the power of his kinsmen and that the struggle between the two houses led to their decline almost simultaneously towards the beginning of the sixth century.

The actual events leading to the fall of the Vākāṭakas are unknown. They are not mentioned amongst the powers that stood in the way of the Chālukya occupation of the Deccan in the latter half of the sixth century. The early Chālukya monarchs had to subdue the Nalas of the southern Madhya Pradesh and adjoining regions, the Mauryas of the Konkan and the Kalachuris of northern Mahārāshṭra and the adjacent countries. It is not improbable that the major part of the dominions of both the Vākāṭaka houses had passed to the Nalas before the middle of the sixth century as will be shown in the next section. A Rāshṭrakūṭa king named Mānāṅka, who appears to have flourished in the Sātārā-Kolhāpur region about the middle of the fifth century, claims to have subdued Aśmaka (northern Hyderābād), Vidarbha (Berār region and parts of the western Madhya Pradesh) and Kuntala. It is probable that here is a reference to his contest with the Kadambas and with the Vākāṭakas of both the houses.[1]

The Vākātakas appear to have been lovers of learning and patrons of art and literature. Some verses quoted in Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* have been attributed to *Yuvarāja* Divākara who may be identified with the Vākāṭaka *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena. We have seen that Pravarasena II of Nandivardhana and Pravarapura is usually regarded as the author of the *Setubandha,* although the matter is not free from doubt. To Sarvasena of the Vatsagulma branch has been attributed the authorship of a poem called *Haravijaya.* Whatever be the value of these suggestions, there is little doubt that the name of the celebrated *Vaidarbhī rīti* or Berār style of Sanskrit composition is due to its having flourished at the court of the Vākātakas of Vidarbha. This is supported by the fact that, while the style was named after Vidarbha before the composition of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* in the seventh century, it was the Vākāṭakas who held sway over that country for several centuries down to the beginning of the sixth century A D. There is again no doubt

1 The Aśmaka country had its ancient capital at Paudanya, modern Bodhan in the Hyderābād State. It usually included Mūlaka, *i.e.* the district round Pratishṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād District) and occasionally abutted on Kaliṅga, Vidarbha and Avanti-Dakshiṇāpatha. The fact that the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma ruled over northern Hyderābād at least as far south as Nāndikaṭa, i e the Nānder District not far from Bodhan shows that their territories may have been styled Aśmaka See *IHQ,* XXII, 233, 309, XXIII, 65, 320.

that some of the magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā with their brilliant fresco paintings were excavated during the rule of the Vākāṭakas, probably under the patronage of themselves and their subordinates.

II. THE NALAS

The Rithapur copper-plate inscription,[1] which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the first half of the sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by *Mahārāja* Bhavatta-varman while he (probably with his queen) had gone on a pilgrimage[2] to Prayāga (Allāhābād), "the place blest by the favour of lord Prajāpati at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā." The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of that king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vākāṭakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasena II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmāl District of Berār. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of territories formerly occupied by the Vākāṭakas.

The name Bhavatta-varman is probably a mistake or Prakritised form of *Bhavadatta-varman.* This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family The king is called *nala-nṛipa-vaṁśa-prasūta* and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadha. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Maheśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya).[3] The king's banner bore the *tri-patākā* which has been explained as (the representation of the) "hand with three fingers stretched out" or "three pennons." The charter is dated in the king's eleventh regnal year, but the grant is said to have been actually made for the spiritual benefit of his own parents by *Mahārāja* Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka, who was favoured by his *āryaka*, *i.e.* grandfather. Arthapati is sometimes taken to be an epithet of Bhavadatta-varman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter's son and successor. It is, however, not unlikely that

1. EI, XIX, p. 100 ff.
2. The grant may also have been made on the occasion of the Nala king's marriage with a princess of the Allāhābād region.
3. The expression *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛishṭa-rājya-vibhava* may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Maheśvara and Mahāsena; cf. similar instances cited by me in *JKHRS*, I, 251 ff. Practically the same epithet has also been applied to Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vindhyabedhana (third or fourth century) in the legend on a Bhita seal. Although the relation of the Nalas with Vindhyabedhana cannot be determined, that king also seems to have been a southerner, as the legend of his seal is written in characters closely resembling those of the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus of the Krishnā-Guntur region.

Bhavadatta-varman was actually the *āryaka*, i.e., "grandfather," of Arthapati.[1]

Another Nala inscription[2] in verse has been discovered at Poḍāgaḍh in the old Jeypore State (Koraput District) not far from the borders of the old Bastar State (M.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skanda-varman although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavatta-varman of the Rithapur grant. Skanda-varman is said to have recovered the lost (*bhrashtā*) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (*śūnyā*) city of Pushkarī. The city, which appears to have been situated in the Poḍāgaḍh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a shrine (*pādamūla*) of Vishṇu by Skanda-varman, apparently at Poḍāgaḍh.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkarī but was afterwards defeated by Skanda-varman. As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas of the main branch, the enemy has been identified with Pṛithivīsheṇa II who claims to have twice restored the fallen fortunes of his family. Skanda-varman's adversary may also have been the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nanna of South Kosala, whose occupation of practically the whole of the Western Madhya Pradesh is indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chānda District.[3] Most probably, however, the enemy was the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 567-97) who claims to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas, and to have destroyed their residence (*nilaya*).

A third Nala inscription has been discovered in the village of Kesarıveda[4] in the Umarkot *thana,* old Jeypore State, Orissa. It records a grant made by *Mahārāja* Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka in the year 7. As this grant was issued from Pushkarī, Arthapati seems to have flourished after Skanda-varman who is said to have re-peopled this deserted city. It is, therefore, not unlikely, that he was the son and successor of Skanda-varman.

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Edenga, a village in the Kondegaon *tahsil* of the Bastar-State.[5] The issuers of the coins of this hoard were Bhavadatta and Arthapati, and another king named Varāha who may have belonged to the same family. From

1. See *infra*.
2. *EI*, XXI. p. 155 f
3. Mirashi believes that the record is wrongly associated with Bhandak, and must have come from some place in Chhattisgarh (*BDCRI*, VIII. 4; *EI*, XVI, 227, n. 2).
4. *EI*, XXVIII. 12.
5. *JNSI*, I. p. 29ff.

epigraphic and numismatic materials, it appears that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region. In the first half of the sixth century they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vākāṭakas, but their northern possessions appear to have soon passed to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Kosala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya I and his son mention the Naḷavāḍi-*vishaya* which was apparently named after the Nalas. As the villages situated in that *vishaya* have been identified with localities in the present Bellary and Kurnool Districts, it seems that Naḷavāḍi under the Chālukyas comprised parts of the said Districts. This may have been a Nala settlement or the southernmost province of the Nala empire originally under a viceroy of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient knowledge. But the suggestion is not altogether improbable.

A stone inscription[1] at Rajim in the Raipur District of the eastern Madhya Pradesh, which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu, probably by Vilāsatuṅga, apparently a successor (son?) of king Virūpāksha who was the son of king Pṛithvīrāja These rulers claimed descent from Nala, king of Nishadha, and were most probably later members of the family of Bhavadatta-varman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs and the Chālukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kosala some time after the rule of Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, in the seventh century. It is not known whether they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Somavaṁśīs about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were in all probability matrimonially connected with the Bāna king Vikramāditya I (c. A D. 870-95) who constructed a temple at Pali about 12 miles from Ratnapur in the Bilāspur District,[2] on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

B. WESTERN DECCAN

I THE BHOJAS

According to the Purānas, the Bhojas were a section of the Haihaya branch of the Yadu or Yādava clan, probably of the Mathurā region But the Haihayas are known to have settled in the

1. *EI*, XXVI, p 49 ff
2. *Ibid*, p. 53.

Narmadā valley at a very early date, while the Bhojas appear to have colonised the Berār region. An inscription of the Vākāṭakas locates a Bhojakaṭa-rājya, apparently named after the Bhojas, about the Amraoti District of Berār. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* also associates the Bhojas with Vidarbha or Berār. Probably the Bhojakas, mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravela, were no other than the Bhojas settled in Berār. A section of these Bhojas appears to have migrated to the Goa region in the Konkan. The Mahābhojas, who are known to have been associated with the Chuṭu-Sātakarṇis of Kuntala, were very probably the same as the Bhojas of the Goa region.[1]

The Siroda copper-plate charter[2] was issued from Chandrapura in the twelfth regnal year of a king named Devarāja who is credited with no special royal title. The king is said to have belonged to the family of the Bhojas. Chandrapura, which was probably the capital of the Bhoja king, has been identified with modern Chandor in Goa which may have been originally under the political influence of the kings of Kuntala. Considering the palaeography of the Siroda inscription, king Devarāja may be assigned to the end of the fourth century. The seal of Devarāja is supposed to bear the figure of a swan, although it may actually be an elephant.

A later king of the same region was *Mahārāja* Chandra-varman who issued the Goa copper-plate grant[3] in the second year of his reign. The charter has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the fifth century. King Chandra-varman granted a piece of land to a *Mahāvihāra* (Buddhist monastery) at Sivapura located in Goa. Since the words at the beginning of the charter, which is supposed to bear the figure of a boar, have not been deciphered, it is uncertain whether Chandra-varman belonged to the dynasty of the Bhojas.

A number of Bhoja copper-plate grants have been recently discovered in and near the Goa territory. They have all been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the seventh century A.D. These records reveal the names of the Bhoja kings Pṛithivīmalla-varman, Kāpāli-varman and Aśaṅkita. Aśaṅkita's seal attached to the charter bears the figure of an elephant which seems to have been the emblem of the Bhoja royal family of the west coast. The relationship of Pṛithivīmalla-varman, Kāpāli-varman and Aśaṅkita with one

1. Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 102, 269, etc.; Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. xxxii, xliii; *Suc. Sāt.*, pp 94, 220. *Bhojaka* was also often used in the sense of a *Jāgīrdār*. Cf. above, Vol II, p 79
2. *EI*, XXIV, p. 143 ff; XXXVI, 337 ff. The name of the family was at first wrongly read as Gomin.
3. *ABORI*, XXIII, 510 ff.

another and with the earlier kings Devarāja and Chandra-varman is not known.[1]

II. THE TRAIKŪṬAKAS

The Traikūṭakas derived their family name from the Trikūṭa hill in Aparānta (northern Konkan).[2] One of the Traikūṭaka kings is actually described in his record as ruling over Aparānta and other countries. Inscriptions of the Traikūṭaka kings show that their kingdom comprised the coast country, at least from the Kānheri area in the south as far as the district round Surat in the north. But their coins have been found not only in southern Gujarāt and the Konkan, but also in the Marāṭhā country on the other side of the Ghāṭs. As the Traikūṭaka coin-types are closely imitated from the Kshatrapa coins, they must have been intended for circulation in districts where the Western Satraps had previously ruled and their coins had become familiar to the people. The Traikūṭakas appear to have ruled over substantially the same territories as had originally been under the Ābhīras. Members of both the dynasties again had similar formation of names. The Traikūṭaka kings used the era of A.D. 248-9 which, as pointed out before, was probably an Ābhīra institution. Some sort of relation, therefore, might have existed between the two peoples. It is not impossible that the Traikūṭaka kings represented a family of Ābhīra origin and ruled over parts of Aparānta originally as subordinates of the Ābhīra kings.

The Chandravalli inscription[3] mentions separately the Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas as having come into conflict with the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman who ruled about the middle of the fourth century. This probably shows that the Traikūṭakas, originally a viceregal family of Ābhīra extraction, had carved out a kingdom in Aparānta at the expense of the Ābhīra kings. There is a veiled reference to the Traikūṭaka kingdom of Aparānta in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* written in the fourth or fifth century. In the second half of the fifth century, the Traikūṭakas were probably in occupation of the Ābhīra

1 *EI*, XXVI 338 f, *Summary of Papers submitted to the 15th Session of the AIOC*, p. 99. R. S Panchamukhi reads the dates of the two grants of Pṛithivīmalla-varman as his 13th and 15th regnal years; but N L Rao suggests the readings 1st and 25th regnal years P B Desai's article on Aśaṅkita's grant is being published in *EI* Panchamukhi speaks of another charter of a Bhoja king named Anirjita-varman, but N L Rao has shown that this king belonged to the Maurya dynasty of the Konkan The charter in question was issued by the Maurya *Mahārāja* Anirjita-varman from Kumāradvīpa in the 29th year of his reign It seems that the Bhojas were subdued by the Mauryas who were themselves ousted by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It has to be noticed that it was not the Bhojas but the Mauryas who stood in the way of Chālukya expansion in the seventh century.

2. The Anjaneri grant (*EI*, XXV 225) of Prithvī-chandra-Bhogaśakti, dated A.D 709, mentions the Pūrva-Trikuṭa *vishaya* as a part of the Purī-Koṅkaṇa *vishaya*

3 *MAR*, 1929, No. I, pp. 50 ff.

possessions in northern Mahārāshṭra and had possibly extended their power over considerable parts of Gujarāt in the north.

Epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveals the existence of three Traikūṭaka *Mahārājas* who ruled in the fifth century A.D. They are Indradatta, his son Dahrasena, and the latter's son Vyāghrasena.[1] Little is known about *Mahārāja* Indradatta who seems to have flourished about the second quarter of the fifth century and founded the greatness of the family. He was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Dahrasena whose copper-plate grant, issued from the camp of victory at Āmrakā and dated in the year 207 (A.D. 455), has been discovered at Pardi, about 50 miles to the south of Surat. Dahrasena is described as a devout Vaishṇava. He is also credited with having performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice which may point to the success of the Traikūṭakas against their neighbours including the Ābhīras.

Dahrasena was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Vyāghrasena whose Surat Grant was issued from Aniruddhapura in the year 241 (A.D. 489). Vyāghrasena, who is described as the lord of Aparānta and other countries, was a Vaishṇava like his father. Nothing is known about the successors of this king The Kānheri copper-plate inscription, recording the construction of a *Chaitya* at the *Mahāvihāra* (Buddhist monastery) of Kṛishṇagiri (*i.e.* Kānheri), is dated "in the year 245 (A.D. 493) of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas." It is uncertain whether the date belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Vyāghrasena himself or to that of his immediate successor. Gradually the Traikūṭakas lost their territories, due to the aggression of the Gurjaras[2] and Kalachuris and the rise of erstwhile subordinates such as the Mauryas and the Śūras.

A copper-plate charter,[3] discovered at Banaras, is known to have been issued from Śāntanapura (Śāntanupura?) by king Harirāja of the Śūra Dynasty, who was the son of Nishṭhurarāja and grandson of Kobhagraharāja (Kshobhagraharāja?). It records the grant of land at Āmraka-nagara by the *Gaṇa* of the *Mahāmātras* under orders from king Harirāja and his queen who was the owner of the land. The letters of the record, which resemble the script

1. On their coins the names of the kings are sometimes read as Dahragana and Vyāghragana.
2 One of the earliest Gurjara records is probably the Sunaokala grant of the year 292 (A D. 540), issued from Bharukachchha (Broach) by the *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Saṁgamasiṁha who might have been a feudatory of the Aulikaras of Mandasor.
3 *Bhāratavarsha* (Bengali), 1351 B S., p 46. The record seems to have been brought to Banaras by a descendant of the donee who probably came to the holy place on pilgrimage. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva of Kāmarūpa tells a similar story about migration of copper-plate charters For a different view on this record see *JUPHS*, XVIII, p. 167.

of the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas, may be assigned to the first half of the sixth century. It is, therefore, not improbable that Amraka-nagara mentioned in the Banaras grant is the same as Amrakā known from the Pardi grant of Dahrasena. If this suggestion be accepted, the Śūra kings may be regarded as ruling in the Surat region after the fall of the Traikūṭakas. It is probable that the Śūras were originally *vishaya-patis* under the Traikūṭakas. They were probably subdued by the Kalachuris in the second half of the sixth century.[1]

III. THE KALACHURIS

The earlier form of the dynastic name *Kalachuri* was *Kaṭachchuri*, though in some cases we have other variants like *Kalatsūri*, *Kalachuti*, *Kālachchuri*, *Kaḷachuṛya* and *Kalichuri*. It was apparently a word of non-Sanskritic origin and has with some amount of plausibility, been equated with the Turkish word *Kuluchur* indicating an office of high rank.[2] This may suggest that the Kalachuris were foreigners who probably entered India in the train of the Hūṇas and Gurjaras.[3] Their later claim to have been descended from the Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya and ruler of Māhishmatī, suggests that they had settled in the Anūpa country on the Narmadā. The Kalachuris became powerful in the second half of the sixth century, when they are found in occupation of northern Mahārāshṭra, Gujarāt and parts of Mālwā. The Mauryas of the Konkan probably acknowledged their supremacy. They used the era of A.D. 248-49 which therefore came to be known as the Kalachuri era; but they adopted the use of the era probably after their conquest of the Nāsik and Broach regions. This is suggested by the use of the Gupta era in the Barawani grant (A.D 486) of Mahārāja Subandhu, king of Māhishmatī, and in the records of other kings of the Anūpa region, *viz*. Svāmidāsa (A.D 386), Bhuluṇḍa (A D. 426) and Rudradāsa (A.D. 436)[4] whose family or families the foreigners appear to have overthrown. About the close of the sixth century, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi attacked the kingdom of the Kalachuris from the south, while the Gurjaras gained strength in the Broach region. During the troubled period, the Kalachuris appear to have settled in Mālwā; but owing to the pressure of the Maitrakas, they

1 A person of the same Śūra family is perhaps referred to in an inscription at Sānchī of about the fifth century A D (*Monuments of Sanchi*, by Marshall and Foucher, Vol I, p 387)

2. *Proc IHC* 1943, p 44 The word *Thakkura* (modern *Thākur*) is likewise supposed to have originated from the Turkish title *Teghin*.

3 See above, p 65.

4 It is difficult to agree with Prof Mirashi who refers all these dates to the era of A D 248-49 For different views on the subject, cf *ABORI*, XXV. 159 ff; *IHQ*, XXI 80, XXII 64, XXIII 156, XXIV. 75.

moved towards the east and ultimately settled in the Jubbulpore region where, after a long period of comparative obscurity, they emerged powerful about the end of the ninth century.

1. *Kṛishṇarāja* and *Śaṅkaragaṇa*

Epigraphic records reveal the existence of a group of three Kalachuri kings, *viz.* Kṛishṇarāja, his son Śaṅkaragaṇa and the latter's son Buddharāja, who were all devout worshippers of the god Paśupati or Maheśvara, *i.e.* Śiva. The greatness of the family was established by Kṛishṇarāja whose silver coins bearing the legend *paramamāheśvara-Kṛishṇarāja* and the figure of a bull have been discovered not only in the Nāsik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These coins are apparently mentioned as *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka* in the Anjaneri grant of Pṛithivīchandra Bhoga-śakti dated A.D. 709, and were current in the northern part of the Chālukya empire for a long time after the end of Kalachuri rule in that region.[1] King Kṛishṇarāja's son Śaṅkaragaṇa was a very powerful monarch. A charter of Śaṅkaragaṇa, found at Ahbona in the Nāsik District and dated in the year 347 (A.D. 595), was issued from the king's *vāsaka* or residence at the victorious camp of Ujjayanī in order to grant land in the Bhogavardhana *vishaya* which may have been another name of the ancient Govardhana (Nāsik) district There is reference in this record to a locality called Kallavana which is the same as modern Kalavan, a *tāluk* in the Nāsik District. Ujja-yanī, whence the charter was issued, is often identified with Ujjani near Sinnar in the same District; but in view of the fact that Śaṅka-ragaṇa's successor is known to have issued a charter from Vaidiśa, *i.e.* ancient Vidiśā in East Mālwā, it is possible to identify Ujjayanī of the Abhona grant with the celebrated city of that name in West Mālwā. Thus Śaṅkaragaṇa's territories appear to have comprised at least the Nāsik District in the south and parts of Mālwā in the north. The Aulikaras of Mandasor were probably subdued by this king. It is very interesting that long passages in eulogy of Śaṅkara-gana are copied verbatim from the description of Samudra-gupta as found in the Gupta records. This shows that the Kalachuri king conquered territories (probably in the Mālwā-Gujarāt region) that had originally been under the Gupta emperors.

Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa is said to have acquired royal fortune by the prowess of his arms and is credited with reinstating many kings who had lost their thrones. He further claims to have been the lord of the entire land bounded by the Eastern and Western Seas.

1 Gurjara Dadda I (above, p 66) is described in inscriptions as *Krishna-hṛiday-āhit-āspada*, probably in allusion to his being a subordinate of Kalachuri Krishnarāja (*IHQ*, XXV 290).

i.e. the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. Although these claims are of a conventional character and can hardly be accepted in their literal sense, there is no doubt that Śaṅkaragaṇa was one of the most powerful rulers of his time. It is probable that he succeeded in extending Kalachuri power over parts of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār.

The Sankheda (Baroda District) copper-plate Grant, issued about the last quarter of the sixth century, refers to a prince named Nirihullaka who was a feudatory of king Śaṅkaragaṇa (wrongly written *Śaṅkaraṇa*), son of Kṛishṇarāja. The Kalachuri occupation of Gujarāt suggested by this record is further indicated by a record of Śaṅkaragaṇa's son. Nirihullaka may have been a Gurjara and a descendant of Saṁgamasiṁha, ruler of Bharukachchha (Broach) mentioned in the Sunaokala Grant of the year 292 (A D 540). The expansion of Chālukya influence over this region about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. is indicated by the claim of Pulakeśin II to have subdued the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras.

2. *Buddharāja*

Shortly after A.D. 595 Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Buddharāja. The Vadner grant of Buddharāja, dated in the year 360 (A.D. 608), was issued from Vaidiśa (*i.e.* Vidiśā, modern Besnagar in old Gwālior State) in order to grant land in the Vaṭanagara *bhoga* which is the same as modern Vadner in the Chāndor *tāluk* of the Nāsik District. It is possible that East Mālwā, of which Vidiśā was the old capital, was conquered by Buddharāja shortly before A.D 608 from king Deva-gupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty, who is known to have fought conjointly with the Gauḍas against the Maukharis and Pushyabhūtis about A.D. 605-06.

The Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa (*c.* A.D. 597-98 to 610-11) claims to have put to flight Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and to have appropriated the royal fortunes of the Kaṭachchuris. The earliest reference to Maṅgaleśa's success against Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja is found in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A D. 602. But the Vadner grant indicating Kalachuri occupation of the Nāsik District in A.D. 608 shows that the Chālukya conquest of the southern provinces of the Kalachuri kingdom in the central and northern parts of Mahārāshṭra was by no means complete before the date of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription. Maṅgaleśa's successor is known to have granted a village in the Nāsik District in A D 630. Another copper-plate charter of Buddharāja was discovered at Sarsavni near Padra in the Baroda District. It was issued in the year 361 (A.D. 609) in order to grant land in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*, *i e.* the district round modern Broach.

3. *Nanna and Taralasvāmin*

The second plate of a charter containing no valuable information excepting a date in the year 346 (A.D. 594) was long ago discovered at Sankheda in the Baroda District. The charter would appear to have been one of the time of Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, although it was usually believed to be the concluding part of a Gurjara record. Recently the first plate of a grant has been found at Mankani not far from Sankheda and it has been suggested that the Mankani and Sankheda fragments constitute the whole of a complete charter.[1]

The Mankani inscription reveals some valuable information about the history of the Kalachuris. It records the grant of the village of Maṅkaṇikā (modern Mankani) by a prince named Taralasvāmin who is credited with no royal title. He is described as the son of *Mahārāja* Nanna (written *Naṇṇa*) by Daddā, apparently Nanna's queen who may have been related to *Sāmanta* Dadda I of Gurjara lineage. Taralasvāmin is probably called *śrī-Sūrya-bhāvuka* and it has been suggested that he was the sister's husband of a prince named Sūrya who cannot be identified. In spite of the fact that Taralasvāmin is described as a worshipper of Śiva, the expression may possibly be interpreted as pointing to his leanings towards the worship of the Sun-god. The most important information supplied by the record is, however, that *Mahārāja* Nanna is called *Kaṭach-churi-kula-veśma-pradīpa, i.e.* the light of the house that was the family of the Kaṭachchuris. The normal indication of the passage is that Nanna was a scion of the Kalachuri family, although it may also suggest that Nanna's mother was a Kalachuri princess. It is difficult to reconcile the rule of Nanna or his son Taralasvāmin in the Sankheda region, in case it is assigned to A.D. 594, with Kalachuri Śaṅkaragana's rule at the same time and over the same area. Whether Nanna was a rival of Śaṅkaragaṇa and held sway over the Gujarāt region for some time with Gurjara help cannot be determined with the meagre information available.

The Chālukya king Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-96) claims to have defeated the Haihayas. His grandson Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-34 to 746) married two Haihaya princesses. These Haihayas appear to be no other than the Kalachuris who were then probably ruling in the eastern districts of Mālwā and the adjoining areas.

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1 *Imp Ins Bar. St.*, I, p 4 ff The plate does not appear to be spurious as suggested by Mirashi.

IV. THE EARLY RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

1. *Origin*

Several theories have been put forward to explain the dynastic designation of the Rāshṭrakūṭas; but the most acceptable view seems to be that it arose like the dynastic names *Pratīhāra, Peshwā* and many others,[1] from an official designation. Officials styled *Rāshṭra-kūṭa,* apparently indicating "head of a *rāshṭra* (districts),"[2] are mentioned in many records belonging to kings of the Chālukya (cf. Lohner Grant of A.D. 630) and Rāshṭrakūṭa (cf. Ellora Grant of A.D. 742) families of Kanarese origin, although the viceregal style in question appears to have been prevalent in the Deccan even before the rise of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. As the Chālukyas in later times associated themselve often directly with the lunar race and sometimes indirectly with the solar kings of Ayodhyā, the family of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas is known to have introduced, in the ninth century, a claim of descent from another ancient family of epic fame. As late as A.D. 808, the date of Wani-Dindori Grant, the court-poets of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors were content with comparing the Rāshṭrakūṭa family with the ancient race of Yadu by pointing out that the former became as invincible with the birth of Govinda III as the latter had been with the birth of Murāri (*i.e.* Kṛishṇa). The comparison was no doubt suggested by the king's name *Govinda,* which was also a name of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa of Yādava lineage, and by the fact that Vaishnava kings often claimed to have been incarnations of Kṛishṇa identified with Vishṇu (cf. the style *Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha* adopted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas from their former suzerains the Chālukyas). The author of the Sanjan Grant of A.D. 871, however, advanced one step further by declaring lord Vīra-Narāyaṇa (*i.e.* Kṛishna) to be the progenitor of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family which he identified with the Yādavānvaya. Still further development of the claim of Yādava affinity by the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas is noticed in later records such as the Karhad and Deoli Grants of Kṛishṇa III, wherein the Rāshṭrakūṭas are made the descendants of the eponymous Raṭṭa, born in the family of kings who were styled Tuṅga (i.e. high or the high-born; cf. *tuṅga-gaṅga-kula* etc.) and belonged to the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu-vaṁśa.

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1 The history of the Pratīhāras and the Peshwās will be dealt with in Vols. IV and VIII respectively. In this connection, cf. other old styles like Rāshṭrika (Mahārāshṭrika), Bhojaka (Mahābhojaka), etc., and present day family names like Deshmukh, Patel, Majumdar, Niyogī, etc. The crystallisation of an official title into a family name was mainly due to the fact that, in ancient India the employment of officers was often on hereditary principle and that sometimes the viceregal families did not discard their earlier style even after the assumption of independent or imperial status.

2 Cf. the word *grāmakūṭa,* 'the headman of a village.'

Epigraphic evidence points to the existence of individuals with the title Rāshṭrakūṭa as well as of Rāshṭrakūṭa families ruling in different parts of the Deccan before the collapse of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi about the middle of the eighth century. A Rāshṭrakūṭa named Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, appears to have ruled the Sātārā-Ratnāgiri region under the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II about A.D. 743. It is not known whether he had any relation with the earlier Rāshṭrakūṭas of the same area, who ruled in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Another family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas is known to have ruled in the Betul and Ellichpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh in the seventh and eighth centuries. The most important of the Rāshṭrakūṭa families was the one which originally flourished somewhere in the upper Deccan, probably under the Chālukya viceroys of the Gujarāt region, and later became so powerful as to deprive the Chālukyas of Bādāmi of their sovereignty of the Deccan. It is sometimes believed that the families of the Rāshṭrakūṭas noticed above were different branches of the same dynasty. But the suggestion appears to be unlikely in view of the fact that officials styled Rāshṭrakūṭa are not only mentioned in earlier records, but also known to have been in the service of later kings including the imperial Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas. In this section, we propose to deal with the early and less important families of the Rāshṭrakūṭas leaving the history of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas to be treated in the next volume.

2. *The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura*

A ruler named Abhimanyu, who resided at Mānapura and was the son of Bhavishya, grandson of Devarāja and great-grandson of Rāshṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka, is known from his Uṇḍikavāṭikā Grant. Although the find-spot of the record is unknown, scholars tried to locate the territories of this family of rulers on the basis of the identification of Mānapura, apparently their capital founded by, and named after, Mānāṅka. The city was supposed by some writers to be the same as modern Manpur near Bandhogarh in the Rewah State in Central India. It was further suggested that king Mānāṅka and his son Devarāja are identical respectively with king Mānamātra and Sudevarāja who were, however, rulers of South Kosala with Śarabhapura as their capital. The identification of the kings of Mānapura and Śarabhapura is absolutely unwarranted in view of the facts, (1) that none of the Śarabhapurīyas ever claimed to be a Rāshṭrakūṭa, (2) that the two families apparently ruled over different territories from different capital cities, (3) that the seal of the Śarabhapurīyas bears the representation of the Gaja-Lakshmī, while that of the Mānapura kings the figure of a lion, and (4) that the char-

ters of the kings of Mānapura are not written in the box-headed script like those of the Śarabhapura kings. The recent discovery of another Grant of the Mānapura family, issued by Avidheya, son of Devarāja and grandson of Mānāṅka, in the neighbourhood of Kolhāpur, points unmistakably to the fact that the royal house of Mānapura ruled in the southern part of the Marāṭhā country. Mirashi's identification of Mānapura with Mān in the Sātārā District is generally accepted.[1]

King Mānāṅka, founder of the dynasty, is described in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā Grant as the ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and may have originally been the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* or provincial governor of some other king. He seems to have flourished in the middle of the fifth century. Whether he once owed allegiance to the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma cannot be determined. The Pāṇḍurangapallī Grant of his grandson Avidheya, however, seems to describe Mānāṅka as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Aśmaka.[2] It is probable that the names Vidarbha and Aśmaka have actually been used to indicate respectively the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas of Berār and that of the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma who are known to have ruled at least as far south as Nāndikata, i.e. the Nānder District of Hyderābād in ancient Aśmaka. In the same record, Mānānka is also called the chastiser (*praśāsitā*) of the Kuntalas who are undoubtedly the Kadambas of the Kanarese country.[3]

Mānānka was succeeded by his son Devarāja[4] who is said to have had three sons. The Pāṇḍurangapallī Grant was issued by Avidheya, son of Devarāja. Another son of Devarāja was Bhavishya, father of Abhimanyu, who issued the Uṇḍikavāṭikā Grant. It is uncertain whether Avidheya ruled immediately after his father Devarāja or after his brother Bhavishya or nephew Abhimanyu.

While residing at Mānapura, king Abhimanyu granted the village of Uṇḍikavātikā, in honour of God Dakshina-Śiva, to the Śaiva ascetic Jaṭābhāra in the presence of Jayasiṁha, the commander of the fort of Harivatsa. As the record may be assigned to the sixth century, it is no doubt tempting to identify Jayasiṁha of the Uṇḍika-

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1 *ABORI*, XXV 42. The suggestion that these Rāshṭrakūṭas were in possession of wide regions including South Kosala, Central India and large parts of the Deccan is based on mere unwarranted guesses (cf *PIHC*. VII, p 70; *ABORI*, XXIV. 149-55).

2 See above, p. 187.

3 There is no satisfactory evidence in support of Mirashi's view that Mānānka and his successors were themselves rulers of the Kuntala country and that they were the lords of Kuntala referred to in the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* and the Vākāṭaka inscription (ABORI, XXV 36). For Kuntala, see *Suc. Sāt*, 215-16; *IHQ*, XXIII, 65, 320.

4 It is difficult to accept Mirashi's suggestion identifying Devarāja of Mānapura with Devarāja of the Bhoja dynasty of Goa (op. cit 43).

vāṭikā grant with Jayasiṁha-vallabha, founder of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. But even in that case his relation to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, especially in view of the great influence of the Kadamba style on the documents of the Early Chālukyas. It is not known whether the rulers of Mānapura were finally subdued by the Early Chālukyas or by some other power such as the Mauryas of the Konkan. Although certain records of the Later Chālukyas assert that Jayasiṁha-vallabha obtained sovereignty of the Deccan by overthrowing the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, the statement is regarded by scholars as a fabrication influenced by a reflection of events of the tenth century when Rāshṭrakūṭa suzerainty passed from the successors of Kṛishṇa III to the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty. This is obviously supported by the fact that Jayasiṁha-vallabha is represented as a petty chief without any achievement to his credit in the records of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, especially in the detailed description of the family's rise as found in the Aihole inscription. It seems significant that the Rāshṭrakūṭas do not figure in the list of powers overwhelmed by the early members of the Bādāmi house, not even in the exaggerated account in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the exploits of Kīrtivarman I, the real founder of the family's greatness. It seems more probable, therefore, that the rulers of Mānapura were subdued by the Mauryas or the Nalas, who were in their turn overwhelmed by the Early Chālukyas. Rāshṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, who appears to have ruled in the Sātārā-Ratnāgiri region during the reign of Vikramāditya II, may have been a scion of the old house of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura.

3. *The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Berār*

Four rulers of a family are known from two copper-plate charters discovered at Tiwarkhed and Multāi in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh. Both the Grants were issued by Nannarāja, surnamed Yuddhāsura, who was the son of Svāmikarāja, grandson of Govindarāja, and great-grandson of Durgarāja. They are said to have belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. The Tiwarkhed grant was issued from Achalapura (modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District) which was probably the capital of this family of rulers. The recently discovered Sangalooda Plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura were issued from Padmanagara which may have been a secondary capital of these Rāshṭrakūṭas. They appear to have held sway over the Betul-Amraoti region of the Upper Deccan.

The date of the Multāi grant of Nannarāja, expressed in words, is Śaka 631 corresponding to A.D. 709. The language of the passage

recording the date of the Tiwarkhed grant is defective and yields no satisfactory meaning, although it has been so amended as to indicate the Śaka year 553 (A.D. 631). But a comparison of this date with the satisfactorily worded date of the other record shows that the Śaka year intended is probably 653 corresponding to A.D. 731 or 732. The date of the Sangalooda plates is Śaka 615 (A.D. 693). Rāshṭrakūṭa Nanna of Achalapura therefore may be roughly assigned to the period A.D. 690-735. His great-grandfather Durgarāja appears to have flourished about the middle of the seventh century. Durgarāja may have been appointed a *Rāshṭrakūṭa* (provincial governor) by Pulakeśin II, but ruled almost independently for some time after Pulakeśin's death when the Chālukya house of Bādāmi was in peril. It is interesting to note that Dantivarman I, founder of the imperial line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, seems also to have flourished about the middle of the seventh century and may have been appointed governor of a district somewhere in the northern part of the Deccan by the same Chālukya monarch. Both these Rāshṭrakūṭa houses appear to have been growing powerful during the weak rule of the later members of the imperial house of Bādāmi in the first half of the eighth century. It seems that the Rāshṭrakūṭa house of Achalapura was subdued by Dantidurga (Dantivarman II), who belonged to another family of the Rāshṭrakūtas and established Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty in the Deccan in the middle of the eighth century.

C. EASTERN DECCAN

I. ANDHRA

1. *The Ānandas*

We have seen how the Pallavas of Kāñchī conquered the heart of the Andhra country about the close of the third century. The credit of freeing the region around the Guntur District from Pallava yoke would seem to go to a new family of rulers who claimed to have belonged to the Ānanda *gotra* or to have been descendants of a great sage named Ānanda Only three kings of the Ānanda dynasty are known from inscriptions. They are Kandara, Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman, who appear to have flourished about the second half of the fourth and first half of the fifth century. There is considerable difference of opinion amongst scholars as regards the dynastic name and chronology of the Ānanda kings. The dynasty to which the three kings belonged is sometimes called the Kandara family or the Ānanda-gotra family. It cannot, however, be ignored that only the descendants of king Kandara may be described as belonging to the Kandara family and that the word *gotra* means

'family' in the Sanskrit language. As regards the chronology of the Ānanda kings, different writers have placed them variously in the sixth and seventh centuries, in the period A.D. 375-500, and in A.D. 290-630. The most important fact to be considered in this connection is that the Mattepad Grant of Dāmodaravarman is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit and can hardly be very much later than the second half of the fourth century when Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from the field of South Indian epigraphy. There is again no reason to believe that Kandara and Attivarman were removed from Dāmodaravarman by long periods of time.

The name *Kandara* is a Prakritic corruption of Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa* under Dravidian influence. King Kandara seems to have been the founder of the city of Kandarapura which became the capital of the Ānanda kings. It was probably situated in the vicinity of modern Chezarla in the Guntur District. An inscription at this place represents king Kandara as lord of the river Kṛishṇaveṇṇā (Kṛishṇā), of the hill called Trikūṭa, the city of Kandarapura, and of two *janapadas* or provinces. The Trikūṭa-parvata of the Chezarla inscription has been tentatively identified with the Trikūṭa-malaya mentioned in a Vishṇukuṇḍin record and with modern Kotappakonda near Kavur. One of the *janapadas* of Kandara's kingdom may have been the district round Kandarapura. Kandara's banner is said to have borne the figure of the *golāṅgula* which is a species of monkey. It is uncertain whether the defaced seals of the copper-plate charters of the Ānanda kings also bear the representation of the same animal.

The Chezarla inscription actually belongs to Satsabhāmalla, who was the daughter's son of Kandara and probably belonged to a viceregal line. The record seems to credit king Kandara with the title *Pṛithivī-yuvarāṭ* and possibly also with victory in some battles at Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvatī region) which is known to have been the Pallava headquarters in Andhrāpatha. It is not improbable that Kandara and his feudatories drove out the Pallavas from Dhānyakaṭaka about the middle of the fourth century.[1]

King Attivarman, whose name is a Prakritic curruption of Sanskrit Hastivarman under Dravidian influence, issued the Gorantla charter. In this record the Ānanda king is described as a worshipper of Śambhu (Śiva) and a performer of Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna*. The temple of Śiva, who seems to have been the family deity of the early kings of the family, was located at a place called Vakeśvara, which was probably in the vicinity of the capital city of Kandarapura and may have been the same as modern Chezarla.

1. Considering the palaeography of the Chezarla Ins. it may be suggested that Kandara of this record flourished later than Attivarman and Dāmodara-varman and was different from the founder of the family bearing the same name.

The Ānanda king Dāmodaravarman, who issued the Mattepad Grant, was a devotee of lord Samyak-Sambuddha (Buddha). In connection with Dāmodaravarman's patronage of the Buddhist faith, it may be pointed out that the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla is regarded by scholars as a structural Chaitya hall which was originally Buddhist but was later converted to Brahmanical usage. The temple is usually assigned to the fourth century which date seems to connect it with the kings of the Ānanda dynasty

King Dāmodaravarman is usually regarded as a predecessor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura. His description as the son of a king who had celebrated the Hiranyagarbha *mahādāna* may, however, suggest that he was the son of Attivarman, a performer of the Hiranyagarbha.

The decline of the Ānandas was probably brought about by their constant struggles with the Pallavas

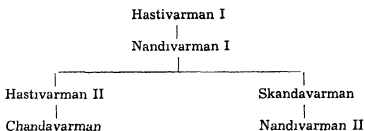
2. *The Śālaṅkāyanas*

In the *Geography* of Ptolemy, composed about A D. 140, mention is made of a people called Salakênoi who inhabited the land to the north of Maisôlia or the modern Masulipatam area. Ptolemy's Salakênoi appear to be none other than the Śālaṅkāyanas who are known to have lived in the land between the mouths of the Krishṇā and the Godāvarī with their capital at the city of Veṅgī, modern Pedda-Vegi near Ellore in the Godāvarī District According to Ptolemy an important city of the Salakênoi was Benagouron which may be a Greek corruption of Veṅgapura or Veṅgīpura. The Śālaṅkāyanas must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Sātavāhanas; but whether they had also to submit to the Ikshvākus and to the Pallava conquerors of Andhrāpatha cannot be definitely settled

The Śālaṅkāyana charters were all issued from the city of Vengī The Kollair Grant was issued by *Mahārāja* Nandivarman, eldest son of *Mahārāja* Chandavarman. This king is apparently identical with *Mahārāja* Nandivarman II of the Pedda-Vegi Grant, who is said to have been the eldest son of *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman, grandson of *Mahārāja* Nandivarman I and great-grandson of *Mahārāja* Hastivarman. There is little doubt that the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman is the same as the king of Veṅgī of that name who, according to the Allāhābād pillar inscription, was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century. The recently discovered Kānukollu Plates (first set)[1] record in Prakrit a grant made in his 14th regnal year by Nandivarman who was presumably the son of Hastivarman The grandson of this Nandi-

1 *Ancient India*, No 5, pp 46-7

varman I was Nandivarman II, who may be roughly assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century. The Kanteru grant (No. 1) was issued by a Śalaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* named Nandivarman whose ancestors are not, however, mentioned in the charter. He may be identified with Nandivarman II on the strength of the common epithet *parama-bhāgavata.*

A *Mahārāja,* named Skandavarman, is known from two grants, the Kanteru plates (No. 2) and Kānukollu plates (No. 2) issued by him. According to the latter he was a grandson of Nandivarman (I) and son of Hastivarman II. His relative chronological position with respect to Chaṇḍavarman and Nandivarman II is not yet known. We may thus draw the following genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas:

Another *Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja,* Devavarman, who was a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva), is known from his Ellore grant issued in the thirteenth year of his reign. As the Ellore grant is written in Prakrit while the records of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman are in Sanskrit, Devavarman must be regarded as earlier than both. Some writers believe that he was a son of Hastivarman I; but there is no evidence in support of this suggestion. He might have been the predecessor of Hastivarman on the throne of Veṅgī and flourished about the second quarter of the fourth century. The grant describes *Mahārāja* Devavarman as having performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This may indicate that he flourished before Samudra-gupta's invasion and established the greatness of the Śālaṅkāyana family after successful campaigns with enemies who might have been the Pallava conquerors of Andhrāpatha.

Although either Śaivism or Vaishṇavism was preferred by individual Śālaṅkāyana monarchs, all of them claimed to have been devoted to the god Chitraratha-svāmin who apparently was the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārājas.* As the word Chitraratha means "the sun", the deity may have been the Sun-god. The seals attached to the copper-plate charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings bear the representation of a bull which seems to have been the crest of

the family. As the word '*śālaṅkāyana*' indicates Nandin, the bull of Śiva, it is probable that the crest of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers was not entirely unconnected with the name of their family.

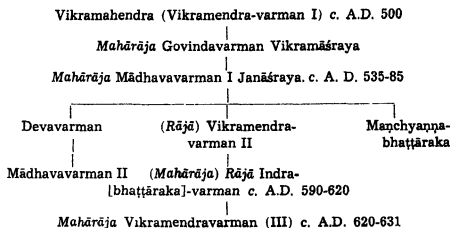
The Śālaṅkāyanas held sway over West Godāvari and Krishnā Districts, probably with some of the adjoining regions. Their decline is wrapped in obscurity. The Mangalur Grant of Siṁhavarman (c. A.D. 500), the Pallava king of the Nellore-Guntur region, records a gift of land in the Veṅgo (*sic.* Veṅgī) *rāshṭra*. This fact probably points to the success of the Pallavas against the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī about the end of the fifth century. The Vishṇukuṇḍins appear to have finally subdued them about the beginning of the next century.

3. *The Vishṇukuṇḍins*

The Vishṇukuṇḍins appear to have derived their name from their original home, modern Vinukonda, about 60 miles east of the Śrīśaila hill in the Kurnool District and 50 miles south of the Kṛishṇā. The kings of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty had the representation of the lion on their seals and were worshippers of the god Śrīparvata-svāmin, *i.e.* a deity in a temple on the Śrīparvata (modern Nallamalur range including the Śrīśaila peak), who was the family deity of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. Whether Śrīparvata-svāmin has to be identified with Śiva-Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila cannot be determined.

There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the genealogy of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings. The main cause of this difference is the relation of king Mādhava-varman mentioned in Chikkulla and Rāmatirtham plates with the homonymous king mentioned in the Ipur (first set) and Polamuru plates. In all these plates the king is referred to as having performed eleven *Aśvamedha* and a thousand other sacrifices. But the latter two add that he 'celebrated the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna*' and 'caused the delight of the damsels residing at Trivaranagara.' The celebration of eleven *Aśvamedha* and a thousand other sacrifices is so unique in the opinion of some scholars that they believe that all the four plates refer to one and the same king. But other scholars regard the king mentioned in the first two plates as different from, and much earlier than, the king mentioned in the last two.[1] The history and

1 As pointed out by me (*IHQ*, IX 653ff), it is difficult to believe that there were more than one Vishnukundin king named Mādhava-varman who performed exactly equal number of sacrifices, *i.e. eleven* Aśvamedhas and *one thousand* Agnishtomas (*kratus*) In a note recently published in *IC*, XV, p. 13 ff., Prof. K. A Nilakanta Sastri, however, duplicates the above Mādhava-varman, performer of eleven horse-sacrifices, etc He doubts the genuineness of the claim but seems to suggest that the first Mādhava-varman may have performed the sacrifices while the later king of the same name appropriated his ancestor's

chronology of the dynasty, as well as its relations with the neighbouring powers, would differ considerably if we accept the one or the other theory. The following sketch is based on the view that the same king is mentioned in all the four plates,[1] and this gives us the following genealogy.

The earliest known king of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family was Vikramahendra (c. A.D. 500), who is known from his grandson's records. The correct form of king Vikramahendra's name may be either Vikramamahendra or Vikramendra. As, however, there are two rulers named Vikramendra-varman among his descendants, while Vikramamahendra is otherwise unknown in the family, this king should probably be designated Vikramendra (Vikramendra-varman) I of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family. He was succeeded by his son

claim conventionally. Although conventional appropriation of an ancestor's claim by his successors is not entirely unknown in Indian history, Prof. Sastri's suggestion is entirely unconvincing in view of the facts that none of the known descendants of the noted performer of sacrifices (*viz.* his grandson Mādhavavarman II of the second set of the Ipur plates, his other grandson Indravarman of the Rāmatīrtham plates, and his great-grandson Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates) applies the claim to himself, but passes it to his ancestor, and that Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates, who claims the performance of the above sacrifices, exactly in the same numbers (conventionally, according to Prof Sastri), while speaking of his ancestors, does not mention any one bearing his name. The unique numbers of the sacrifices and the peculiarity of the claim suggest that it is based on facts whatever may be their real nature. Sastri makes much of the difference between Mādhava-varman's description in his own records and in those of his descendants, but ignores similar differences between his description in his Ipur (No. 1) and his Polamuru Grants, as well as in the records of his grandsons and in that of his great-grandson. He does not also notice that his scheme of Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy was previously offered by V. S Ramachandramurty in *JAHRS*, X, 193, and was commented on by me (*ibid*, XI, 129 ff). Sastri's (*i.e* Ramachandramurty's) scheme has been characterised as "not completely convincing" in a review in *JRAS*, 1952, p. 83

1. For the other view, cf Appendix to this chapter.

Govinda-varman Vikramāśraya whose records have not yet been discovered.

The real founder of the greatness of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family was Mādhava-varman I Janāśraya, who was the son and successor of Govinda-varman Vikramāśraya and probably flourished in the period A.D. 535-85. That he began to rule about the middle of the sixth century is indicated by the fact that more than a generation elapsed between his advanced years and the early years of the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasiṁha I (c. A.D. 633-63). The village of Polamuru in the Rāmachandrapur *tāluk* of the Godāvari District is known to have been granted by Mādhava-varman I in the year 40 (or probably 48) of his reign to the Brāhmaṇa Śivaśarman, resident of Kunḷura in the Karma-rāshṭra, while the same village was once again granted by Jayasiṁha I in his fifth regnal year to Śivaśarman's son Rudraśarman who is described as residing at the Asanapura *sthāna* (near Drākshāram in the Godāvari District) and as the former owner of the *agrahāra* of Polamuru. Considering the facts that Brāhmaṇas usually received *agrahāras* from kings at the time of entering the *gṛihasthāśrama,* that Rudraśarman enjoyed the village for some time after his father's death and before the fifth year of Jayasiṁha's reign, and that Rudraśarman had probably fled to Asaṇapura due to the troubled state of the country caused by Eastern Chālukya conquest of the Vishṇukuṇḍin territories, it would seem that the difference between the dates of the two grants was about half a century. The 40th (or 48th) year of the reign of Mādhava-varman I may thus be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century.

In all the records of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, *Mahārāja* Mādhava-varman I is credited with having performed eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and one thousand *agnishṭomas* (or other sacrifices). In his own charters, he is further credited with the celebration of the Hiranyagarbha *mahādāna.* These were no doubt regarded as remarkable achievements.

In both the Ipur and Polamuru Grants of Mādhava-varman I, the king is described as causing delight to the damsels residing at Trivara-nagara, no doubt a city that the Vishṇukuṇḍin king claimed to have subdued. Trivara-nagara seems to indicate the capital city of a king named Trivara, who may be identified with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī ruler Tīvara of South Kosala who ruled about the last quarter of the sixth century. According to the Polamuru inscription, Mādhava-varman I crossed the river Godāvarī about the 40th (or 48th) year of his reign with a view to conquering the eastern region. It is usually believed that here is an indirect reference to

his struggle with the Maukhari king Īśānavarman who claims, however, to have defeated an Andhra king some time before A.D. 553. Mādhava-varman I married a princess of the Vākāṭaka family and had by her a son named Vikramendra-varman (II).

A Vishṇukuṇḍin prince named Mādhava-varman (II), son of Deva-varman and grandson of Mādhava-varman I, is known from his charter which has been discovered at Ipur and is possibly dated in the 47th regnal year of his grandfather. Mādhava-varman II is described in the record as the lord of Trikūṭa-Malaya which might have been the name of a province of his grandfather's kingdom and which he was possibly governing as the viceroy. Trikūṭa-Malaya has been tentatively identified with modern Kotappakonda near Kavur in the Narasaraopet *tāluk* of the Guntur District, although the charter was issued from Amarapura which seems to be the same as Amarāvatī.

The Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhava-varman I Janāśraya was not only a conqueror and one who performed religious sacrifices; he was also a great patron of learning. A work on prosody entitled the *Janāśrayī Chhandovichiti* was most probably written under his patronage and named after him. Several traditions may possibly be referred to this Vishṇukuṇḍin king. He seems to be the South Indian monarch named Mādhava mentioned in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. A Bezwāda inscription of the thirteenth century refers to a king of Bezwāda named Mādhava-varman, who sentenced his own son to death for killing a poor woman's son. In a record of the sixteenth century, a general of king Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara is stated to have descended from king Mādhava-varman of Bezwāda. A poem entitled *Śrīkṛishṇavijaya*, written about the middle of that century, speaks of a migration into Telingana of four Rājput tribes under the leadership of Mādhava-varman who is claimed to have been the progenitor of the royal family of Vizianagaram in the Vizagapatam District. The Razus or Rachavars of the Telugu country also claim to be descendants of Mādhava-varman. Telugu literature records a legend about Mādhava-varman that he was the posthumous son of Somadeva, king of Kandāra, and was named after a Brāhmana of Anumakoṇḍa (modern Hanmakonda near Warangal), the capital of the Kākatīyas in later times. The legend also refers to the struggle between the kings of Kandāra and the king of Kataka Whatever be the historical value of these traditions, they no doubt point to the deep impression the achievements of Mādhava-varman I made on the minds of the people.

Mādhava-varman I Janāśraya was succeeded by his son Vikramendra-varman II, born of his queen of the Vākāṭa or Vākāṭaka

family. This king, possibly after a short reign, was succeeded by his son Indra-varman or Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman who was a *parama-māheśvara* and seems to have flourished in the period c. A.D. 590-620.[1] There is little doubt that he was a great conqueror; but, during the latter part of his rule, the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom appears to have been threatened by enemies. His brilliant success against his enemies on the east is amply demonstrated by the discovery of his Rāmatirtham copper-plate charter, dated in his 27th regnal year, which was issued from a locality near the *saṅgama* (confluence) of the river Puraṇi and records a grant of land in the Plaki-rāshṭra in the modern Vizagapatam District lying far away from the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom proper, between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī. According to the Godāvarī Grant of Rājā Pṛithivīmūla, son of *Mahārāja* Prabhākara, which is assignable on palaeographic grounds to the beginning of the seventh century, an *Adhirāja* named Indra or a chief named Indrādhirāja, at whose request the Grant was made apparently within the dominions of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, fought along with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The reference is apparently to a coalition of certain eastern powers against the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Indra-varman or Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman. The fact that Indrādhirāja is said to have mounted the elephant Supratīka (associated with the north-eastern quarter) and to have overthrown the elephant Kumuda (associated with the southern or south-eastern quarter), as well as the grant of land within the Vishṇukuṇḍin territory, points to the discomfiture of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king. Indra-varman's claim in the Rāmatirtham grant to have defeated many *Chaturdantas* (elephants) in numerous battles may refer to a phase of the same struggle. Indrādhirāja is usually identified with the Gaṅga king Indra-varman whose earliest known date is A.D. 624, but the identification is untenable because the former is said to have been the son of Mitavarman or Mitravarman, a Brāhmaṇa (*dvijāti*) of Maṇalkuḍi. A reference to *dāyādas* in the Rāmatirtham Grant seems to suggest that some relations of the Vishnukuṇḍin king also fought with him for the throne.

Indra-varman Vishṇukuṇḍin was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Vikramendra-varman III (c. A.D. 620-31) who issued the Chikkulla Grant in his tenth regnal year. The king was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara. The charter was issued from the king's *vāsaka* at Lenduḷūra (modern Dendaluru near Ellore), and records the grant of a village lying to the south of the river Kṛishṇa-veṇṇā in honour

1 Some of the views expressed in *Suc Sāt.* in regard to the time of Indra-varman and his son have been slightly modified in these pages (cf *loc cit*, pp 133-34, 392) Mādhava-varman of the Khānāpur Plates (*EI*, XXVII 312 ff) can hardly be regarded as belonging to the Vishnukuṇḍin family.

of God Somagirīśvaranātha probably a Śiva-liṅga. The Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom, which survived the disastrous foreign policy of Indra-varman, seems to have encountered another great calamity during the reign of Vikramendra-varman III. It was an attack by Pulakeśin II, the powerful Chālukya king of Bādāmi, about A.D. 631. The enemy defeated by the Chālukya king, according to his Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, in order to occupy an island fortress in the waters of Kunāla (the Kolleru lake near Ellore), seems to have been no other than the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramendra-varman III. The kingdom of Pishṭapura was conquered and the whole coastland from Vizagapatam to northern Nellore seems to have been subjugated and placed under Pulakeśin's younger brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The Kopparam charter of A.D. 631, which records a grant of land in the Karmarāshṭra (northern part of the Nellore and southern part of the Guntur District) made by Pṛithivīyuvarāja (*i.e.* Vishṇuvardhana) in the presence and apparently with the permission of Pulakeśin II, seems to point to the success of the Chālukyas against the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas. It is usually believed that Pulakeśin II conquered the country round Veṅgī from the Pallavas and that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana began to rule with his headquarters in that city. Epigraphic evidence, however, proves that in the first part of the seventh century the Veṅgī region was in the possession, not of the Pallavas, but of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, and that the early rulers of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruled from Pishṭapura and not from Veṅgī.

II. KALIṄGA[1]

The ancient Kaliṅga country (roughly speaking the coastal land between the rivers Mahānadī and Godāvarī) was split up into a number of small states after the disintegration of the Chedi empire founded by Khāravela.[2] The Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta, while describing the Gupta emperor's victory over the kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, speaks of several kings who have been located in different parts of Kaliṅga. They are Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla and Kuvera of Devarāshṭra.[3] Nothing is known about the history of these states. But the continued existence of Pishṭapura and Devarāshṭra, identified respectively with Pithāpuram in East Godāvari District and the Yellamanchilli *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam District, is proved by later inscriptions. Kings who held sway over these kingdoms about the fifth and sixth centuries are known from their

1. Cf. "Outline of the History of Kaliṅga" by R. C. Majumdar (*Dacca University Studies* Vol. II, No. pp. 1 ff) which gives full reference to the inscriptions.
2 Vol II. pp. 213 ff. 3. See above, pp 9-10.

charters. A royal city named Siṁhapuram, modern Singupuram near Chicacole, is mentioned in some of these records, although it finds no mention in the Allāhābād inscription and may have flourished after the middle of the fourth century.

1. *The Pitṛibhaktas*

A *Mahārāja* named Uma-varman, who assumed the title *Kaliṅgādhipati*, issued charters from the cities of Siṁhapura, Sunagara and Vardhamānapura (modern Vadama in the Palakonda *tāluk* of Vizagapatam District). The Bṛihatproshṭha Grant, issued in the king's thirtieth regnal year, shows that *Mahārāja* Uma-varman had a long reign. The seal attached to his Tekkali grant is said to bear the word *Pitṛibhakta*. *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍa-varman, lord of Kaliṅga, who issued the Tiritthana and Komarti Grants respectively in his fourth and sixth regnal years, was probably the son and successor of Uma-varman. These charters were issued from the city of Siṁhapura and they bear seals with the word *Pitṛibhakta* engraved on them. It appears that the chief city of the kings Uma-varman and Chaṇḍa-varman was Siṁhapura and that they used the word *Pitṛibhakta* as a sort of dynastic designation. The proximity of the reigns of these two rulers is definitely indicated by the fact that while Uma-varman was served by an official named Mātṛivara, son of Haridatta, Mātṛivara's son Rudradatta was in the service of king Chaṇḍa-varman.

Another king of the same family seems to have been *Mahārāja* Nanda-Prabhañjana-varman whose Chicacole Grant bears the word *Pitṛibhakta* on its seal. This king is described as "the lord of the entire Kaliṅga country." His charter was issued from his *vāsaka* at the victorious Sārapallikā Although Nanda-Prabhañjana-varman is associated with the Pitṛibhaktas of Siṁhapura, it is tempting to suggest that his name indicates Prabhañjana-varman of the Nanda family to which he may have been related on the mother's side. We know that a ruler of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra is associated with Kaliṅga in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela. A Nanda or Nandodbhava family ruled in the Angul-Dhenkanal region of Orissa from the ninth century, and another branch of the family flourished probably in the Jeypore-Nandapur area of the Koraput District at a later date.

2 *The Māṭharas*

When the Pitṛibhaktas were ruling from Siṁhapura in Central Kaliṅga, the royal family of the Māṭharas had their capital at Pishṭapura in the south. The Ragolu Grant of the Māṭhara *Mahārāja* Śakti-varman, which records a gift of land

near Chicacole, was issued in the king's 13th regnal year from the city of Pishṭapura. The king bears the title "lord of Kaliṅga." This shows that the Māṭharas of Pishṭapura conquered the heart of the Pitṛibhakta kingdom in Central Kaliṅga. This is also supported by the fact that the Sakunaka Grant issued in the 28th regnal year of another Māṭhara king named Ananta-Śakti-varman, who enjoyed the title "lord of Kaliṅga," was issued from Siṁhapura, the former capital of the Pitṛibhaktas. *Mahārāja* Ananta-Śakti-varman was one of the immediate successors of Śakti-varman of the Ragolu grant. This is suggested by the fact that an official mentioned as *Amātya* Arjunadatta in the Ragolu grant of Śakti-varman, has been credited with a higher official designation and called *Deśākshapaṭalādhikṛita-Talavara* Arjunadatta in Ananta-Śakti-varman's record. The *Amātya* was probably raised to higher offices during the latter part of his life. According to some writers, the name Ananta-Śakti-varman actually indicates 'Ananta-varman's son Śakti-varman.' It has also been suggested that Ananta-Śakti-varman was a successor of Śakti-varman, a third king named Ananta-varman probably intervening between the reigns of the two.

All these suggestions are negatived by the Ningondi copper-plate inscription,[1] issued by the Māṭhara king Prabhañjana-varman, who was the son of Śaktivarman and the grandson of Śaṅkara-varman, from the city of Siṁhapura. This Śaktivarman may be identified with the king of the same name who issued the Ragolu plates; but the relation of Prabhañjanavarman with Anantaśakti-varman of the same family is not yet definitely known. The recently discovered Andhavaram Plates, however, represent Śakti-varman as the *Āryaka* or grandfather of Ananta-Śakti-varman, who may have thus been the son and successor of Prabhañjana-varman The Ningondi Grant represents Śakti-varman as the ruler of the people inhabiting the land between the Kṛishnaveṇṇā and the Mahānadī, but the claim must be regarded as exaggerated

3. *The Vāsishṭhas*

Parama-māheśvara Ananta-varman, who issued the Srunga-varapukota and Siripuram Grants, and flourished probably about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, was another 'lord of Kaliṅga' having his *adhishṭhāna* or capital at Pishṭapura. King Ananta-varman was the son of *Mahārāja* Prabhañjana-varman who was the moon in the Vāsishṭha family, and the grandson of the Vāsishṭha *Mahārāja* Guṇa-varman who was the lord of Devarāshṭra. The Siripuram Grant was issued from Devapura, probably

1 *EI*, XXX. 112.

the capital of Devarāshṭra in the Vizagapatam District. These facts might suggest that the Vāsishṭhas originally ruled in Central Kaliṅga and that they later subdued the Māṭharas of Pishṭapura whither they transferred their capital. The relations of the Vāsishṭhas with the Pitṛibhaktas, however, still remain a matter of speculation, although it is tempting to identify Prabhañjana-varman with Nanda-Prabhañjana-varman. If this identification be accepted it would appear that the Pitṛibhaktas belonged to the Vāsishṭha *gotra*. But the fact that the seal of Ananta-varman, attached to his record, does not bear the word *Pitṛibhakta*, renders the identification doubtful. The Vāsishṭhas and Māṭharas of Kaliṅga were probably matrimonially related to many royal families represented by kings bearing the metronymics Vāsishṭhīputra and Māṭharīputra.

A king named Viśākha-varman, who does not claim to have been a "lord of Kaliṅga", is known from his Koroshanda Grant issued in his seventh regnal year from Śrīpura, identified with modern Siripuram in the Vizagapatam District. *Mahārāja* Viśākha-varman appears to have flourished in the fifth century; but his relation with the other Kaliṅga rulers of the age cannot be determined. An unnamed 'lord of Chikura' is known from an inscription found at Sarabhavaram about 20 miles from Rājahmundry. He seems to have been a feudatory of the kings of Pishṭapura

4. *The Rise of New Powers*

The history of Kaliṅga in the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pishṭapura and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Simhapura, for supremacy The use of the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* by most of the rulers seems to point to the political ideal of the period which might or might not have been realised in practice. The epithet "lord of the entire Kaliṅga country" applied to king Nanda-Prabhañjana-varman possibly suggests that most of the *Kaliṅgādhipatis* actually ruled over only parts of the country. When the rulers of central and southern Kaliṅga were struggling for supremacy, a new royal house was established in Srikakulam District. This was the dynasty known as the Eastern Gaṅgas. The Gaṅgas subjugated the kings of Central Kaliṅga in the sixth century, while the Chālukyas supplanted the rulers of Pishṭapura at the beginning of the seventh century. Little is known about the relations of the early rulers of Pishṭapura with *Mahārāja* Raṇadurjaya, his son Vikramendra, and the latter's son Prithivī-*Mahārāja* who issued his Tandivada grant from Pishṭapura in the 46th year of his reign. It is tempting to suggest that king Pṛithivīmūla, son of *Mahārāja* Prabhākara of the Godāvari Grant issued from Kāndālī, was a grandson of Prithvī-*Mahārāja* of the Tandivada grant. During the reign

of Rāja Pṛithivīmūla or soon after, Pishṭapura was conquered by the Chālukyas.

5. *The Eastern Gaṅgas*

The early Gaṅgas, who probably represented a branch of the Gaṅga dynasty of Mysore, had their capital at Kaliṅga-nagara, modern Mukhalingam in Ganjām District, and probably a secondary capital at the old city of Dantapura, identified by some with Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the same District. The Gaṅga kings were worshippers of Gokarṇeśvara whose temple stood on a peak of the Mahendra, no doubt modern Mahendragiri (Ganjām District) in the Eastern Ghāts. Śiva in the form of Gokarṇeśvara was apparently the family deity of the early Gaṅgas.

The founder of the dynasty was *Mahārāja* Indra-varman I who claims to have been the 'lord of Trikaliṅga.' The exact identification of Trikaliṅga is unknown. Some scholars think that it indicates three divisions of the Kaliṅga country, while others take it to mean Kaliṅga together with two of the neighouring countries. In the Eastern Chālukya records of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas is described as "Veṅgīdeśa together with Trikaliṅga" (*Veṅgīdeśaṁ Trikaliṅga-sahitam*), besides which we have also the description "Veṅgīdeśa together with the Trikaliṅga-forest" (*Veṅgīdeśaṁ Trikaliṅg-āṭavī-yuktam*). This seems to suggest that Trikaliṅga was a country of forests between the domains of the later Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī and those of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara, probably lying to the south of Dakshiṇa Kosala and not very far from Mahendragiri. The fact that some powerful rulers of Kaliṅga-nagara and of South Kosala preferred to call themselves *Trikaliṅgādhipati* suggests that the expression often indicated lordship over wide regions of ancient Kaliṅga or several countries in the Kaliṅga region.

Mahārāja Indra-varman dated his records according to his regnal years. This reckoning was continued by his successors and thus gave rise to the Gaṅga era. The inaugural year of this era, corresponding to the first regnal year of Indra-varman, seems to have been A.D. 496 (or probably some time in the period A.D. 496-98).[1] King Indra-varman, whose latest known date is the year 39, thus seems to have ruled from A.D. 496 to A.D. 535 at least. Whether Mahāsāmanta-varman, known from the Saumyavana Grant[2] dated year 64 (A.D. 560), was his immediate successor cannot be definitely determined. The next Gaṅga king known from inscriptions is *Mahā-*

1. For different views on the epoch of the Gaṅga Era, cf *EI*, XXVI, 326; XXVII, 192 (and the references contained in the former).
2. *JAHRS*, XIII 94-95.

rāja Hasti-varman, also called Rājasiṁha and Ranabhita, who issued his charters in the year 79 (A.D. 575) and 80 (A D. 576). Hasti-varman might have been the son of Indra-varman I and was probably succeeded by *Mahārāja* Indra-varman II Rājasiṁha who may have been a grandson of Indra-varman I and a son of Hasti-varman. The known dates of Indra-varman II range between the years 87 (A.D. 583) and 91 (A.D. 587). He is described as a *parama-māheśvara* and as the lord of all Kaliṅga. Indra-varman II Rājasiṁha was probably succeeded by *Mahārāja* Indra-varman III whose earliest known record is dated in the year 128 (A.D. 624) This king is usually identified with Mitra-varman's son Indrādhirāja who defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka or Indravarman of the Vishnukuṇḍin dynasty and requested *Rājā* Pṛithivīmūla, son of Mahārāja Prabhākara, to grant the Godāvari charter. However, as the father of Indrādhirāja was a Brāhmaṇa of Manalkudi and probably of non-monarchical rank, the identification is extremely improbable The next king seems to have been *Mahārāja* Indra-varman IV who is described as the son of Dānārnava and a devout worshipper of Maheśvara Although it is not altogether impossible that Indra-varman II Rājasimha was succeeded by Dānārnava whose son Indra-varman ruled from the year 128 to the year 154, it is better to suggest that Indra-varman II had two sons, one of them being Dānārnava (who probably did not ascend the throne), and that both of them named their sons after their father. The circumstances leading to the occupation of the throne by Indra-varman IV, who marked himself off from his predecessor and namesake by calling himself "son of Dānārnava", are unknown According to Hultzsch, the latest charter of Indra-varman III is dated in the year 138 (A D 634), while the earliest grant of Indra-varman IV, son of Dānārnava, bears a date in the year 137 (A D. 633). If these readings of the dates are to be accepted, it may be suggested that the son of Dānārnava struggled for the throne with Indra-varman III and ultimately succeeded in ousting the latter The latest known date of Indra-varman IV is the year 154 (A D. 650).

The next known king, *Parama-māheśvara Mahārāja* Devendra-varman, describes himself as the son of Guṇārnava and claims to have achieved the overlordship of all Kaliṅga by his own prowess. His relationship with the preceding members of the family cannot be determined His known dates range between the years 183 (A.D 679) and 195 (A.D. 691) Whether Guṇārnava actually ruled as king for some time before his son's accession is uncertain, though the interval of 29 years between Indra-varman IV and Devendra-varman renders it likely *Mahārāja* Devendra-varman was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Ananta-varman who issued the Parlakimedi grant in the

year 204 (A.D. 700). King Ananta-varman appears to have been succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Nanda-varman (also read as Indra-varman) who is known from his Santa Bommali grant of the year 221 (A.D. 717). Another son of *Mahārāja* Ananta-varman was Devendra-varman II, who issued his charters in the years 51 *i.e.* 251 (A.D. 747) and 254 (A.D. 750). The later history of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara will be narrated in the next volume.

While the main branch of the Early Gaṅga dynasty was ruling from Kaliṅga-nagara with probably a secondary capital at Danta-pura, a minor branch of the family ruled at a city called Śvetaka, Śveta or Śvetka.[1] The name of the city is sometimes read *Śchetaka* which is identified with modern Chikati in the Sompeta *tāluk* of Ganjām District. The earliest known Ganga king of Śvetaka seems to have been *Mahārāja* Jaya-varman who was originally a Rāṇaka, *i.e.* a feudatory, probably of the kings of Kaliṅga-nagara. One of his two Parlakimedi grants appears to be the late copy of a genuine record of the Ganga year 100 (A.D. 596), while the Ganjām Grant, originally issued by this king, seems to be dated in the Ganga year 120 (A.D. 616). This record shows that Jaya-varman granted a village in the Vartani *vishaya* of the Kongoda *maṇḍala* but that the region was later conquered by *Rāṇaka* Vishavārnava, on behalf of the Bhauma-Kara king Unmaṭṭakesarin, who reissued the charter.[2] Like the Gaṅgas of Kalinga-nagara, Jaya-varman and other rulers of Śvetaka were worshippers of Śiva-Gokarneśvara They also claim to have made the entire Kaliṅga empire feel the might of their arms. Another early king of Śvetaka was *Mahārāja* Sāmanta-varman whose Chidivalasa grant is dated in the Gaṅga year 185 (A.D 681) He claims to have been the lord of the entire Kalinga country. *Mahārāja* Indra-varman of Śvetaka, known from his Vishamagiri copper-plate grant, is assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Little is known of the relations of these rulers with the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga-nagara as well as with the later kings of Śvetaka whose history will be dealt with in the next volume The early rulers of Śvetaka were possibly semi-independent feudatories of the kings of Kaliṅga-nagara.

III. DAKSHIṆA KOSALA AND MEKALA

Kosala (also spelt *Kośala*) or Dakshiṇa-Kosala (literally 'South Kosala'), comprising the present Raipur-Bilāspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, was an early settlement of the Aryans in the Deccan The fact that the epic king Daśaratha, lord of Kosala, married Kausalyā *i.e.* the daughter of the king of apparently an-

1 For a list of the inscriptions of this dynasty and its history, cf *EI* XXVII. 109
2 *IHQ* XII 492 For the Kara kings cf Vol IV, Ch IV

other Kosala, probably points to the antiquity of South Kosala. The name of the country might suggest that it was colonised by the princes of the Ikshvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā, capital of the Kosala, Uttara-Kosala or Mahākosala *janapada*, near modern Fyzābād in Uttar Pradesh. The capital of South Kosala has sometimes been called Kosalā.

Little is known about the early history of Dakshiṇa-Kosala, although there is reference to some kings of Kosalā in certain Puranic passages. According to the traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers, notably Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Mahāyāna teacher Nāgārjuna, who flourished probably in the second century, lived for some time at a Buddhist monastery in the vicinity of the capital of South Kosala, which was at that time ruled by a Sātavāhana king. The Sātavāhana contemporary of Nāgārjuna is usually identified with Gautamīputra Sātakarni, although Kosala finds no mention in the epigraphic list of territories over which Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have held sway It is better to suggest his identification with a successor of Gautamīputra such as Gautamīputra Yajña-Sātakarni, who flourished about the last quarter of the second century. To the same century probably belongs king Kumāravīradattaśrī known from the Gunji inscription [1] A king named Mahendra was reigning in South Kosala about the middle of the fourth century when Samudra-gupta led an expedition against the kings of Dakshināpatha. The influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and the use of their era noticed in South Kosala suggest that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors A copper-plate grant of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II, discovered at Ārang in Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, was issued from Suvarna-nadī (probably the river Sone) in the Gupta year 282 (A D 601) [2] The record of Bhīmasena II, whose seal bears the figure of a lion, mentions his father Dayitavarman II, his father Bhīmasena I, his father Vibhīshaṇa, his father Dayita I and his father Śūra, all of whom are credited with the title *Mahārāja*. King Śūra seems to have founded the line of kings in the northern part of Dakshina-Kosala in the second half of the fifth century when the Imperial Gupta dynasty had begun to decline.

1 *EI* XXVII, 48, where the name of the king is read as Kumāravaradatta. Cf. *JKHRS*, I, 217-8

2 Although the first of the three symbols in the date is clearly one for *200*, it has been recently suggested that the symbol in question is *100* and that the date is consequently 182 Great stress has in this connection been laid on the passage *Samvatsara-śate* preceding the symbols, and it has been pointed out that the proper expression before the date 282 would be *samvatsaraśatadvaye*. The argument is, however, unconvincing in view of such dates as *Saṁvatsara-śate* 872 (Buchkala inscription of Nāgabhata II), *Samvatsara-śate* 500 (Ponduru grant of Vajrahasta II), etc Cf *EI*, IX, 342, XXVI, 228; *IHQ*, XXII, 63; BDCRI, VIII, 5

1. *The Śarabhapurīyas*

A family of kings, who had their capital at the city of Śarabhapura and called themselves *paramabhāgavata,* was ruling contemporaneously with the family of Śūra. The city, which has not yet been identified satisfactorily, has been located by different writers at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places However, since the charters issued from Śarabhapura have been discovered in the region of Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, the royal city was probably in the same district in the vicinity or suburbs of Sirpur, ancient Śrīpura, which became the later capital of the Śarabhapura rulers.

Śarabhapura seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabha who was probably the founder of the family of the Śarabhapurīyas. A king named Śarabha is actually known to have been the father of *Mahārāja* Narendra of Śarabhapura who issued the Pipardula and Kurud grants [1] This Śarabha may be identified with Śarabharāja, maternal grandfather of Goparāja, who was a vassal of the Gupta ruler Bhānugupta and died at Eran in A D. 510.[2] If this identification be accepted, Śarabha and his son Narendra may be roughly assigned to the closing decades of the fifth century when the hold of the Imperial Guptas on their subordinate allies had begun to decline The emblem of the Śarabhapurīyas was the Gaja-Lakshmī which is found on the seals attached to their charters

In the early years of the sixth century, the throne of Śarabhapura passed to a king named Prasanna or Prasannamātra whose silver coins, bearing the figure of Garuḍa together with the discus and conch symbols, have been discovered. Prasannamātra, who was probably the successor of Narendra, seems to have been succeeded by his son Jayarāja (sometimes called Mahā-Jayarāja) who is known from Ārang Grant The successor of Jayarāja was probably his younger brother Mānamātra whose second name was Durgarāja (or Mahā-Durgarāja as given in a record). The identification of king Mānamātra of Śarabhapura with the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Mānāṅka of Mānapura[3] rests on a very weak basis and cannot be accepted

King Mānamātra-Durgarāja was probably succeeded by his son Sudevarāja (sometimes called Mahā-Sudevarāja) whose latest known date is the regnal year 10. Like the charters of his predecessors, all the Grants of Sudevarāja, with the exception of two,[4] were issued from the city of Śarabhapura These Grants, dated in the king's seventh regnal year, were issued from Śrīpura

1 Kurud Grant belongs to the 24th year of his reign (*EI*, XXXI 263)
2 See p 33
3 See pp 199-200
4 *EI*, XXXI 103, 314.

which seems to have been founded by Sudevarāja and to have been his secondary capital or residence. In these two inscriptions the king is represented as the son of the great Durgarāja, although the legend on the seal attached to his Khariar Grant describes him as the son of Mānamātra and the grandson of Prasanna.

The last known member of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty is king Pravararāja (sometimes called Mahā-Pravararāja) who was the son of Mānamātra and probably the younger brother of Sudevarāja. The Thakurdiya Grant of his third regnal year was issued from the city of Śrīpura. Pravararāja seems to have flourished about the middle or third quarter of the sixth century, during the later part of which the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs became lords of South Kosala. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Tīvara, who issued his Grants from Śrīpura, or his father Nanna probably ousted Pravararāja himself or one of his immediate successors.

2. *The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala*

Scholars are not unanimous in their opinion as regards the date of Tīvara (often styled Tīvaradeva and Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja), the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī (also called Somavaṁśī, i.e. belonging to the family of the Moon) king of South Kosala.[1] According to some writers, his records belong to the eighth century. There are, however, reasons to believe that Tīvara was a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhava-varman I (c. A.D. 535-85) and the Maukhari prince Sūrya-varman (A.D. 553), son of Īśāna-varman, and flourished in the second half of the sixth century, probably about its last quarter. He issued his Rajim and Baloda grants from Śrīpura in the regnal years 7 and 9 respectively. In these records, he is described as having obtained mastery of the entire Kosala (South Kosala) country, while, in the legend of his seal, he is called *Kosalādhipati*. The suggestion that Tīvara has been called *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* (i.e. a feudatory) is wrong, as his records apparently use the epithet in regard to his own feudatories.

Tīvara, who was a *parama-vaishṇava*, was the son of king Nanna (called Nannadeva, Nanneśvara and Nanna-*rājādhirāja*), grandson of king Indrabala, and great-grandson of king Udayana who may be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century. King Udayana of the Pāṇḍava family is mentioned in a rock inscription at Kalanjar in the Bāndā District of U.P. as an ancient king of that region. He is usually identified with a Śabara king of the same name who was defeated by a general of the Pallava king Nandi-varman (eighth

1 The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs had the Vaishnavite emblem of Garuḍa on their seal, they might have emulated the Imperial Guptas in this respect

century). This theory, based on the supposed later date of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis, ignores the fact that Śabara Udayana, who was defeated at Nelveli (Tinnevelly), was probably the ruler of a territory in the Far South.

The Sirpur inscription of Bālārjuna mentions Indrabala as the son of Udayana. An inscription from Bhandak[1] in the Chānda District, Madhya Pradesh, speaks of the four sons of Indrabala. One of them, king Nanna, who was probably a worshipper of Śiva, is said to have "conquered the earth." Bhavadeva (also called Raṇakeśarin and Chintādurga), who was the youngest brother of Nanna and possibly one of his military governors in the Chānda region, restored a derelict Buddhist temple built by an ancient king of that area named Sūryaghosha. An inscription of Īśānadeva, another brother of Nanna, from Kharod in the Bilāspur District, seems to be the earliest Pāṇḍuvaṁśī record in South Kosala. It would appear, therefore, that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were in occupation of wide regions of Central India, and that they invaded South Kosala during the reign of Nanna and completed its conquest during that of Tīvara. But Tīvara's title 'lord of Kosala' seems to suggest that he considered himself primarily the king of the South Kosala country, and there is no reason to believe that the Bāndā region formed a part of his kingdom. In this connection it is interesting to note that a *Mahāsāmanta* named Indrabalarāja is known from the Sarangarh Grant to have been the *sarvādhikārādhikṛita* (chief minister) of king Sudevarāja of Śarabhapura. If this official can be identified with the grandfather of Tīvara, it is not improbable that this son of Udayana did not inherit his father's kingdom, but went to the Śarabhapura court and accepted service under the Śarabhapurīyas, whom he or more probably his immediate successors ultimately overthrew.

Tīvara was succeeded by his brother Chandragupta,[2] whose identification with the king of that name mentioned in the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha as having been defeated by Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III (c. A.D. 794-814) is doubtful in view of Tīvara's date suggested above. The son and successor of Chandragupta was Harshagupta who married Vāsaṭā, daughter of a ruler named Sūrya-varman, who was probably the viceroy of his father Maukhari Īśāna-varman in parts of eastern U.P Queen Vāsaṭā was a devout

1. Mirashi suggests that the Bhandak inscription did not originally belong to that place but came from Ārang (*EI* XXVI, 227) If this suggestion is accepted there is no evidence of the expansion of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī power over the western part of the M.P The identification of Sūryaghosha with Śūra of the Ārang grant of Bhīmasena II, however, is not convincing
2 The Adhabhara Plates seem to indicate that Tīvara was succeeded by his son Nanna (II). *EI*, XXXI 219.

worshipper of Vishṇu and built a temple at Śrīpura. Harshagupta's son and successor Bālārjuna assumed the title Śivagupta (sometimes called Mahā-Śivagupta). He had a long reign as one of his inscriptions is dated in his 57th regnal year [1] As he appears to have flourished about the early part of the seventh century, he was possibly defeated by the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II some time before A.D. 634, the date of the latter's Aihole inscription A Sirpur inscription mentions Śivanandin, son and viceroy of Nityānanda who is usually identified with king Bālārjuna. Nothing definite is known about the end of the dynasty and its exact relation with the later Somavaṁśīs of Kosala who flourished in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Epigraphic evidence seems, however, to suggest that the Nalas subdued the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala not long after Bālārjuna's reign The country might have been under Nala rule till the rise of the later Somavaṁśīs.[2]

3. *The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Mekala*

The old country of Mekala lay about the present Amarkantak hills and its name can be traced in that of Maikal range Little is known about the early history of this country, although the Purāṇas refer to kings of Mekala which may have indicated the capital city of the Mekala country. Epigraphic evidence points to the rule of a branch of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa in Mekala about the fifth century. These Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were no doubt related to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Central India and South Kosala

A copper-plate grant,[3] discovered at Bamhani in the Sohāgpur *tahsil* of the Rewah State in Baghelkhand, mentions four members of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of Mekala They are Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, Vatsarāja's son by queen Droṇabhaṭṭārikā—*Mahārāja* Nāgabala, and Nāgabala's son by queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā—*Mahārāja* Bharat, or Bharatabala, also called Indra (probably Indrabala). While the chiefs Jayabala and Vatsarāja are not credited with the title *Mahārāja*, kings Nāgabala and Bharatabala have besides the royal title, the epithets *parama-māheśvara*, *parama-brahmanya* and *parama-guru-devatādhidaivata-viśesha*. King Bharatabala had only one queen who was a princess of Kosalā and bore the name Lokaprakāśā The theory that Lokaprakāśā was born in the family of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala is untenable in view of the later date of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī occupation of that country. It is more pro-

1 Lodhia Pl *EI*, XXVII, 319, cf *JKHRS*, I, 265 The seal of Bālārjuna's charters, unlike those of Tivara has the couchant bull as its emblem Bālārjuna was a *Parama-māhesvara* unlike Tivara

2 The recent discovery of the Sarangarh grant of Sudeva would require slight modifications in the section dealing with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī occupation of South Kosala in *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, 89 ff

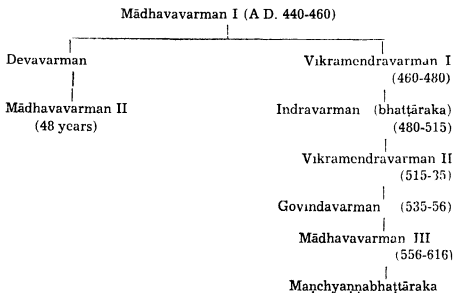
3 *Bhārata-Kaumudi*, I p 215; *EI*, XXVII, 132

bable that she belonged to the Śarabhapurīya family. As the Bamhani record seems to be palaeographically assignable to the close of the fifth century or probably to the beginning of the sixth, it seems likely that Jayabala and Vatsarāja were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, and that Nāgabala and Bharatabala practically threw off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the fifth century when the imperial power began to decline. Nāgabala seems to have been more or less a contemporary of king Udayana of Central India[1] who belonged to another branch of the same family.

About the third quarter of the fifth century, the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena claims to have his command honoured by the rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava. It seems that the Śarabhapurīyas of South Kosala and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Mekala, for a time, became the subordinate allies of the Vākāṭaka king. The suggestion that the Bahamani inscription vaguely refers to Narendrasena Vākāṭaka as the overlord of Bharatabala is hardly acceptable.

APPENDIX

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins

The genealogy of the Vishṇukuṇḍins has been reconstructed differently by different scholars, and it is desirable to set forth here an alternative view of the probable order of succession in the line together with approximate dates for each ruler.[2]

1 See p 220

2 The arrangement proposed above (pp 206 ff) by D C Sircar overlooks, or rather seeks to explain away, two important objections to it Mādhavavarman of the

Generally speaking, the Vishṇukuṇḍins may be taken to have ruled the Andhra country in the interval between the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Eastern Chālukyas. In its greatest extent their kingdom included the Vizagapatam, Godāvari, Krishnā and Guntur districts. They rose to power in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and Mādhavavarman I is the first ruler of whom we have a record. He is credited with having performed eleven *aśvamedhas* and a thousand other sacrifices. Though we may hesitate to accept such statements as literally true, there seems to be no reason to doubt that Mādhavavarman I was a powerful ruler He had a Vākāṭaka princess for his queen, as his son Vikramendra I is called an ornament to the two families of Vākāṭakas and Vishnukuṇḍins Presumably she came from the Basim branch and might have been a daughter of Devasena, if not his sister. Devavarman 'of great valour' doubtless predeceased his father leaving a son too young to take the throne, and so his young brother Vikramendra I became king The records are singularly silent about him, but his son Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭāraka, as he is also called, is described as a powerful ruler who founded many colleges of learning and gave away much wealth He is said to have scattered his kinsmen by the mere contraction of his eye-brows. This is perhaps best explained as implying an attempt on the part of Mādhavavarman II, after he grew up, to cross swords with his cousin and seek to get the kingdom into his own hands The quarrel obviously ended in a compromise and Mādhavavarman II, who is described as lord of Trikūta-Malaya and issued a grant from Amarapura in the forty-seventh year of his reign, was allowed to rule over a part of the western mountainous region in the kingdom owing a nominal allegiance to Indravarman The Rāmatirtham plates of his 27th year show that till very late in his reign Indrabhaṭṭāraka continued to be master of the bulk of Vizagapatam district, as Plaki-rāshtra, where he made a grant, corresponds to the

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Chikkulla and Rāmatirtham plates is not the same as the homonymous ruler of Ipur plates I and Polamuru plates, though the eleven *aśvamedhas* and 1000 other sacrifices are common to both, the latter gets in addition the epithets *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* and *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hridaya-nandana* Again, the Polamuru grant should be placed much nearer the date of the foundation of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, as its second ruler is separated from Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru grant by hardly one generation—as is seen from another Polamuru grant of the fifth year of Chālukya Jayasimha I (See *EI*. XXII, pp 20-1 esp n 3 on p 21) Lastly, there is no reason for accepting the continuance of Vishnukundin rule in Vengi so long after the Chālukya conquest as Sircar's arrangement implies His reliance on Kielhorn's guesses about the date of the Chikkulla plates (p 112 n 2) is hardly compatible with the position he has taken on palaeographical arguments on p 57 of Sri Sāt B V Krishna Rao (*Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p 421) seems to put the Vishnukundin genealogy on a correct basis The dates given for each ruler are of course approximate

northern part of this district. But, as noted above,[1] he had to face a hostile combination towards the end of his reign. His adversary was doubtless the E. Ganga ruler of Kaliṅga, Indravarman I, the earliest ruler of the line. He might have obtained help from the Vākāṭaka Harishena II among whose conquests Andhra also is included in the Ajantā inscription. It is probable that as a result of this conflict the Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler lost his northern marches to his rising namesake of Kaliṅga. Of the next two rulers Vikramendra II and Govindavarman Vikramāśraya, no striking achievements are recorded. But Mādhavavarman III, who seems to have been the last great ruler of the line, is said to have been a *hiranyagarbha-prasūta*, *i e.* one who performed the sacred rite of *hiraṇyagarbha* which consists in the performer passing through an egg of gold which was afterwards distributed among the officiating priests He made the grant of Polamuru when he had just crossed the Godāvarī with the desire of making conquests in the east. Obviously this campaign was undertaken to recover the country lost to the rulers of Kalinga by Indrabhaṭṭāraka as we have noticed above The result of the expedition is not known In both the grants of his reign dated in the 37th and 48th regnal years, the king is described as having caused delight to the young damsels of *Trivara-nagara* This has been taken to mean the city of Trivara, *i.e* the capital of Tīvaradeva, king of Mahākosala, and Mādhavavarman has been credited with a victory over that king.[2] Tīvaradeva has been assigned to A D 530-550 But as the dates of both Tīvara and Mādhavavarman III rest on approximate calculations, the slight chronological discrepancy need not be a serious objection to the acceptance of this suggestion Or the success might have been won against Tivara's son and successor Chandragupta as Mr B. V. Krishna Rao has suggested [3] But Tīvaradeva was a powerful ruler of Kosala, and there is no evidence whatever in support of the suggestion of a war on the Somavaṁśis besides the rhetorical attribute given to Mādhavavarman in his plates Again, Trivara is not the same as Tīvara, the expression *Trivara-nagara* may mean three good cities, and it is not altogether impossible that the ornamental epithet means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom where the king resided by turns. Mādhavavarman had also the title Janāśraya, and on the strength of this title a book on prosody *Janāśrayī Chhandovichiti* is attributed to the king himself or at least to his reign A damaged stone record of Mādhavavarman[4] in archaic characters in Sanskrit language found at Velpuru in Guntur district might be of this king There is evidence that parts of the Vishnukuṇḍin kingdom were

1 See above p 210
2 *EI.* XXII, pp 19 ff
3 *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa* p 521
4 581 of 1925

breaking loose from it even before the invasion of Pulakeśin II; for at the time of that invasion we find a certain Pṛithivī-mahārāja ruling Pishṭapura as an independent ruler, though his father's name Vikramendra is clear evidence of the feudatory relation in which the family had stood to the Vishṇukuṇḍins not long before.[1] Either Mādhavavarman himself or his son Maṇchyaṇṇa must have been the Veṅgī ruler who was defeated by Pulakeśin in the battle of Kuṇāla (Colair lake). Whether the Vishṇukuṇḍins continued in a subordinate capacity for some time after the battle, is not known Their overthrow by the Chālukya invader very near their capital is the last that is heard of them in history.

GENERAL REFERENCES

In addition to the works already cited B Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, D. C. Sircar, Chap IV of *NHIP*, A S Altekar, Chap. V of *NHIP*.

1 *EI* XXIII, No. 15, Taṇḍivada grant.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHĀLUKYAS

I. THE CHALUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

1. *Origin and Early History*

The Imperial Chālukyas of Bādāmi (Bijāpur District), usually known as the Early Western Chālukyas, held sway over extensive regions of the Deccan for about two centuries, from the middle of the sixth to about the middle of the eighth century, when sovereignty passed to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. They are the earliest of the several branches of the Chālukya family known to have ruled in different parts of the country, the other important offshoots being the Eastern Chālukyas established at Pishṭapura in the first half of the seventh century, the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa who were the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and the Later Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī who overthrew the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the second half of the tenth century.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi appear to have represented an indigenous Kanarese family that claimed the status of Kshatriyas.[1] The theory identifying them with the Gurjaras seems to be untenable. The name is sometimes associated with the Chūlika people of Uttarāpatha who are supposed to have been identical with the Sogdians and to have given their name to the Prakrit dialect called Chūlikā Paiśāchī. There is, however, no evidence in support of the conjecture. The Śūlikas, mentioned in the Haraha inscription of A.D. 553 and identified with the Śūlkis of Orissa, probably had nothing to do with the Chālukyas.

In the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the name of the family is written as *Chalkya*, *Chalikya*, and *Chalukya* (rarely *Chālukya*), sometimes with *ḷ* for *l*. The Lohner grant of Pulakeśin II seems to read the name as *Chulukikin*, but the intended reading may have been *Chalukika*. In later records of the branch lines, we have Chālukya and sometimes the forms *Chalukki* and *Sālukki*, which closely resemble the form *Solaṅkī*, Sanskritised as *Chaulukya* by the royal house of Anhilvāḍa. It appears that the name was derived from that of an ancestor, probably called Chalka, Chalika or Chaluka. That such a personal name was not quite uncommon in the Deccan is suggested by the fact that *Chaliki* is actually found to form a part of the name Skandachalikireṁmanaka (with the

1. Hiuen Tsang refers to Pulakeśin II as a 'Kshatriya by birth' (*HTW*. II. 239)

masculine name-suffix *aṇaka*) in one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. In later times when the origin of the family was forgotten, a fanciful interpretation of the family name was suggested. According to the Handarike inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the *chulka* (*chaluka* or *chuluka* of the lexicons, indicating 'water-pot' or 'hand hollowed to hold water') of the sage Hāriti-Pañchaśikha when he was pouring out a libation to the gods. The *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* by Bilhaṇa, the *Vidyāpati* (chief poet) at the court of the same king, however, says that the ancestor of the Chālukyas sprang from the *chuluka* of the creator Brahman when the god, at Indra's request, desired to create a hero who would be a terror to evil-doers on the earth. The Chaulukyas or Solankīs of Anhilvāḍa also believed that the god Brahman, for fear of the trouble caused by the demons, created out of his *chuluka* a king called Chaulukya.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi claimed to have been Hārītīputras, to have belonged to the Mānavya *gotra*, to have been nourished by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of mankind, to have acquired prosperity through the favour and protection of the god Kārttikeya (Skanda-Mahāsena), and to have had all princes made submission to them at the sight of their *varāhalāñchhana* or boar crest (cf. the representation of the *Varāha* on their seal) which was acquired through the favour of the god Nārāyaṇa or Vishnu The Mānavya *gotra*, the metronymic Hārītīputra (made *Hārītiputra* after its real significance had been forgotten) as well as the adoration to the god Kārttikeya and the Seven Mothers appear to have been borrowed from the Kadambas and to point to an early success of the Chālukyas against that power. Whether the earlier members of the family acknowledged the supremacy of the Kadambas cannot be definitely ascertained in the present state of our knowledge. In some early records, the Chālukyas are described as meditating on, or favoured by, the feet of the holy Svāmin or of Svāmi-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya) But their boar crest as well as the invocation of the Varāha *avatāra* at the beginning of most of their records shows that the family-god of the Early Chālukyas was Vishnu (cf also the use of the epithet Parama-Bhāgavata in the family), although they are known to have patronised the Jains and Śaivas, and some of the later kings appear to have actually adopted their faiths. The title *śrī-prithivī-vallabha* ('the enjoyer of wealth and land' or 'the husband of the goddesses Lakshmī and Earth'), assumed by the kings of this family, suggests that they claimed to have been incarnations of Vishṇu.

The earliest authentic names in the Chālukya family are those of Jayasiṁha and his son Raṇarāga who flourished in the Bādāmi

region of the Bijāpur District in the first half of the sixth century. They are mentioned in a few early records of the family which, however, do not attribute any outstanding achievement to either of them. Jayasiṁha (often called Jayasiṁha-vallabha) is given the title Vallabha or Vallabhendra (the same as *Vallabharāja*), which like *śrī-vallabha* and *pṛthivī-vallabha* seems to be a contraction of *śrī-pṛthivī-vallabha* The Aihole inscription (v. 4) suggests that *pṛithivī-vallabha* was a special title of all the Chālukya kings. Jayasiṁha is said to have become king after many rulers of the Chālukya lineage had passed away. Little is known about the events of the reigns of Jayasimha and Ranarāga, although, in later times, when the real facts were forgotten, legends were invented to illustrate the rise and early history of the family The Kauthem grant of A.D 1009 belonging to the reign of the Later Chālukya king Vikramāditya V says that Jayasimha re-established Chālukya sovereignty after having overthrown king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty that had obscured Chālukya power for a period of time[1] In the absence of any reference to such an achievement in the records of the Bādāmi house, especially in the celebrated Aihole *praśasti* which gives an elaborate account of the first century of Chālukya rule, scholars believe that the statement in the Kauthem grant is merely a reflection of the events which occurred in the second half of the tenth century when Rāshṭrakūta sovereignty passed into the hands of Vikramāditya's immediate ancestors There can be no doubt about the soundness of this view; but it is not unlikely that the earlier members of the Chālukya family had relations with their neighbours, the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura, who appear to have held sway over the Sātārā-Kolhāpur region of the South Marāthā country in the fifth and sixth centuries It is very tempting to identify Chālukya Jayasiṁha-Vallabha with Jayasiṁha, commander of the fort (*Kottanigraha*. the same as *Kottapāla*) of the locality called Harivatsa, in whose presence the village of Undikavāṭikā was granted by the Rāshṭrakūta king Abhimanyu residing at Mānapura[2] If the identification is accepted, Harivatsa may be located in the Bijāpur region which may or may not have formed part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom of Mānapura. As pointed out above,[3] the Rāshṭrakūtas of Mānapura were probably subdued by the Mauryas or the Nalas and not by the Early Chālukyas.

The legendary history contained in the records of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyānī ascribes the origin of the Chālukya dynasty

1 Cf also other records such as the Yevoor and Nilgunda grants of Vikramāditya VI, Sonavade and Miraj grants of Jayasimha, etc.
2 See p 200 3. See p 201.

to Manu or the Moon and associates it with Ayodhyā, capital of Uttara-Kosala. According to the Kauthem grant, fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya lineage ruled at Ayodhyā; then sixteen more reigned in Dakshiṇāpatha; after a temporary eclipse of their power which followed, the glory of the family was restored by Jayasiṁha. The Kalyān inscription of A.D. 1025-26 gives the following genealogy: the god Brahman, his mind-born son Svāyambhuva-Manu, his son Mānavya who is the progenitor of all those who claim the Mānavya *gotra*, his son Harita, his son Pañchaśikhi Hāriti, and his son Chālukya from whom sprang the race of the Chālukyas. Here is no doubt a mythological elaboration of the epithets *Mānavyasagotra* and *Hāritīputra* (sic. Hārītīputra). Some records of the time of Vikramāditya VI say that the Chālukyas were born in the lineage of Soma (the Moon), who was created from the eye of Atri, the son of the god Brahman The Handarike inscription of the same reign furnishes the following genealogy: Hiranyagarbha-Brahman born in the lotus emanated from Vishṇu's navel, his son Manu, his son Māndavya (cf Mānavya of other records), his son Harita (who is made the father of Māṇdavya in some records), and his son Hāriti Pañchaśikha in whose *chuluka* the Chālukyas were born; next it introduces an imaginary Chālukya king named Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya who appropriated his enemies' territories and was succeeded by fifty-nine kings beginning with Satyāśraya, lord of Ayodhyā, then came Jayasiṁha and his sixteen successors (who ruled in the Deccan), after whom the Raṭṭas or Rāshṭrakūṭas ruled the earth. Details of the same legend, which do not exactly tally with one another, are offered by the later inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas in which the genealogy is traced to the god Brahman through his successive descendants, *viz* Atri, Soma (the Moon) Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahusha, Yayāti, Puru, Janamejaya.... (here follow 14 names), Dushyanta, Bharata, . (here follow 9 names), Śaṁtanu, Vichitravīrya, Pāndu, Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parikshit. Janamejaya, Kshemuka, Naravāhana, Śatānīka and Udayana. Fifty-nine kings are said to have ruled at Ayodhyā after Udayana in unbroken lineal succession Then a member of the family named Vijayāditya came to Dakshināpatha with a view to conquest and attacked the Pallava king Trilochana (an imaginary person; cf. the legend of Trilochana Kadamba), but lost his life in the encounter. His wife, who was pregnant, escaped to the abode of the saint Vishṇubhaṭṭa Somayājin at the *agrahāra* of Mudivemu where she gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishnuvardhana This prince married a daughter of the Pallava king, worshipped the goddess Nandā-Gaurī on the Chālukya-giri (probably an imaginary hill) and also Kumāra (Kārttikeya), Nārāyana and the Mothers, and in due

course assumed all the royal insignia of the family such as the white parasol, the single conch, the five *mahā-śabdas*, the *pālidhvaja*, the drum called *pratiḍhakka*, the boar emblem, the peacock's tail, the spear, the *makara* arch, the golden sceptre and the signs of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. He conquered the Kadamba, Gaṅga and other kings and established himself as lord of the Dakshiṇāpatha-seven-and-a-half-*lakh* country (cf. the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom referred to as the Raṭṭappāḍi-seven-and-a-half-*lakh* country) lying between the Setu (Rāma's bridge) and the Narmadā. The historical verisimilitude is introduced by making Vijayāditya, son of this Vishṇuvardhana, the father of Pulakeśin I who was really the son of Raṇarāga and grandson of Jayasiṁha-vallabha. Scholars have rightly rejected the above accounts of the rise and early history of the Chālukyas as a mere farrago of vague legends and Puranic myths of no authority or value.

2. *Pulakeśin I and Kīrtivarman I*

The first independent ruler of the dynasty appears to have been Raṇarāga's "dear" son Pulakeśin I (c A D 535-66), whose name also appears in the forms Polekēśin, Polikēśin and Pulikēśin, and may be a hybrid Kanarese-Sanskrit word meaning "tiger-haired." He was the first *Mahārāja* in his family and may be considered as its real founder. Pulakeśin I enjoyed the titles *Satyāśraya* and *Raṇa-vikrama* and was also known as *Śrī-prithivī-vallabha*, *Śrī-vallabha* or *Vallabha*, the last being sometimes used in lieu of the king's proper name The Bādāmi inscription of the Chalikya Vallabheśvara, *i.e.* Pulakeśin I, is dated in Śaka 465 (A D. 543) and represents the monarch as *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* (performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna*) and as having performed the Aśvamedha and other *Śrauta* sacrifices. The records of the time of his son Maṅgaleśa describe him as not only a performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha and the Aśvamedha but also of the Agnishṭoma, Agnichayana, Vājapeya, Bahusuvarna and Pauṇḍarīka sacrifices. He is sometimes described as an equal of the mythical heroes Yayāti, Dilīpa and others, and is said to have been conversant with the laws of Manu, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*) and other *Itihāsas*. Pulakeśin I married Durlabhadevī of the Batpūra family. His Bādāmi inscription of A D. 543 shows that the king laid the foundations (cf the Aihole inscription, v 7) of the fort of Vātāpī (associated in traditions with a demon of that name), modern Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District This suggests that he ruled the region roughly comprising the present Bijāpur District with his capital at Bādāmi Although the performance of the Aśvamedha points to Pulakeśin's success against his neighbours, including the power to which the family originally

owed its allegiance, he is not credited with any specific conquest. This may indicate that his successes were mainly due to his son and successor Kīrtivarman who probably acted as his father's commander-in-chief. The Chiplun inscription attributes even the foundation of Vātāpi to Kīrtivarman. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription associates both Pulakeśin I and Kīrtivarman with an endowment made in favour of the deity Makuṭeśvara of modern Mahākūṭa in the Bijāpur District.

Mahārāja Kīrtivarman I (A D 566-7 to 597-98), who is sometimes called Kīrtirāja, had the titles Satyāśraya and Puru-rana-parākrama, and was also known as Vallabha or Prithivī-vallabha. He married a sister of Rājā Śri-vallabha Senānanda of the Sendraka family. His title "the first maker of Vātāpi" suggests that Kīrtivarman I began to beautify the town with temples and other buildings. An inscription, dated in the twelfth regnal year of this king (A D 578) and incised on a pilaster in the verandah of the Vaishnava cave at Bādāmi, records that his younger brother Mangaleśa finished the construction of the cave-temple and endowed it with the village of Lañjīśvara (modern Nandikeśvara near Bādāmi) on the occasion of the installation of the image of Vishnu. Kīrtivarman I is also known to have celebrated the Bahusuvarṇa and Agnishṭoma sacrifices.

According to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa, Kīrtivarman I defeated the rulers of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Ganga, Mūshaka, Pāndya, Dramiḷa, Choliya, Āluka and Vaijayantī. There is little doubt that the claim is a boastful exaggeration of a conventional *dig-vijaya* or the conquest of the *chakravarti-kshetra*. In the Aihole inscription of Kīrtivarman's son, who can hardly be expected to have suppressed the glorious achievements of his father, Kīrtivarman I is described as the "night of destruction" to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, and also as having broken up a confederacy of the Kadamba kings. This is undoubtedly the more reliable of the two accounts. The history of the Nalas, who were about this time in possession of wide regions of the Deccan, with probably a settlement in the Bellary-Kurnool area, has already been narrated. The inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas represent Kīrtivarman I as having destroyed the habitations of the Nalas. The Mauryas, apparently descendants of a Maurya governor of a district in the Deccan, ruled in the Konkan, while the Kadambas held sway over the North Kanara District of the Bombay State, the northern part of the Mysore state and the adjoining regions of Belgaum and Dhārwār. About the middle of the sixth century several branches of the Kadamba family

were ruling simultaneously in different parts of the Kadamba territory, the capital of the main branch having been Vanavāsī or Vaijayantī, modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District. The subjugation of the Kadamba capital is specifically recorded in the charters of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi according to which Kīrtivarman I established the banner of his pure fame in the lands of the hostile kings of Vanavāsī and other cities. His victory over the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas is also echoed in the records of the Later Chālukyas. As a result of the successes of Kīrtivarman I, some of which may have been achieved during the reign of his father, the political influence of the Chālukyas extended over wide regions in the southern part of the Bombay State and in the adjoining area of Mysore and the Madras State. It would seem that Kīrtivarman annexed parts of the Maurya territories in the Konkan.

3 *Maṅgaleśa*

Kīrtivarman I died in A D. 597-98, probably leaving several minor children, and the throne, therefore, passed to his younger brother or step-brother Mangaleśa (A D 597-98 to 610-11), also known as Maṅgāleśa (sic), Maṅgalarāja, Maṅgalīśa and Maṅgalīsvara The new king enjoyed the *virudas* Rana-vikrānta and Uru-rana-vikrānta, besides Prithivī-vallabha or Śrī-prithivī-vallabha Mangaleśa has been described as a Paramabhāgavata, i e. devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu) The victory over the Katachchuris (Kalachuris) and the conquest of Revatīdvīpa, referred to in the Aihole inscription and echoed in the Kauthem grant, were his greatest achievements According to the Nerur Grant and Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, the Kalachuri king Buddha, son of Śankaragana, was defeated before the 12th of April, A D 602, and his entire possessions were appropriated, when the Chālukya king was desirous of conquering the northern region. While discussing the history of the Kalachuris, however, we have seen[1] that Buddharāja was in possession of the Nāsik District as late as A D. 608 The struggle between the Chālukyas and Kalachuris, therefore, appears to have continued for some years, after which the former came into complete possession of the central and northern Marāthā country. The Nerur grant of Maṅgaleśa also refers to the killing of the Chālukya chief Svāmirāja who was apparently ruling in the Konkan and is said to have been famous for his victories in eighteen battles. Most probably this Svāmirāja was placed in the Konkan by Kīrtivarman I as his viceroy, and he sided with Pulakeśin II in his struggle against Maṅgaleśa It is also not unlikely that Svāmirāja had his headquarters at Revatīdvīpa in the waters of the Western or Arabian

1 See p 196.

Sea (*i.e.* the fortified promontory of Redi to the south of Vengurla in the Ratnāgiri District), which is said to have been conquered by Maṅgaleśa, and that the conqueror appointed Indravarman of the Bappūra (*i.e.* Batpūra) lineage, apparently related to his own mother, as the new governor of the region. According to a Goa Grant, Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman was ruling four *vishayas* or *maṇḍalas* with his headquarters at Revatīdvīpa in January 610 or 611 A.D., which was the twentieth year of his government, and granted a village in the Kheṭāhāra *deśa* (Khed *tāluk* in the Ratnāgiri District) with the permission of the Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi. It is usually believed that Indravarman was placed as a viceroy in the Konkan by Kīrtivarman I about A.D. 590, the first year of the former's rule according to the Goa Grant. But possibly he was ruling as a subordinate ruler elsewhere and was stationed at Revatī-dvīpa only after the conquest of that place by Maṅgaleśa some time after A.D. 597-98. It was as a result of the difficult days through which the Chālukya emperor was passing about this time that he appears to have become bold enough to issue the charter, dated in his own regnal year.

About the end of Maṅgaleśa's reign there was a civil war between him and his nephew Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman The cause of the quarrel, according to the Aihole inscription of Pula-keśin II, was Maṅgaleśa's attempt to secure the succession for his own son As a result of this war Maṅgaleśa lost his life and the throne of Bādāmi passed to Pulakeśin II. The son of Maṅgaleśa, not mentioned by name in the Aihole epigraph, is usually identified with Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa Grant. But even though his title "an ornament of the original great Bappūra (Batpūra) lineage" may be explained by the suggestion that his mother was a Bappūra princess, the fact that Indravarman acknow-ledged in January A D. 610 or 611 the supremacy of *Mahārāja* Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha, identified with Pulakeśin II, renders the theory unlikely; because Pulakeśin II could have hardly allowed his vital enemy and rival to the throne to be kept in the important position of the viceroy of the Konkan districts As however Pulakeśin's first regnal year corresponds to Śaka 532 (expired) while the date of the Goa Grant is Śaka 532 (current or expired) the identification of *Mahārāja* Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha, overlord of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, with Maṅgaleśa is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

4. *Pulakeśin II*

Mahārāja Pulakeśin II (A D. 610-11 to 642), whose name is also found in the forms Polekēśin and Pulikeśin, is best known by his *viruda* Satyāśraya. He is also known to have enjoyed the titles

Vallabha (Vallabha-rāja, Vallabhendra) or Pṛithivī-vallabha or Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha and to have assumed the imperial title Parameśvara as a second name. In later times when the Chālukyas of Bādāmi adopted the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* (usually not *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*), which had been popularised in northern India by the Gupta emperors, all these *virudas* were applied to Pulakeśin II also. The Lohner (Nāsik District) Grant of A.D. 630 calls him a Parama-bhāgavata, *i.e.* a devout worshipper of Vishṇu.

The civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II led to a general renunciation of allegiance by almost all the peoples subjugated by the valour of Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa. When Pulakeśin II ascended the throne after his uncle's death, there was anarchy and confusion throughout the empire and, in the picturesque language of the Aihole inscription, "the whole world was enveloped in the darkness that was the enemies" Even the home province of the Chālukyas in the Bijāpur area was threatened by an attack led by two kings named Āppāyika and Govinda who had advanced as far as the northern bank of the Bhaimarathī (Bhīmā). Thus Pulakeśin II was in a precarious position, faced with the double task of saving his home province from the aggression of enemies and of subjugating the disaffected subordinates. But the young king proved equal to the situation. He pursued a policy of *bheda,* won over Govinda who became his ally, and defeated and expelled Āppāyika. The identification of this Govinda with the great-grandfather of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (*c.* A.D. 742-57) is unwarranted, as the latter cannot be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century.

After having made his position secure at home, Pulakeśin II launched on a career of conquest for the subjugation of his neighbours. A graphic account of his victories is given in the Aihole *praśasti,* composed by the Jain poet Ravikīrti, who claimed equality of fame with Bhāravi and Kālidāsa, at the completion of a shrine of Jinendra in A.D. 634-35. In the south Pulakeśin II besieged and reduced Vanavāsī, the capital of the Kadambas who had been formerly subdued by his father. Then the Gaṅgas of South Mysore and the Āḷūpas, who are supposed to have ruled at Humcha in Shimoga District of Mysore, were compelled to submit, probably because they were allies of the Kadambas. After the struggle, the Gaṅga king Durvinīta Koṅgaṇivṛiddha, son of Avinītakoṅgaṇi, appears to have given one of his daughters in marriage to the Chālukya conqueror [1] The Mauryas of the Konkan, previously subdued by his father, were overwhelmed and the city of Purī (either

1 But cf pp 242, 269

Ghārāpuri, *i.e.* the island of Elephanta near Bombay, or Rājpuri near Janjira), which was located in the Arabian Sea and was probably the Maurya capital, was invaded by Pulakeśin's battleships and was captured. Further north the Lāṭas. Mālavas[1] and Gurjaras were subdued. Pulakeśin's success in the Gujarāt region is indicated by the establishment of a Chālukya viceroy. The Kaira grant issued from Vijayapura in A.D. 643 by the Chālukya *Rājā* Vijayarāja or Vijayavarmarāja, son of *Rājā* Buddhavarmarāja surnamed Vallabharaṇavikrānta, and grandson of Jayasimha, records the grant of the village of Pariyaya (Pariyā in Surat District) to the priests and religious students of Jambusaras (Jambusar in the Broach District). The Bagumra (old Baroda State) grant of the Sendraka chief Prithivīvallabha Nikumbhāllaśakti (son of Ādityaśakti and grandson of Bhānuśakti), dated A D 655 and recording a gift of land in the Treyannāhāra *vishaya* (district round Ten near Bārdoli), shows that the Chālukyas were succeeded in the viceroyalty of the Gujarāt region by the Sendrakas related to Pulakeśin's mother The non-mention of the overlord in both the records is probably due to the temporary eclipse of the Bādāmi house after Pulakeśin's death in A D 642

The Aihole inscription next speaks of a victory of Pulakeśin II over Harsha, the mighty king of Kanauj,[2] and of the Chālukya king's presence in the region of the Vindhyas and the Revā (Narmadā) That the people of Mahārāshtra under Pulakeśin repulsed an attack of Śīlāditya Harsha-vardhana is also known from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang The struggle between the kings of Madhyadeśa and Dakshiṇāpatha apparently ensued from the attempts of both to extend their power over the present Gujarāt region of the Aparānta division of India But the suggestion that the Lātas, Mālavas and Gurjaras as well as the Maitrakas of Valabhī, having been threatened by Harsha, submitted to Pulakeśin II in order to get his help against the Kanauj king, and that the formidable coalition thus formed led to Harsha's discomfiture, cannot be definitely established on the meagre facts available. According to a passage In the Navsāri grant of Jayabhata III, the Gurjara chief Dadda II Praśāntarāga (with known dates in A D 629-41) acquired fame by giving shelter (*trāna*) to the lord of Valabhī (apparently Dhruvasena II) who had been overpowered by the *Parameśvara* Harsha It is suggested that the Gurjara chief could have helped Harsha's enemy only with Pulakeśin's assistance[3] If, however, Dadda II had any share in a victory over the emperor of northern India, the author of the Navsāri grant would have naturally been eloquent on

1 See above, pp 104 ff
2 See above, pp 105 ff
3 *JBORS*, IX 319 Also cf above, pp 101, 109 ff

that achievement and would not have stopped with giving the Gurjara king merely the credit for offering shelter to the fugitive ruler of Valabhī. Moreover if the king of Valabhī applied for help to the Chālukya emperor, the author of the Aihole *praśasti* would probably have mentioned the Maitrakas along with the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras in the list of Pulakeśin's feudatories. Apparently the Maitrakas, who ruled from Valabhī in Kāthiāwād, could not have been represented as Mālavas even if Mālava had been conquered by them.

Some scholars believe that Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha before the new moon day of Bhādra in Śaka 534 (expired) corresponding to August 2, 612 A.D. (July 23, 613 A.D. according to some) which is the date of the Hyderābād grant of the Chālukya king.[1] According to this record, Pulakeśin II acquired the secondary name Parameśvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or, a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles," while the records of his successors say that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harsha-vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north" But Pulakeśin II ascended the throne in A D 610-11 and Harsha in A.D. 606 and both of them had to cope with several powerful enemies close to their capitals. The Chālukya king could hardly have advanced to measure his strength with the emperor of Kanauj before freeing his home province from the menace of Āppāyika and Govinda and before subduing the Kadambas and the Mauryas It is, therefore, not improbable that Pulakeśin II assumed the imperial title of Parameśvara as a second name after saving his homeland from enemies and restoring Chālukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours, but that an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over Parameśvara Harsha-vardhana The date of Harsha's advance towards Gujarāt and ultimate defeat is no doubt earlier than A D 634-35 when the Aihole *praśasti* was composed; but it seems to be later than the beginning of the reigns of Maitraka Dhruvasena II and Gurjara Dadda II, the earliest known date of both the rulers being A D 629[2] It is interesting to note that the victory is not alluded to in the Lohner grant of Pulakeśin II, dated A D 630.

The above-mentioned conquests secured for Pulakeśin II the sovereignty of the three Mahārāshṭrakas (great kingdoms) com-

1 See above, p 107.

2. At the beginning of his reign, Harsha was seriously engaged at home with powerful enemies such as Śaśānka the king of Gauḍa That the attack of Harsha, who ascended the throne early in his youth, on the kingdom of Valabhī occurred long after, i e when he was the father of a daughter of marriageable age, is indicated by the termination of hostilities with the Valabhī king marrying Harsha's daughter. As noted above (pp 108-9), it is difficult to accept Hiuen Tsang's statement that Harsha reigned in peace for 30 years after A D 612.

prising 99,000 *grāmas* (a phrase of doubtful significance). We know that the Chālukya kingdom was known as Mahārāshṭra to Hiuen Tsang; the three countries comprising Pulakeśin's empire, extending from Gujarāt to southern Mysore, probably refer to Mahārāshṭra, Konkaṇa and Karṇāṭa. The Aihole inscription next describes how the Chālukya king directed his arms towards the eastern Deccan where the Kosalas (probably the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis of Dakshiṇa-Kosala) and the Kaliṅgas (probably the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara in the Ganjām District) were easily humbled. The Chālukya army then followed the coast route towards the south. The fortress of Pishṭapura (Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī District) and another fort on an island in the Kunāla (the Kolleru lake near Ellore) were reduced. The ruling house of Pishṭapura was overthrown, and Pulakeśin's 'dear younger brother' *Yuvarāja* Kubja Vishṇuvardhana was placed in charge of the newly acquired kingdom. He became the founder of the celebrated Eastern Chālukya dynasty which lasted until A.D. 1070 when it was absorbed into the Choḷa royal family. The Ellore region seems to have been defended by the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramendra-varman III, but he was defeated and the heart of the Andhra country passed to the Eastern Chālukyas. Further south, Pulakeśin II defeated the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I (c. A D. 600-30) whom he compelled to take shelter behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Kāñchī (modern Conjeeveram). That the Chālukya king penetrated far into the heart of the Pallava kingdom even if he did not actually besiege Kāñchī, is corroborated by Pallava records (cf the Kasakudi grant for example) which represent Mahendra-varman I as having annihilated his "chief enemies," i.e. the Chālukyas of Bādāmi,[1] at the battle of Paḷḷalūra, a place not far from Kāñchī Next Pulakeśin II is said to have crossed the river Kāverī and made friends with the Choḷas, Keralas and Pāndyas, apparently with a view to raise them against their powerful neighbour, the Pallavas Although the Pallava power was temporarily paralysed, the Chālukya king probably did not dare to cross the Kāverī without leaving a large army in the rear to ensure his safe return. The Pallavas appear to have barred his way, but are said to have been once again dispersed After completing the *dig-vijaya*, Pulakeśin II returned to Vātāpī It is sometimes believed that the Chālukya king occupied Vātāpī after all his conquests described above, and since he was stationed at the city in his third regnal year when the Hyderābād grant was issued in A D. 613, all the achievements are placed earlier than that date. The suggestion

1 Some writers think that the enemies referred to were the Gaṅgas and not the Chālukyas According to them Pulakeśin's Pallava adversary was not Mahendra-varman, but the latter's son Narasimha-varman (*IHQ*, XXVIII. 60)

is, however, entirely unjustifiable. The date of Pulakeśin's presence in the east coast countries in A.D. 631 is indicated by the Kopparam Grant.[1] The conquests of the Chālukya king, extending over wide regions between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, are hinted at in his title "lord of the eastern and western waters", found in the Lohner grant of A.D. 630.

About the year A.D. 641, Mahārāshṭra, ruled by Pulakeśin, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who has left a vivid account of the country. The king was a Kshatriya and was obeyed by his subjects with perfect submission. His plans and undertakings were widespread and his beneficent activities were felt over a great distance. The country was about 5,000 *li* (about 836 miles) in circuit and the capital,[2] about 30 *li* (about 5 miles) round, bordered on the west by a great river. The soil was regularly cultivated and was very productive. The climate was hot, and the people, who were tall of stature and had a stern and vindictive character, were honest and simple. They were fond of learning; were grateful to their benefactors and relentless to their enemies. If asked to help one in distress, they would forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If insulted, they would risk their lives to avenge themselves; but while seeking revenge, they would first give their enemy warning and then, both being armed, they would attack each other with spears. They would pursue the enemy when he turned to flee, but would not kill a person who submitted. In the language of Hiuen Tsang, "if a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking

1 *EI*, XVIII. 257 ff

2 This city is said to have been 1000 li, i e. above 167 miles from Bharukachchha or Broach, while the actual distance between Broach and Bādāmi is about 435 miles It has accordingly been suggested that the pilgrim refers to Nāsik on the Godāvarī (about 128 miles from Broach) which may have been the temporary residence of the Chālukya king when he was conducting military operations against Harsha-vardhana The suggestion, however, is not entirely convincing as the operations against Harsha are mentioned in a record of A D. 634-35, while Hiuen Tsang visited Mahārāshṭra about six years later Does the pilgrim refer to Ellora which seems to have been the capital of the earlier imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas and may have been a secondary capital of the Chālukyas of Bāḍāmi? It may be pointed out that Ellora has a river to its west, but Nāsik has none.

them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants treats his neighbours with contempt."

Pulakeśin II was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi and one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India. His reputation and influence spread beyond the limits of India, and, according to the Muslim historian Ṭabari, Khusrū II (Khusrū Parvīz), king of Persia, received an embassy from the Chālukya king in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, i e in A.D. 625-26. Ṭabari gives the name of the king of India as *Prmēsha*, i e. *Parameśa* or *Parameśvara* (not *Pulakeśin* as is usually supposed), which is known from epigraphic evidence to have been a second name of Pulakeśin II (cf. *parameśvar-āpara-nāmadheya*) The suggestion that Parameśa (Parameśvara), which is in this case a name, might be taken as the ordinary imperial title and that the king of India might have been any contemporary Indian monarch like Harsha (whose *name* was not Parameśvara) is unconvincing The same may be said of the theory of some writers that a painting in one of the Ajaṇṭā caves depicts the Persian embassy presenting Khusrū's reply to Pulakeśin II.

Chālukya Pulakeśin's attack on the kingdom of Pallava Mahendra-varman I was only a phase of the struggle between the dominant powers on the two sides of the Tungabhadrā, which appears to have characterised the history of the country in all ages prior to the British occupation of India. Information of such a struggle before the days of the Chālukyas is meagre, but from the time of Pulakeśin II and Mahendra-varman I, it continued, with intervals, for many centuries, even long after it had led to the overthrow of both the dynasties

Pulakeśin's success against the Pallavas was short-lived About A.D 642, he was defeated and probably killed by the Pallava king Narasimha-varman I (son of Mahendra-varman I) who, in retaliation to Pulakeśin's attack on the Pallava capital, led an expedition against Bādāmi and captured it According to the evidence of several Pallava grants, Narasimha-varman I repeatedly defeated king Vallabha, i e Pulakeśin II (or, according to one record, wrote the word "victory," as on a plate, on Pulakeśin's back which was visible as the Chālukya king took to flight), at the battles of Pariyala, Maṇimangala, Śūramāra and other places and destroyed the city of Bādāmi. In the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*, prince Mānavarman

1 For further discussion, cf Ch XXIII, Section 7

is represented as having taken shelter at the court of the Pallava king whom he assisted in crushing his enemy, king Vallabha. That the destruction of Vātāpī was not an empty boast on the part of the Pallava king is proved by his title Vātāpīkoṇḍa and by a fragmentary rock inscription at Bādāmi itself, which seems to say that the city was conquered by Siṁhavishṇu or Naraṣiṁhavishṇu (*i.e.* Narasiṁha-varman I), surnamed Mahāmalla.

5. *Vikramāditya I*

The inscriptions of the later members of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi represent Pulakeśin II as having been succeeded by one of his younger sons, Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-81), who claims to have been the "favourite" son of his father, but who ascended the throne several years after his father's death. It appears that after Pulakeśin's death, Bādāmi and some of the southern districts of his empire were in the hands of the Pallavas for many years, while several of Pulakeśin's sons were making futile efforts to drive out the enemy, and the viceroys of some of the provinces were ruling without any reference to the overlord (but without actually assuming independence) probably because several sons of Pulakeśin II were rival claimants for the throne. The Kaira and Bagumra Grants referred to above[1] show that the troubled state resulting from Pulakeśin's death ensued in or shortly before A.D. 643, and that the Chālukya sovereignty was not completely restored in distant provinces even as late as A.D. 655. As no king is placed between Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I in the genealogy found in the formal charters of Vikramāditya I and his successors, it is usually believed that the Chālukya throne remained vacant during the period A.D. 642-55 When, however, the Pallavas were apparently not in occupation of the entire kingdom of the Chālukyas, it is inexplicable why Pulakeśin's eldest son did not declare himself king in the unconquered regions of the kingdom or at the court of a faithful viceroy or ally, especially when some of the viceroys are found not to have assumed independence. It is likely, therefore, that during this period there were several claimants for the throne, although none of them succeeded in driving out the Pallavas from Bādāmi or in asserting his authority over all the viceroys Eventually Vikramāditya I, who was probably at first fighting on behalf of one of his elder brothers[2] and enjoying the assistance rendered by the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, possibly his mother's father, succeeded in freeing Bādāmi from the enemies and in securing his father's throne

1 See p 236.

2. It does not appear that Vikramāditya I was a rival claimant from the very beginning, for in that case he would have probably dated the commencement of his reign in A.D. 642 and not 655.

for himself. There is a Gaṅga inscription which speaks of Durvinīta as having acquired fame in the land of Jayasiṁha-vallabha (founder of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi) by seizing the Kāḍuvetti (meaning Pallava, *i.e.* the Pallava king of Kāñchī) and setting up his own daughter's son, probably Vikramāditya I [1] It appears that the sons of Pulakeśin II received little help from their relatives, the Eastern Chālukyas, who had severed their relations with Bādāmi as early as the closing years of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's reign. One of the rival claimants for the Chālukya throne after the death of Pulakeśin II appears to have been his "dear" son Āditya-varman who is described in the Karnul grant of his first regnal year as *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* and *Pṛithivī-vallabha* and as the supreme ruler of the whole earth overcome by his own prowess The omission of the names of Āditya-varman and other claimants for the throne from the genealogy in the records of Vikramāditya I and his successors seems to be due to the fact that they were simultaneously ruling in the provinces away from Bādāmi, and that their title to the throne was challenged or ignored by Vikramāditya I, who ousted them. The Kauthem grant of the Later Chālukyas, however, represents Pulakeśin II as succeeded regularly by his son Neḍamari, his grandson Āditya-varman and his great-grandson Vikramāditya I, and this tradition, mistaken as it is, may be a reminiscence of the actual fact that two elder brothers of Vikramāditya I had claimed to have been kings.

The existence of Chandrāditya, another elder brother of Vikramāditya, is known from two grants[2] of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the wife of the former. In both these grants, Vikramāditya is described as the dear son of Pulakeśin and conqueror of hostile kings and restorer of the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors As, besides, his name is placed before Chandrāditya, there is no doubt that the latter enjoyed a feudatory status though there were cordial relations between the two brothers It is difficult to decide whether Chandrāditya was alive when his wife issued the Grant.

According to the Talamanchi and Nerur grants, Vikramāditya I ascended the throne after September 654 and before July 655 A.D. Like his brother Āditya-varman, he also claimed to have been the "dear" son of Pulakeśin II Vikramāditya I had the *virudas* Satyāśraya, Ranarasika, Anivārita and Rājamalla, and enjoyed not only

1 Some scholars place Durvinīta's reign much too early for this (Cf Ch XIII p. 269) For the date of Durvinīta cf *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp 299-302 Vikramāditya's queen Ganga-Mahādevī, mentioned in the Gadval Grant, may have been a grand-daughter of Durvinīta

2 *BG* p 366 The expression *Svarājya* in one of the grants should be taken to mean 'the sovereignty of ourselves (*i e* the Chālukyas)' Vijayabhaṭṭārikā may have been the celebrated poetess Vijjā mentioned in the literary traditions.

the epithet *Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha* (*Śrī-vallabha* or *Vallabha*) but also the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* and sometimes *Bhaṭṭāraka*. In a few viceregal records he is described as a *Parama-māheśvara* (*i.e.* devout worshipper of Śiva) and as meditating on the feet of Nāgavardhana, who is supposed to have been the king's religious teacher. But the Talamanchi grant referring to Śrī Meghāchārya as the king's *svakīya-guru* is no doubt more reliable than the above records Vikramāditya I, who recovered the southern part of the empire from the Pallavas, is said to have conquered his enemies in numerous battles with the help of his sword and his charger named Chitrakaṇṭha It is further stated that he acquired for himself his father's royal fortune that had been interrupted by three kings, and thus brought the whole kingdom under his sway. By mere word of mouth Vikramāditya I is said to have restored the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas that had been confiscated by the three hostile kings Thus the Chālukya monarch acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors after having defeated several enemies, including not improbably some of his own brothers The Hyderābād grant shows that Vikramāditya fought with the Pallava monarchs Narasimha-varman I, his son Mahendra-varman II and grandson Parameśvara-varman I. Vikramāditya I is described in it as having obliterated the fame of Narasiṁha, destroyed the power of Mahendra, and surpassed Īśvara (*i e* Parameśvara-varman I) in statesmanship and thus crushed the Pallavas He is further said to have captured Kāñchī after conquering Īśvarapotarāja (*i e* Parameśvara-varman I) The Gadval grant describes him as the destroyer of the family of Mahāmalla (*i e* Narasimha-varman I) and of the Pallava lineage From these accounts it is clear that for the complete recovery of the lost districts of his father's kingdom, Vikramādiya had to fight with no less than three Pallava kings in succession The struggle must have covered a long period of time commencing some years before and ending many years after his actual accession to the throne. Later records represent him as receiving the surrender of Kāñchī after defeating the Pallava king, as humbling the kings of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas, and as getting obeisance done to him by the rulers of Kāñchī who were the cause of his family's humiliation Thus Vikramāditya I is said to have become the lord of the whole earth bounded by the three oceans, indicating South India, bordered by the Bay of Bengal Arabian Sea, and Indian Ocean, and sometimes conceived as a secondary *chakravarti-kshetra* In some records the Kalabhras are added to the list of peoples subdued by Vikramāditya I Epigraphic records also speak of the great assistance that was rendered to the Chālukya king by his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya

Vinayāditya claims to have arrested at his father's command the power or forces of the *trairājya-Pallava-pati* or *trairājya-Kāñchī-pati* and pleased his father by ensuring peace in all the provinces, while Vijayāditya is said to have entirely uprooted the assemblage of the foes when his grandfather was engaged with the enemies in the south. Vinayāditya's exploit has been explained as a success against the Pallava king of Kāñchī as well as the latter's neighbours, the kings of the three kingdoms of the Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas.[1]

According to the Pallava records, king Parameśvara-varman I defeated the army of Vallabha (*i.e.* Vikramāditya I) at the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr and, unaided, compelled the Chālukya king, whose army consisted of several *lakhs*, to take to flight, covered only by a rag. The Pallava king is further said to have destroyed the city of Raṇarasika (Vikramāditya I), *i.e.* the Chālukya capital at Bādāmi.[2] According to the Honnur Grant[3] Vikramāditya was encamped at Malliyūr-*grāma* to the west of Kāñchī in A D. 671. The Gadwal grant of Vikramāditya shows that he emulated the exploits of his father and advanced in the south as far as the Chola capital at Uragapura on the southern bank of the Kāverī (modern Uṛaiyūr near Trichinopoly), where he was stationed on the 25th April, A D 674 This suggests that the Pallava power was temporarily paralysed once again But the Pallava king had, according to some writers, allied himself with some of the southern monarchs including the Pāndya king Kochchaḍaiyan, and ultimately succeeded in driving the Chālukyas out of the southern region But the Pāṇḍyas in this period were enemies of the Pallavas The credit for the defeat of the Chālukyas at the battle of Peruvalanallūr near Trichinopoly has to be ascribed to the military genius of the Pallava king alone

During Vikramāditya's rule, his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimha-varman was established in the viceroyalty of the Gujarāt region with the provincial capital probably at Navasārika (Navsāri) According to a Nāsik grant,[4] referred to A D 666 or 685, Jayasiṁha-varman annihilated the entire army of a ruler named Vajjada in the land between the rivers Mahī and Narmadā Vajjada is naturally

1 It is difficult to agree with scholars who believe that Vinayāditya defeated the Pallava lord of Kāñchī, who had under him three kingdoms or a kingdom having three divisions

2 According to some scholars, the Periyapurāṇam (Śiruttoṇḍar, v 6) suggests that, when the Chālukya king was leading the expedition against the Pallava country, Parameśvara-varman I sent his general Śiruttoṇḍa to capture Vātāpī The Chālukya king's grandson Vijayāditya possibly succeeded in repulsing the Pallava army under Śiruttoṇḍa The claim of Gaṅga Bhūvikrama, successor of Durvinīta, to have defeated the Pallava king (possibly Parameśvara-varman) at Vilinda in the Tumkur region of Mysore seems to refer to a phase of this Chālukya-Pallava struggle (*IHQ*, XXVIII 63-4)

3 *Arch Surv Mysore*, 1939, p 134.

4 *IHQ*, XX. 353 ff.

regarded as the Prakrit corruption of the semi-Sanskrit name Vajraṭa (probably standing for *Vajrabhaṭa*) a king of which name, according to the Rāshṭrakūṭa records, was defeated by the army of the Chālukya emperors of Bādāmi. This king has been tentatively identified with Śilāditya III (A.D. 662-84) of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī.[1] *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya (A.D. 670-92) and his father Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha-varman probably helped Vikramāditya I in the latter's struggle with Pallava king Mahendra-varman II. The Gaddemane inscription refers to a victory of Śilāditya over a king named Mahendra and to a general named Pettaṇi Satyāṅka who fell fighting with the Beḍa chiefs.[2]

6. *Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya*

Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his "dear" son Vinayāditya (A D. 681-96) who had probably taken up the reins of government a few years before his father's death in A.D. 681. Vinayāditya was known by the *virudas* Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha, Satyāśraya and probably also Rājāśraya and Yuddhamalla, and enjoyed the imperial titles of his father. Mention has already been made of his contest with the kings of Kāñchī and the three neighbouring kingdoms during his father's reign. Several of his own records as well as those of his successors credit him with a number of other exploits, some of which appear to be exaggerated. He claims to have reduced the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas (Kalachuris), Viḷas, Maḷavas (Maḷavaraiyans of Maḷanāḍu), Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and other peoples to the same state of servitude as that of the Āḷuvas (Āḷupas), Gaṅgas and others who were the hereditary servants of his family. Later inscriptions credit him with having levied tribute from the kings of such *Dvīpas* as Kamera or Kavera (probably the Kāverī valley), Pārasīka (Persia) and Siṁhala (Ceylon). Although the claims appear to be extravagant, it is not improbable, in view of the troubled condition in both Siṁhala and Persia about this period, that a Ceylonese prince and a Persian chief had taken refuge at the Chālukya court.[3] It is said that king Vinayāditya acquired the banner called *pālidhvaja* and other insignia of sovereignty by defeating, like his grandfather, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha, whose name however, is not specified. The identification of the North

1 See above, p 149 2 See above, p 106, f n 1

3 In Ceylon Māna-varman, who had been a fugitive at the Pallava court, fought against Pulakeśin II, and had gained the throne after killing king Hastadaṁshṭra II with Pallava help, ruled from A.D. 668 to 703. It is not unlikely that one of his rivals turned to the Chālukya king for help. Persia was conquered by the Arabs during the Caliphate of Umar (A.D. 634-44), but the total eradication of the semi-independent Satraps of the Persian empire required some time. The first colony of Parsee emigrants from Khurāsān is said to have settled at Sanjān (Thānā Dist) in A D. 735 (*EHI*,[4] p. 444).

Indian adversary of the Chālukya king is uncertain. The non-mention of the personal name of the adversary may indicate that the epigraphic passage in question actually signifies the Chālukya king's nominal success against several North Indian rulers.[1]

Vinayāditya's rule seems to have ended disastrously. It is said that, while the Chālukya monarch desired to conquer Uttarāpatha, his son *Yuvarāja* Vijayāditya defeated the hostile forces in front (or, in the presence) of his father and acquired the Gaṅgā and Yamunā symbols, the *pālidhvaja* standard, double drums, *Mahāśabda* badges, jewels, elephants and other articles, which he presented to his father But, in this connection, it is also said that prince Vijayāditya was captured by the retreating enemies After the prince had somehow managed to escape, he succeeded in putting down the anarchical disturbances in his land The above account may suggest that king Vinayāditya died during the period of his son's captivity in the hands of the enemies.

In the viceroyalty of the Lāta region, Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha-varman was associated in the administration, for a long time, with his son, *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śilāditya Another viceroy of Vinayāditya was *Mahārāja* Pogilli of the Sendraka family, who was in possession of territories in the Kanarese area previously held by the Kadambas

Vijayāditya (A D 696-733), the "dear" son of Vinayāditya, next ascended the throne He was known by the *virudas* Satyāśraya, Samastabhuvanāśraya and Śrī-prithivī-vallabha and enjoyed the usual imperial titles of his father and grandfather, he was also sometimes styled *Parama-bhattāraka* in place of *Bhattāraka* (*Bhatāra* in Kannada) Vijayāditya's reign has been hitherto regarded to be a peaceful one But it appears that he was involved in a struggle with the Pallavas Probably he took the aggressive For we learn from the recently discovered Ulchala stone inscription[2] dated in the 35th year of his reign (A D 730-1) that *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya conquered Kāñchī and levied tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman (II) This was evidently the first of the three expeditions against Kāñchī which Vikramāditya II is said to have undertaken [3]

Vijayāditya built the magnificent temple of Śiva under the name Vijayeśvara (now called Sangameśvara) at Paṭṭaḍakal in Bijāpur District He was tolerant of Jainism and donated villages to Jain teachers [4] He had probably a younger sister named Kunkuma-mahā-

1 See above, p 130, where it is suggested that Vinayāditya's adversary was Yaśovarman

2 Cf *Ancient India* No 5 p 51 3 *IA*, X 164-5

4 Two spurious Grants (Kielhorn's List Nos. 26, 37) represent a Jain teacher as the priest of the king's father suggesting that Vinayāditya was a follower of Jainism

devī who built the Jain temple called Anesejjeya-basadi at Lakshmeswar. An inscription at the temple at Mahākūṭa (ancient Makūṭa) in Bijāpur District records the gifts of the courtesan Vināpoṭi who is described as "the soul's darling" of Vijayāditya.

The viceroy of the Lāṭa region during Vijayāditya's reign, about A.D. 731-32, was Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, surnamed Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla, who was a younger brother of *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śīlāditya. A viceregal family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, to whom reference will be made later, seems to have ruled in the northern part of the Chālukya empire.

7. *Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarman II*

Vijayāditya was succeeded by his "dear" son Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-34 to 744-45) who had the *virudas* Satyāśraya and Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha and usual imperial titles He is said to have had a younger brother named Bhīma from whom the later Chālukyas claimed their descent Vikramāditya's chief queen was Mahādevī Loka-mahādevī of the Haihaya (Kalachuri) family, who built the great temple of Śiva under the name Lokeśvara (now called Virūpāksha) at Paṭṭaḍakal. The king conferred the fillet or badge of honour called the Mūme-perjerepu *paṭṭa* and the name Tribhuvanāchārya upon the architect Gunda, surnamed Anivāritāchārya, who built the temple. Another of his queens was *Rājñī* Trailokyamahādevī (a co-uterine younger sister of Loka mahādevī) who constructed another great temple of Śiva under the name Trailokyeśvara in the vicinity of the Lokeśvara shrine.

Hostilities with the Pallavas were continued during the reign of Vikramāditya II who is said to have made a sudden attack on the Tuṇḍāka country (*i.e* the Pallava kingdom) with a desire to uproot completely his "natural enemy", the Pallava The Chālukya monarch is also said to have taken possession of the musical instruments styled *Kaṭumukha* and *Samudraghosha*, the *dhvaja* or banner called *Khaṭvāṅga* (club with a skull at the top), elephants, and rubies after putting to flight the Pallava king Nandipota-varman, *i.e.* Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla, who was the successor of Parameśvara-varman II, grandson of Parameśvara-varman I He then entered Kāñchī, which he did not destroy, and donated heaps of gold to the Rājasiṁheśvara temple and other shrines which had been built by Narasiṁha-varman II, father of Parameśvara-varman II. The Chālukya king then destroyed the power of the Pāndya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings, and set up a pillar of victory on the shores of the Southern Ocean The conquest of Kāñchī by Vikramāditya II is not only mentioned in the Chālukya inscriptions, but is also proved by the existence of a fragmentary record of the

Chālukya monarch at the Rājasimheśvara temple at Conjeeveram. *Yuvarāja* Kīrtivarman II, Vikramāditya's son by Loka-mahādevī, is also said to have joined the expedition against the "family-foe", the Pallava king of Kāñchī, who proved himself unable to fight in the open country and was driven back into his fortress. After breaking the power of the enemy, the Chālukya prince is said to have captured numerous elephants and rubies and heaps of gold, which he presented to his father.

The Naravana charter of Vikramāditya II, dated January 743 A D, records the grant of a village in the Ratnāgiri District by the Chālukya king at the request of his subordinate, Rāshṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, who was the son of Śivarāja. The charter was issued when the king was camping at Ādityavāṭikā (Aitavada in Sātārā District). The chief was probably governing the Sātārā-Ratnāgiri region In the northern part of the Deccan, two houses of the Rāshtrakūṭas appear to have been growing powerful during the weak rule of the emperors of Bādāmi in the first half of the eighth century

During the reign of Vikramāditya II, a formidable invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs was repulsed by the northern viceroy Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, younger brother and successor of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, as noted above.[1] For this achievement, the king conferred on Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin such titles as *Dakshiṇāpatha-svādhārana* and *Anivartaka-nivartayitṛ*. A few years later Lāta was conquered by Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga who seems to have extirpated the viceregal house of the Chālukyas

Vikramāditya II was succeeded by his "dear" son Kīrtivarman II (A D 744-45 to 757)[2] who enjoyed the *virudas* Satyāśraya and Nṛipasiṁha, as well as the usual *Vallabha* names and imperial titles He made a grant in honour of god Parameśvara (Śiva) at the Rameśvara *tīrtha* on the Tungabhadrā

8. *The End of the Chālukya Kingdom of Bādāmi*

The royal fortunes of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi which, according to the records of the Later Chālukyas, disintegrated during Kīrtivarman's reign, passed about the middle of the eighth century to Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga also known as Dantivarman II In the Ellora grant of Dantidurga, dated A D 742, the Rāshtrakūta ruler who probably made Ellora his headquarters, was still satisfied with the feudatory title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and the epithet *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*; but the absence of any reference to the Chālukya overlord Vikramāditya II shows that he was already aspiring to

1 See p 155

2 For the date of accession of Kīrtivarman II, cf *EI* IX 202

independence. The Samangad grant of A.D. 754, however, shows that by that date the northern provinces of the Chālukya empire had been completely occupied by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Samangad and other records not only attribute to Dantidurga the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, but say that he acquired supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha, *i.e.* the Chālukya monarch Kīrtivarman II. Dantidurga is also described as the conqueror of the Karṇāṭaka army (*i.e.* the forces of the Chālukyas) which had previously subdued the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kerala, the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the illustrious Harsha, and Vajraṭa. Dantidurga's claim to have subjugated the Pallava king of Kāñchī, no doubt Nandi-varman II, seems to be supported by the fact that the Pallava king named his son Danti-varman (a name unusual in the Pallava genealogy) apparently after the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. His success in the far south may suggest that Rāshṭrakūṭa supremacy extended also over the southern part of the Chālukya empire, and that Kīrtivarman II, now confined to his home province, was compelled to acknowledge Dantidurga's suzerainty. The Vakkaleri grant of Kīrtivarman II, dated the 2nd September, A.D. 757, records his gift of a village in the modern Hangal region of the Dhārwār District when the Chālukya king was stationed on the northern bank of the Bhīmarathī (Bhīmā) in the present Sholāpur District. This may suggest that Kīrtivarman II made an attempt to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family shortly after Dantidurga's death. But soon the Chālukya king was overthrown by Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishna I who is said to have "forcibly carried away the fortune of the Chālukya family bearing the garland of waving Pāli-dhvajas", and to have "transformed the great boar (the Chālukya crest), which had been seized with an itching for battle and attacked him, into a deer." Some records describe him as achieving supreme sovereignty, resplendent with numerous Pāli-dhvajas, by conquering Rāhapa (Rāhappa or Rāhapya). The reference to supreme sovereignty and the *pālidhvaja* in relation to both the Chālukyas and Rāhapa suggests that Rāhapa was another name of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II.

The dominions of the Chālukyas under Vikramāditya I and his successors extended from Gujarāt in the north to the Nellore District in the south. But the struggle with the Pallavas, demanding their constant attention on the south, not only exhausted their strength and resources, but also loosened their hold on the northern provinces of the empire, where the viceroys gradually began to rule semi-independently. These were the main factors that led to the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor by one of his northern viceroys.[1]

1. Cf. IC XV, 184-89.

II. THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS

We have seen that Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya king of Bādāmi, had a younger brother named Vishṇuvardhana or Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, also known as Pṛithivi-duvarāja (i e. Pṛithivī-yuvarāja or Pṛithivī-vallabha-Yuvarāja), who accompanied him in his expedition against the countries of the east coast about A.D. 631. In the Sātārā grant dated A D 617-18, Vishṇuvardhana calls himself *Yuvarāja* and claims to have been the "dear" younger brother of the king of Bādāmi. According to this record, the *Yuvarāja*, while he was at Kurumarathī, granted to some Brāhmaṇas the village of Alanda-tīrtha (probably Alundah about 35 miles north of Sātārā) on the south bank of the Bhīmarathī It is clear that Vishṇuvardhana was made *Yuvarāja* early in the reign of his elder brother, and that about the year A D. 617-18 he was ruling as viceroy of the South Marāṭhā country. A tradition recorded in the *Avantisundarī-kathāsāra* seems to speak of the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Siṁhavishṇu (*i.e.* Narasiṁha-varman I) of Kāñchī, *narendra* Vishnuvardhana of the Nāsik region, and king Durvinīta (i.e. the Gaṅga king of that name). This might suggest that *Yuvarāja* Vishnuvardhana was for some time ruling also as viceroy of the North Marāṭhā country or that the province under him included the whole land from Sātārā to Nāsik

As noted above,[1] shortly before the end of A D 631, Pulakeśin II subdued the king of Pishṭapura and the Vishnukuṇḍin king Vikramendra-varman III, and appointed Vishnuvardhana viceroy of the newly conquered territories, extending along the coast from Vizagapatam District to the northern part of Nellore District Soon after the return of Pulakeśin II to Bādāmi, however, Vishnuvardhana seems to have assumed the title *Mahārāja* and begun to rule as an independent monarch without reference to the king of Bādāmi Thus he became the founder of the so-called Eastern Chālukya dynasty of the Andhra country Vishnuvardhana, known as Vishnuvardhana I, was called Makaradhvaja and Vishamasiddhi, and also Biṭṭarasa which is a Kanarese corruption of Sanskrit Vishnurāja The extent of his dominions is indicated by the Kopparam grant as well as the charters of his independent rule and those of his successors The Timmapuram and Chipurupalle Grants of Vishnuvardhana I, which were issued from his capital at Pishṭapura record gifts of land in the Plaki and Ḍimila *vishayas* in the present Vizagapatam District. The Plaki-*vishaya* corresponded to the region round the ancient town of Cheruрura modern Chipurupalle, which is the chief town of a *tāluk* of that name, while the name Dimila is preserved in that

1 See p 238

of Dimile, a village in Sarvasiddhi *tāluk*. One of Vishṇuvardhana's lieutenants named Buddhavarman, who belonged to the *Chaturth-ābhijana* or the Śūdra class and was the founder of the Durjaya family, was appointed by his master governor of a tract of land called Giri-paśchima or "West of the Hill". This locality is said to have comprised seventy-three villages which have been located about Sattenapalle *tāluk* of Guntur District. Vishṇuvardhana's queen Ayyaṇa-mahādevī executed a grant in favour of a Jain temple at Bijavāḍa, i.e. Vijayavāḍa (modern Bezwāda).

Vishṇuvardhana I is said to have had a general named Kāla-kampa, who belonged to the Paṭṭavardhiṇī family, and killed in the battlefield a certain Daddara. The identity of Daddara is uncertain. There is a tradition that the founder of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was a patron of learning and that the celebrated poet Bhāravi, author of the *Kirātārjunīya*, enjoyed his patronage.

According to the records of the later members of the Eastern Chālukya family, Vishṇuvardhana I ruled over the Veṅgī country for eighteen years. The statement probably points to a period when the Eastern Chālukya capital was transferred from Pishṭapura to the ancient city of Vengī prior to its transfer to Rājamahendrī or Rājamahendrapura founded by Amma II (A D. 945-70), surnamed Rājamahendra. The Chipurupalle grant, issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse when Vishṇuvardhana was himself an independent Mahārāja owing no allegiance to the king of Bādāmi, is dated on the fifteenth *tithi* of the fourth month of the 18th year of his own rule. It is usually believed that the date corresponds to the 7th July, A.D. 632; but it has been recently suggested that it may fall in A D 641 or A D. 650 Consequently Vishṇuvardhana's rule of 18 years has been assigned by different writers to A.D. 615-33, to A.D. 624-41 and to A D 633-50 In spite, however, of the statement in the later records that Vishṇuvardhana ruled the Vengī country for 18 years, it seems that his 18th regnal year, as referred to in the Chipurupalle grant, was counted from his *Yauvarājy-ābhisheka* which, as we have seen, took place some time before A.D. 617-18. That the viceroys or subordinate rulers sometimes dated their charters in the years of their own administration even when they were transferred from one place to another is probably indicated by the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of Revatīdvīpa, dated in Śaka 532 (A.D. 610 or 611) and in the 20th year of his own government, although he could hardly have been stationed at Revatīdvīpa before the conquest of that region by Maṅgaleśa (A D. 597-98 to 610-11).[1] The viceregal or subordinate rulers, who are known to have later

1 See above, p 234

assumed independence, usually counted from the actual beginning of their rule and not from the commencement of their independent reign, there being usually in such cases a period—short or long—of virtual independence and nominal dependence and no definite date of the assumption of independent status. Even if Vishṇuvardhana counted his 18th year from his establishment at Pishṭapura, it could hardly have been from A.D. 624 or A.D. 633, as according to the Kopparam grant, that region seems to have been conquered about A.D. 630-31. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is possibly better to assign Vishṇuvardhana's rule to the period A.D. 615-33, although it would mean that he ruled in the Andhra country only for about four years prior to his death. Nothing definite can be said on this point until further evidence is forthcoming; but the fact that about half a century intervened between the advanced years of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I (c. A.D. 535-85) and the early years of Vishṇuvardhana's successor[1] does not appear to support the dates A.D. 624-41 or A D. 633-50 for the founder of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.[2]

Vishṇuvardhana I was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Jayasiṁha I (c. A.D. 633-63) who was also known as Pṛithivī vallabha, Sarvasiddhi and Pṛithivī-Jayasiṁha (*i.e* Pṛithivī-vallabha Jayasiṁha). In later records, he is usually assigned a reign of 33 years; but sometimes only a reign of 30 years. This confusion possibly arises from the fact that in the closing years of his reign, the administration was actually in charge of his brother Indravarman. As noted above, the Pallavas defeated Pulakeśin II, and occupied the southern part of his empire, including the capital city of Bādāmi, about A D. 642. During the long and protracted struggle that followed, Jayasiṁha does not appear to have rendered any assistance to his relatives in distress.

Jayasiṁha I was succeeded by his brother *Mahārāja* Indravarman (c. A.D. 663) who was also called Indrarāja, Indurāja (*sic*) and Indrabhaṭṭāraka, and had the *virudas* Siṁhavikrama and Tyāgadhenu. According to later records of the family, king Indravarman

1 Cf above, p 208

2 A recently discovered charter has been taken to support A D 624 as the beginning of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana's rule in Andhra (see *Anc Ind*, January 1949, p 49) Dr N Venkataramanayya accepts the above date of the foundation of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty in his recent work, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi*, Madras, 1950; but he rightly points out: 'It must not, however, be supposed that the problem of Eastern Chālukya chronology has finally been solved Though the evidence of the early records is generally in agreement with the date suggested here for the establishment of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom, certain facts militate against it and create a suspicion in the mind that a satisfactory solution has not yet been attained' (*op. cit*, p 56). The date, A.D 624, for the foundation of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first suggested by B V Krishna Rao (*JAHRS*, IX, Pt 4, pp 1-32).

reigned only for a week; but he seems to have enjoyed considerable power in the administration during the later years of the rule of his brother Jayasiṁha I. One of his feudatories was Koṇḍivarman of the Āryāhū family who was probably a friend of the king's son also named Indravarman.

Indravarman's successor was his son Vishṇuvardhana II (c. A.D. 663-72) who enjoyed the *virudas* Vishamasiddhi, Makaradhvaja and Pralayāditya, and ruled for nine years. Most of his own records as well as those of his successors represent him as a son of Indravarman. In one of his inscriptions, however, he calls himself the son of Jayasiṁha I. Whether this is due to mistake or whether Vishṇuvardhana II was treated by his uncle as an adopted son, it is difficult to say. He was succeeded by his son Maṅgi-yuvarāja (c. A.D. 672-96) who was known as Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokāśraya and ruled for 25 years.

King Sarvalokāśraya Vijayasiddhi or Maṅgi-yuvarāja had several sons of whom Jayasiṁha II (c. A.D. 696-709), surnamed Sarvalokāśraya and Sarvasiddhi, succeeded him after his death and ruled for 13 years. But the new king's brother Vijayādityavarman, who seems to have been originally the viceroy of Madhyama-Kaliṅga with Elamañchi (modern Yellamanchili in Sarvasiddhi *tāluk* of Vizagapatam District) as his provincial headquarters, assumed the title *Mahārāja* and threw off the yoke of Jayasiṁha II. After Vijayāditya's death, Madhyama-Kaliṅga passed to his son, *Mahārāja* Kokuli or Kokilivarman, also called Anivārita and Sarvalokāśraya.

When Jayasiṁha II died, the throne was seized by his younger step-brother Kokkili or Kokuli Vikramāditya, surnamed Vijayasiddhi, who reigned only for six months. During his short reign, he seems to have succeeded in conquering Madhyama-Kaliṅga from his nephew who bore his own name. But soon king Kokuli Vikramāditya was overthrown by his elder brother Vishṇuvardhana III (c. A.D. 709-46). It seems that Madhyama-Kaliṅga remained for some years in the possession of Kokuli Vikramāditya's son named Maṅgi-yuvarāja after his grandfather.

Vishṇuvardhana III assumed the names Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa and Vishamasiddhi, and ruled for 37 years. He succeeded in annexing Madhyama-Kaliṅga. The Musinikonda charter of Śaka 684 (A.D. 762) records the gift of a village to a Jain temple at Bijavāḍa (modern Bezwāda) built by Ayyaṇa-mahādevī, queen of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. The Grant was issued by king Vishṇuvardhana III; but it was executed by the queen. It has been suggested that this charter was a renewal of an old one issued during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I and that, although Vishṇuvardhana III

abdicated his throne about A.D. 746, he probably lived up to A.D. 762. It is also not improbable that the charter said to have been renewed by Vishṇuvardhana III was actually issued by his successor. Another charter issued in the 23rd regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana III records a grant made by Pṛithivīpothī, daughter of Maghin-duvarāja, who seems to have been none other than king Maṅgi-yuvarāja, father of the reigning monarch. The identification of Maghin-duvarāja with the Pallava prince Mahendra-varman III (brother of Parameśvara-varman II) is unconvincing. The word *duvarāja* is a Dravidian corruption of Sanskrit *yuvarāja*.

During the reign of Vishṇuvardhana III, a Nishāda king named Pṛithivīvyāghra, who had let loose a horse for performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice,[1] seems to have occupied the southern part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions about the northern fringe of the Nellore District. In the Udayendiram Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman II of Kāñchī, his general Udayachandra claims to have defeated the Nishāda king and, having driven him out of the *vishaya* or territory of Vishṇurāja (i e. Vishṇuvardhana III), annexed it to his master's dominions.

Vishṇuvardhana III was succeeded by Vijayāditya I (c. A.D. 746-64),[2] his son by the chief queen Vijaya-mahādevī. Vijayāditya I assumed the titles Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, Vijayasiddhi, Śaktivarman and Vikramarāma, and ruled for about 18 or 19 years. His reign witnessed a great political change in the Deccan. In the middle of the eighth century, the imperial Chālukya house of Bādāmi was overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭas who next fell upon the dominions of the eastern branch of the Chālukya family. The story of the long-drawn hostilities between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, which characterise the following epoch of Eastern Chālukya history, will be narrated in the next volume.

1. *IA*, VIII 273. Venkataramanayya suggests (*op cit*, 75-6) that the horse was let loose by Nandivarman II and it was sought to be captured by an E Chālukya feudatory, perhaps with the support of his suzerain The Udayendiram grant actually reads as follows *uttarasyām-api diśi pra (pri) thivīvyāghrābhidhā (dha)-nishada-patim prabalāyamānam-aśvamedha-turaṅgamanusaranamapatam-anuśritya*, *etc*. There is no definite indication as to who it was that performed this Aśvamedha, but I think it was Pṛithivīvyāghra or his overlord and not the Pallava king Had Nandivarman Pallavamalla been the performer, the fact would have been given more prominence in this record and would have certainly been referred to in some of the numerous records of the later Pallavas The epithet *nishada-pati*, attributed to Prithivīvyāghra, might be either *Nishadha-pati* or *nishāda-pati* Considering the Dravidian inclination to non-aspiration, the former is not improbable. In that case, we have possibly to connect the king with the royal family claiming descent from Nala, lord of Nishada or the Nishadhas There is a Nala king named Pṛithvīrāja, mentioned in the Rajim inscription, but he seems to be earlier than the contemporary of Pallavamalla.
2 This date is in accordance with Fleet's chronology. B V. K. Rao, followed now by others, suggests the date A D. 755-72 (*op. cit.*, table between pp 30-31)

CHAPTER XIII

DYNASTIES OF SOUTH INDIA

I. THE PALLAVAS

1. *The Origin*

The origin of the Pallavas has been discussed by scholars for more than half a century; still the latest writer on the subject is constrained to say: "The origin of the Pallavas remained till now a mystery."[1] The premises of the problem may be stated in order to consider the validity of any theory. The Pallava monuments and inscriptions associate them intimately with Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, between the North Penner and the North Vellār dominated by Kāñchī, but their kingdom is not one with its limits known to Tamil tradition, like the Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Kerala kingdoms. The inscriptions of Aśoka contain no reference to the Pallava kingdom as such. The Pallavas issued their earliest known documents in Prakrit, and somewhat later, in Sanskrit, and assumed titles like *Dharmamahārāja* and *Aśvamedhayājin*. Their early administrative system was on the lines of the Sātavāhana system, linking up ultimately with that laid down in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. They were in the beginning quite unlike the Tamil rulers of the Śaṅgam Age who patronised Tamil literature. Therefore it is thought that the Pallava kings of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam must have originally belonged to a different region Consequently we have a multiplicity of theories attempting to indicate their original home and their immigration into Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam.

A few scholars like B. L. Rice and V. Venkayya identify the Pallavas with the Pahlavas or Parthians who, after their settlement in the Sindhu valley and Western India along with the Śakas, are supposed to have occupied Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam in the period of the decline of the Sātavāhanas. But their immigration into the Kāñchī region cannot be explained objectively. Further, Rājaśekhara, the great poet and playwright at the Gurjara-Pratīhāra court of Kanauj, who was born in the Deccan, and some of whose works are valuable for the light they throw on ancient Indian geography, assigns the Pallavas to South India and the Pahlavas to the trans-Sindhu region. Moreover, the Pallava records do not mention the Pahlavas. Foreign rulers like the Śakas did not perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, and it is difficult to believe that the Pahlavas under the name of Pallavas

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1. Rao, B. V. K., *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p. 135.

became fond of it. The theory of the Parthian origin of the Pallavas has been recently supported on the ground that one of the sculptures in the Vaikuṇṭha-perumāḷ temple at Kāñchī depicts a crown shaped like an elephant's scalp, similar to that worn by Demetrius, the Indo-Bactrian king, on his coins. But similar reasoning would make the Ikshvākus of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Scythians, because a 'Scythian Warrior' is found among the monuments of that place. Jouveau-Dubreuil makes Suviśākha, a Pahlava minister of Rudradāman I, the ancestor of the Pallavas of Kāñchī. This view is broadly supported by the latest writer on the subject: "The Pallavas were immigrants from the North or properly speaking from Konkan and Ānarta in Dakshiṇāpatha. They came into South India through Kuntala or Vanavāsa."[1] K. P. Jayaswal regards the Pallavas as an offshoot of the Vākāṭakas for the reason that they were both Brāhmaṇas of the Bharadvāja gotra and stresses the point that a Nāga princess was married by Vīrakūrcha, a feudatory of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas.[2] This marriage alliance is underlined by Jouveau-Dubreuil as well. But, was Vīrakūrcha the founder of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī? The theory of a Choḷa prince, whose mother was a *nāgī*, founding the Pallava kingdom, violates the premises of the problem stated above. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar regards the Pallavas as the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas—officers and governors of the south-eastern part of their empire—, equates the term Pallava with the terms Toṇḍaiyar and Toṇḍamān (people and rulers of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam), and says that, after the fall of the Sātavāhana Empire, those feudatories "founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas, as distinct from the older chieftains, the Toṇḍamāns of the region".[3]

Scholars have wandered from Persia to Ceylon in search of the original home of the Pallavas of Kāñchī, on the supposition that they were foreign to Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam, where they rose to eminence. But, in the opinion of the present writer, they originated in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam itself. It was a province in the empire of Aśoka enjoying the benefits of the Mauryan administration for nearly fifty years, and the Pulindas, included in the list of his subject-peoples, were perhaps identical with the Kurumbas of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. Their name is reflected in Pulināḍu and Puliyūrkoṭṭam, two ancient territorial divisions of this region. The Vāyalūr Pillar Inscription of Rājasimha mentions the name Pallava after the first seven mythical ancestors from Brahmā to Aśvatthāmā and before Aśoka's name. It may, therefore, be argued that there was a Pallava ruler before Aśoka. Further, Pallava may be taken to be a variant of Palada (a form of the name Pulinda in some versions of Aśoka's edicts) and

1. Ibid, p. 173 2. *HIJ*, pp. 179-83. 3. *JIH*, II, p. 25.

may be regarded as the southernmost people of the Maurya Empire.[1] They must have continued its traditions during the period of their independence after Aśoka's death. The importance of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. is vouched for by Patañjali and Pan Kou and by the author of the *Maṇimekhalai*. Toṇḍaiyar is a Tamil rendering of Pallavas. The conquest of a part of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam south of the Pālār by Karikāla Choḷa in the second century A D. could not have destroyed the Mauryan system established at Kāñchī. The Sātavāhana acquisition of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam in that century must have reinforced that system. The Pallavas became feudatory to the Sātavāhanas and, after the collapse of the latter power about A.D. 225, converted their gubernatorial status into a royal one. Their expansion from Kāñchī to the Kṛishṇa is proved by the Mayiḍavolu and Hīrahaḍagalli Prakrit copper-plate grants of Śivaskanda-varman Pallava and, considering his affinity to the Sātavāhanas, it is not surprising that he issued charters in Prakrit and assumed the title of *Dharmamahārāja*. The theory of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam origin of the Pallavas of Kāñchī best explains the historical facts relating to the problem of their origin, *viz.* that their earliest documents are in the Prakrit and Sanskrit, not in Tamil, and that their traditions and their administrative system are, at least in the early stages, not South Indian or Tamil in character.

2. *Early History*

The Pallava inscriptions are of three kinds Prakrit copper-plates assignable on palaeographic grounds to the period A D 250-350; Sanskrit copper-plates to 350-600, and lithic and copper-plate records from the seventh century. The change from Prakrit to Sanskrit and the use of stone besides copper-plates were not due to dynastic considerations.

Early Pallava genealogy and chronology have given rise to acute differences of opinion among scholars and the question is dealt with in the Appendix to this chapter. It will suffice here to state that the Prakrit charters[2] mention several kings including Śivaskanda-varman who ruled probably about the beginning of the fourth century A D. He seems to have been the greatest of the early Pallavas and his dominions extended from the Kṛishṇā to the South Penner and to the Bellary District. He performed a number of Brahmanical sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha*, and the Mauryan character of his administrative system is clear from his Hīrahaḍagalli grant.

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1 But cf. *PHAI* 258-59 for other views   2 *His Ins.* pp 374-75

Vishṇugopa comes between the kings of the Prakrit charters and those of Sanskrit charters. He was one of the twelve kings of Dakshiṇāpatha defeated by Samudra-gupta. A fruitless attempt[1] has been recently made to revive the theory of Jouveau-Dubreuil that Samudra-gupta was defeated by Vishnugopa in league with other princes. There are sufficient reasons for thinking that the Gupta expedition was a punitive one and that it was a great success. Vishṇugopa may be assigned to the period A.D. 350-375.

The Sanskrit charters mention more than sixteen kings assignable to the period A.D 350-575. Some of them were *Yuvamahārājas* who never became kings. We know from relatively later epigraphic records that Vīrakūrcha married a Nāga princess and became king, and this fact is interpreted by some scholars as the foundation of the Pallava line by Vīrakūrcha. But it might only mean that he strengthened his position, which must have become difficult after Samudra-gupta's Dakshiṇāpatha expedition, by a marriage alliance. The next ruler Skandaśishya is said to have seized the *ghaṭikā* of the Brāhmanas of Kāñchī from king Satyasena, who is identified with the Western Kshatrapa Satyasimha ruling about A.D. 388, but might have been a descendant of Ugrasena of Palakka, one of the opponents of Samudra-gupta. Simha-varman I ascended the throne in 436. He crowned Hari-varman[2] (Western Ganga) about 450, in order to subdue the Bāṇas. The charters of Siṁha-varman were issued not from Kāñchī but from various camps. This, coupled with the epigraphical datum that his brother Kumāravishnu recaptured Kāñchī, is responsible for the theory of a Chola interregnum, which we shall consider later. The period of the successors of Simha-varman I down to the close of the reign of Siṁha-varman II (c. 575) is one of which practically no knowledge is available. All the political confusion of the period is attributable to the Kalabhra invasion and their occupation of the Tamil country. Yet we know that Kāñchī, the spiritual and intellectual metropolis of South Indian Buddhism, produced Aravaṇa Aḍigal, Āryadeva, Dinnāga and Dharmapāla. Early Pallavas like Buddha-varman and Aśoka-varman must have founded the Rāja-vihāra (royal monastery) mentioned in the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of Mahendra-varman I.

3. *Simhavishnu and Mahendra-varman I*

Simhavishnu *Avanisimha* (Lion of the Earth) son of Simha-varman II, may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century. With him begins the age of the great Pallavas, and to him belongs the honour of starting the Pallavas on their grand career of political

1 Rao, *op. cit.* pp. 370-74

2 Also called Ayya (or Ārya) varman

and cultural achievement. He is credited with the conquest of Chola-maṇḍalam, an achievement not claimed by his son and successor, Mahendra-varman. Siṁhavishṇu vanquished a number of enemies including the Kaḷabhras. Two inscriptions testify to his sovereignty from Madras to Kumbhakonam. He is eulogised in his son's *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*. He was a patron of the great Sanskrit poet, Bhāravi, author of *Kirātārjunīya*. The reliefs of himself and of his two queens are found at Mahābalipuram, and it is likely that he took the first step in making that place a great centre of art.

Mahendra-varman I *Vichitrachitta* (c. 600-630), son of Simhavishṇu, was one of the greatest sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. During his reign commenced the long-drawn Pallava-Chālukya conflict in which either power became the natural enemy of the other.[1] The continuous hostility cannot be regarded as due purely to aggressive motives Apparently Pulakeśin II Chālukya (610-42) was the aggressor, but the causes of his attack on the Pallavas may be easily surmised It is stated in his Aihole inscription of 634 that the Pallavas had opposed the rise of his power. The close relations between the Pallavas and the Kadambas and the overthrow of the latter by their quondam feudatories, the predecessors of Pulakeśin II, explain sufficiently the perennial Pallava-Chālukya hostility. The Chālukya conquest of Veṅgī was followed by the defeat of Mahendra-varman The Aihole record says that Pulakeśin II "caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas . . . to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpura."[2] This account is perfectly consistent with a victory claimed by Mahendra-varman at Pullalūr (Pallur, near Conjeeveram). Still only the northernmost portions of the Pallava dominions were lost. Mahendra-varman's Trichinopoly cave inscriptions indicate that his kingdom extended in the south up to the Kāverī which is described as "the beloved of the Pallava".

Like some other members of his family, Mahendra-varman had a passion for titles. A few of his many surnames may be mentioned, *Chetthakāri* (temple builder), *Mattavilāsa* (addicted to enjoyment), *Chitrakārappuli* (tiger among painters), and *Vichitrachitta* (myriad-minded). Mahendra-varman gave up Jainism and embraced Śaivism under the influence of Saint Appar; he constructed many rock-cut temples. His Maṇḍagapattu (South Arcot District) inscription runs as follows. "This brickless, timberless, metalless and mortarless temple, which is a mansion for Brahmā, Īśvara and Vishnu, was caused to be created by the king Vichitra-

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1 See above, p 238

2 *EI*, VI, 11

chitta."[1] His Trichinopoly record refers to his adherence to the *linga* cult and to his rock-cut temples. Such temples of his are extant in Trichinopoly, Vallam (near Chingleput), Mahendravāḍi (near Arkonam), and Daḷavānūr (South Arcot District). He excavated a famous tank at Mahendravādi. Though he encouraged the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu, he destroyed the Jain monastery at Pāṭaliputra (Cuddalore, South Arcot District), as a Jain, he had formerly persecuted the followers of other faiths.

The *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of Mahendra-varman is a farce written with the object of holding up to ridicule the foibles and follies of Śaiva and Buddhist ascetics. The Jain paintings[2] in the rock-cut cave at Śittannavāśal (Pudukkottai State) afford illustrations of dancing, and it is generally held that Mahendra-varman was not only a patron of that art but also the author of a work on music. His patronage of painting is reflected in his surname *Chitrakārappuli* The Sanskrit inscription at Kuḍimiyāmalai (Pudukkottai State) relating to music is ascribed to his initiative, and he is regarded as an expert musician Above all, his title of *Vichitrachitta* is symbolic of his versatility and greatness His statue erected at Trichinopoly is not extant, but there is a sculptured portrait of the king with his two queens at Mahābalipuram.

4. *Narasiṁha-varman I and Paramesvara-varman I*

Narasimha-varman Mahāmalla, son of Mahendra-varman I, ruled from c. 630 to c 668 His surname means the great wrestler or warrior He was the greatest of the Pallavas, and his political achievements made him supreme in South India He defeated Pulakeśin II, the most distinguished ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpī or Bādāmi, in three battles including that at Manimaṅgalam, near Kāñchī Subsequently he assumed the offensive and sent his general Śiruttonḍa Nāyanār (assigned by some scholars to a later date) to invade the Chālukya territory Vātāpī, the Chālukya capital, was captured in 642 Pulakeśin II died and his death was followed by political confusion for thirteen years during which the Pallavas seem to have been in possession of the southern part of the Chālukya dominions[3] After recording his achievement on a rock behind the Mallikārjuna temple in the heart of Bādāmi the Pallava general returned from Vātāpī with rich booty Narasiṁha-varman thus triumphed conspicuously over the conqueror of his own father as well as of Harsha-vardhana of Thāneswar and Kanauj He

1 *Ibid*. XVII, 17
2 K R Srinivasan ascribes the painting to a somewhat later time (*PIHC*, VII. 168-73)
3 See p 241.

fully deserved the title of *Vātāpikoṇḍa* or captor of Vātāpī, which he assumed.

Another striking achievement of Narasiṁha-varman was a successful naval expedition sent by him to Ceylon in order to reinstate the Sinhalese prince Mānavarmā. The *Mahāvamsa* describes the vicissitudes of this prince's life—his flight to Kāñchī about A.D. 640, his participation in the campaigns against the Chālukyas, and his other activities at Kāñchī, the failure of the first Pallava expedition to Ceylon, and the success of the second grand expedition which sailed from Mahābalipuram. Narasimha-varman erected some monolithic shrines called *Rathas* at Mallai or Mahābalipuram (Seven Pagodas, near Madras), and made the place famous, though he cannot be regarded as the founder of that city.

During the reign of Narasiṁha-varman I Kāñchī was visited by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, about A D. 640, and his account of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam is very valuable. Kāñchī was about six miles in circumference There were more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries housing over 10,000 Theravādin monks The majority of the eighty non-Buddhist temples belonged to Digambara Jains. Though Buddhism was declining in South India, its position in Toṇḍa-mandalam was conspicuous The people (of Ta-to-p'i-t'u or Tonda-mandalam) esteemed great learning . . Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country" This is obviously identical with the Rāja-vihāra mentioned in the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* According to the Chinese pilgrim, Dharmapāla of the University of Nālandā belonged to Kāñchī, and we have already mentioned the other famous persons of Kāñchī

After Narasiṁha-varman, his son, Mahendra-varman II, perhaps reigned for the brief period of two years from c 668 to c. 670, then came the latter's son Parameśvara-varman I (c 670 to c 695) His great adversary was Vikramāditya I Chālukya who rehabilitated the fortunes of his dynasty after the catastrophe which had overwhelmed his father, and invaded the Pallava kingdom We learn from his Gadvāl plates of 674 that he captured Kāñchī and destroyed the family of Mahāmalla, and further that, at the time of the Grant, the Chālukya camp was at Uragapura or Uraiyūr on the southern bank of the Kāverī The Pallava records, however, emphasise Parameśvara-varman's triumph over his enemies, particularly over Vikramāditya Although the latter's army consisted of several lakhs, he was obliged to flee 'covered only by a rag', in a battle that took place at Peruvalanallur near Lālgudi (Trichinopoly District) Though

the statements in the Chālukya inscriptions[1] cannot be taken at their face value, the fact that Vikramāditya was in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly proves his capture of Kāñchī and the general success of his campaign, which had been undertaken to efface the disgrace of his predecessor's defeat Parameśvara-varman was devoted to Śiva, and built a structural temple at Kūram, near Kāñchī, dedicated to that god. He also added to the edifices at Mahābalipuram.

5 *Narasiṁha-varman II and Parameśvara-varman II*

Parameśvara-varman I was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha-varman II Rājasiṁha (c 695-c. 722) who enjoyed a peaceful reign. He built the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī and the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, and assumed titles galore—about 250 His chief *birudas* or titles are Rājasiṁha (lion among kings), Śaṅkarabhakta (devotee of Śiva) and Āgamapriya (lover of the scriptures). He was a man of varied tastes He sent an embassy to China, which fixes his date, as will be discussed in the Appendix Some scholars place Daṇḍin, the great prose-writer and rhetorician in Sanskrit, at the court of Rājavarmā or Rājasiṁha, and regard the extant plays attributed to Bhāsa as mere stage adaptations made at Kāñchī, because Rājasiṁha is mentioned in their colophons Narasiṁha-varman's son and successor, Parameśvara-varman II, ruled probably from A D 722 to 730 Towards the close of his reign he had to encounter a Chālukya invasion led by *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II (see Appendix)

6 *Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla (A D 730-c. 800)*

The next king Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla, son of Hiraṇya-varman, was descended from Bhīma-varman brother of Siṁhavishnu. Though the succession to the throne passed on to the younger branch of the Pallava family, there was no break in continuity, and it is not correct to speak of Nandi-varman II as the founder of a new dynasty Parameśvara-varman is believed to have had a son named Chitramāya, a pretender to the Pallava throne, and hence Nandi-varman is regarded by some scholars as a usurper The circumstances in which Nandi-varman came to the throne are indicated in the Appendix. The sculptures in Vaikuntha-perumāl temple at Kāñchī and the inscriptions explaining them coupled with some other epigraphic records, prove that Nandi-varman, a youth of twelve, was chosen king by the people Though the constitutional position of his father, Hiraṇya-varman, is far from clear, it might be accepted that Nandi-varman was no usurper One of his inscrip-

1 See pp 243 f

tions at Mahābalipuram belongs to his 65th regnal year. Therefore he must have reigned from A.D. 730 to at least 795.

A large number of inscriptions—Pallava, Chālukya and Pāṇḍya —throw a flood of light on the manifold activities of Nandi-varman. About 740, Vikramāditya II Chālukya invaded the Pallava kingdom, defeated his "natural foe", and captured Kāñchī Far from sacking the city, he restored to its temples all the valuables that had been taken away from them Nandi-varman, however, soon recovered Kāñchī The Chālukya victory must have been achieved in the period of the Pallava-Pāndya war. Shortly after his accession Nandi-varman had to face a hostile combination organised by the Pāndyas, who supported the cause of Chitramāya Rājasiṁha I Pāndya claims to have won a number of victories against him in the region around Tanjore Nandi-varman was besieged at Nandipura (near Kumbhakonam) but released by his general, Udayachandra, who killed Chitramaya and won several victories in Tanjore District. He is also credited with the conquest of a part of the Eastern Chālukya territory Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāshṭrakūta power, captured Kañchī, but returned home after concluding an alliance with Nandi-varman and giving his daughter Revā in marriage to him She became the mother of Danti-varman Pallava The Western Ganga inscriptions record Srīpurusha's glorious victory over the Pallavas—his greatest military achievement—, but a Pallava record mentions Nandi-varman's forcible acquisition of a necklace with a great gem from a Ganga king

Nandi-varman built the Muktesvara temple, and probably the Vaikuntha-perumāl temple, at Kāñchī, and some temples elsewhere. He was a pious Vaishnava The records of his reign, epigraphical and literary, show its importance in literary and religious history Tirumangai Ālvār, saint and scholar, flourished during his reign Nandi-varman was himself a scholar, though his accomplishments are grossly exaggerated in his inscriptions The Udayendiram plates of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla contain a reference to the *Aśvamedha*; it is said that Udayachandra defeated in the northern region a chief who, 'desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the *aśvamedha* ' This is no adequate reason for regarding Nandi-varman as an *aśvamedhayājin* His numerous records contain no specific reference to such an achievement He was succeeded by his son Danti-varman in or shortly after A D 795

II THE CHOLAS OF URAIYŪR AND RENANDU

The history of the Cholas of Uraiyūr (near Trichinopoly) is exceedingly obscure from the fourth to the ninth century, chiefly

owing to the occupation of their country by the Kaḷabhras. Buddhadatta, the great writer in Pāli, belonged to Uraiyūr. He mentions his contemporary, king Achchutavikrānta of the *Kaḷabhrakula*, as ruling over the Chola country from Kāveripaṭnam. He was a Buddhist, and Tamil literary tradition refers to an Achchuta who kept the Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya kings in captivity. On the basis of the contemporaneity of Buddhadatta with Buddhaghosha, Achchuta may be assigned to the fifth century. Thus, after the Śaṅgam Age, the descendants of Karikāla Chola were forced into obscurity by the Kalabhras, who disturbed the placid political condition of the Tamil country.

Some of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas were issued, not from Kāñchī but from places in the Telugu country south of the Krishṇā. Therefore it is argued that the Pallavas lost that city to Karikāla Chola and withdrew northwards. This theory of the Choḷa interregnum in the period of the Sanskrit charters is not convincing. The evidence for believing that the Pallavas lost Kāñchī is weak and their inscriptions do not directly support such a thesis. The statement regarding the recapture of Kāñchī by Kumāravishnu in the Velūrpālaiyam plates of Nandi-varman III might well refer to an incident in dynastic succession or in the course of the Pallava conflict with the Kalabhras. Further the age of Karikāla is generally placed much earlier than the period of the Sanskrit charters.

Though the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas finally overthrew the Kalabhras and established their independence the Cholas remained in obscurity for some centuries more. The Pallava, Pāṇḍya, and Chālukya inscriptions mention the Cholas, their army, their country etc., and Tamil literature, their princes and princesses. The Cholas of Uraiyūr hovered around their ancestral home and maintained a subordinate position in the midst of towering political powers like the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas. They gradually increased their influence by marriage alliances, and steadily supported Śaivism and Vaishnavism as against the heterodox creeds Jainism and Buddhism. It is significant that Vijayālaya, the founder of the Chola dynasty of Tanjore, started as a chieftain in the neighbourhood of Uraiyūr, an inscription at Tirunedungalam (Trichinopoly District) records a gift of land according to the orders of Parakesari Vijayālaya Choladeva.

During the period of their decline the Cholas were not confined to the Kāverī region. Some Chola princes seem to have migrated to other regions and consequently we find minor Chola dynasties in the Telugu and Kannada countries. The most important of them were the Cholas of the Renāndu country in the Cuddapah, Anantapur

and Kurnool Districts. Their lithic records, as well as the Mālepādu (Cuddapah District) plates of Punyakumāra, may be referred to the seventh century A.D. These plates mention four generations of kings, *viz.* Nandi-varman, his sons, Simhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjaya-varman, son of the last Mahendravikrama-varman and his sons, Gunamudita and Punyakumāra surnamed Pormukharāma. They styled themselves Chola-Mahārājas and claimed descent from Karikāla Chola. Their names and titles remind us of the Pallavas and the Chālukyas, and their seal with a maned lion resembles that of the Pallavas and the Vishnukundins. The dynasty of Punyakumāra may be regarded as having been in power for one hundred years. Their position in Cuddapah District must have made them play a prominent part in the Pallava-Chālukya struggle, and their independence must have been to some extent nominal. After Punyakumāra, his dynasty probably lost its hold over Cuddapah and was scattered in various parts of South India.

The Renāndu country ruled over by the Chola-Mahārājas may be regarded as Hiuen Tsang's *Chu-li-ya* 1000 *li* (200 miles) south-west of Dhānyakataka. "The country was about 2400 *li* in circuit and its capital was about 10 *li* in circuit. It was a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants, and bands of highwaymen went about openly, it had a moist hot climate, the people were of a fierce and profligate character and were believers in the Tirthikas, the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only some of them had Brethren, there were several tens of Deva temples, and the Digambaras were numerous."[1]

III THE KALABHRAS

We have already made a few references to the Kalabhras, and to their king Achchutavikrānta. The Velvikudi plates of the third regnal year of Neduñjadaiyan Pāndya (c. 765-c. 815) say that Palyāgamudukudumi-Peruvaludi Pāndyādhirāja gave the village of Velvikudi as *brahmadeya* (gift to a Brāhmana). It was enjoyed for long. Then a Kali king named Kalabhran, took possession of the extensive earth, driving away numberless great kings (*adhirāja*) and resumed the (village mentioned) above. After that ... the Pāndyādhirāja Kadungon[2] recovered the territory under the Kalabhra occupation. It would appear from the brief account that the Pāndya country was seized by the Kalabhras long after Mudukudumi. They overthrew many *adhirājas* and resumed even *brahmadeya* lands. Thus they were terrible and ruthless conquerors. Their

1 *HTW*, II 224

2 *EI* XVII, 306

sway was put an end to by Kaḍungoṇ, who may be assigned conjecturally to c. 590-620. There are other references to the Kalabhras in Pallava and Chālukya inscriptions, they are said to have been conquered by Siṁhavishnu and Narasimha-varman I and by Vikramāditya I and II.

The identification of the Kalabhras is a very difficult problem of South Indian History. They have been identified with the line of Muttaraiyar of Koḍumbālūr (eighth to eleventh century).[1] Others regard them as Karṇātas on the strength of a reference in Tamil literature to the rule of a Karnāta king over Madurā A third view is that the Kalabhras were Kalappalar, belonging to the Vellāla community and referred to in Tamil literature and inscriptions.[2] But the most satisfactory theory identifies the Kalabhras with the Kalavar,[3] and the chieftains of this tribe mentioned in the Saṅgam Literature are Tiraiyan of Pavattiri and Pulli of Vengadam or Tirupati. The latter is described as the cattle-lifting robber chief of the frontier The Kalavar must have been dislodged from their habitat near Tirupati by the political events of the third century A D, *viz* the fall of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Pallavas, as well as by the invasion of Dakshināpatha by Samudra-gupta in the following century, resulting in political confusion in Tondamanḍalam The Kalabhra invasion must have overwhelmed the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Pāndyas

Despite the various explanations given above, the Kalabhras cannot but be regarded as a mysterious people who convulsed the affairs of the Tamil country for a few centuries. Achchutavikrānta caused the dispersal of the Cholas In the Pāndya country even *brahmadeya* gifts were not treated as sacrosanct by the predatory Kalabhras Ultimately their power was broken by Kaduṅgon Pāndya and Simhavishnu Pallava, and we have referred to the Pallava and Chālukya campaigns against them in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The Muttaraiyar and Kodumbālūr chiefs of Kalabhra origin, according to one view, were feudatory to the Pallavas and the Pāndyas respectively, and in the contest between these two powers, they fought on opposite sides The Muttaraiyar ruled over Tanjore and Pudukkottai as the feudatories of the Pallavas from the eighth century to the eleventh There is a reference to Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyan II who attended the coronation of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla One of the titles of the Muttaraiyar was Lord of Tanjore Vijayālaya Chola, who conquered Tanjore from a Mutta-

1 *JIH* VIII, 74-80, *EI*, XV, 49   2 *JIH*, VIII, 75   3 Vol II, p 233.

raiyan in the ninth century, was a Pallava feudatory A vindication of the law of nemesis is discernible in the victory of a Chola chief over a descendant of the Kalabhras who had overthrown the earlier Chola kingdom

IV THE PĀṆḌYAS

The genealogy and chronology of the Pāṇḍyas of the post-Śangam Age, from the seventh to the tenth century, are by no means settled Our knowledge of them is mainly derived from a few copper-plate and stone inscriptions—the Velvikudi grant of Neduñjadaiyan, the larger and smaller Sinnamanūr plates of Rājasimha, the Madras Museum plates of Jatila-varman, two Ānaimalai stone inscriptions of Māranjadaiyan and Parāntaka the latter inscription dated 770 and an inscription of Varaguna II dated A D. 870 Some identifications will have to be made for evolving a regular genealogy, principally of Neduñjadaiyan with Māranjadaiyan, Parāntaka, Jatila-varman, and Varaguna I The Ānaimalai inscription of 770 may be assigned to the early years of Neduñjadaiyan, whose regnal period may well be 765-815 and his six predecessors may be given 25 years each or 150 years Therefore the beginning of the dynasty may be roughly placed at about A D 600 We may provisionally fix the chronology as follows Kadungon, 590-620, Māravarman Avani-śūlāmani, 620-645, Śendan 645-670, Arikesari Māravarman, 670-710, Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira, 710-740, and Māravarman Rājasimha 740-765 [1]

The emancipation of the Pāndya country from the Kalabhra interregnum by Kaḍungon must have been effected towards the close of the sixth century A D, and his successor must have completed the task Hiuen Tsang describes the Malakūta or Pāndya country as follows It was a depot for sea-pearls, its people were 'black harsh and impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade' There were many Buddhist monasteries in ruins but only a few monks The destruction of the ancient cultural tradition of Madurā may be attributed to the Kalabhra occupation of the country The third king, Śendan, is credited with warlike qualities and fair-mindedness and his title of Vānavan suggests his victory over the Cheras

Arikesari Parānkuśa Māravarman won a great victory at Nelveli, which is identified with Tinnevelly by some scholars His other victories are on record particularly over the Cheras He is said to have "extirpated" the Paravas of the coast and the inhabitants of Kurunādu In spite of the difficulties of identifying the places

1 Sastri, K A Nilakanta *The Pāndyan Kingdom*, p 41

mentioned in the inscriptions, it is clear that under Arikesari began the imperial career of the Pāṇḍyas as well as their clash with the Pallavas. He is identified with the traditional Kūn Pāṇḍya who was converted from Jainism to Śaivism by Saint Sambandar and who cruelly persecuted the Jains. According to the story, 8000 of them were impaled on stakes—no doubt a palpable exaggeration. It was the Chola queen of that Pāndya who had invited Saint Sambandar to Madurā. The next king Kochchaḍaiyan Ranadhīra also pursued an aggressive career, and defeated an Āy chief at Marudūr (near Ambāsamudram, Tinnevelly District). His title of Koṅgarkōmān suggests his conquest of Kongudeśa, and he is said to have overthrown the Mahārathas at Mangalapuram or Mangalore.

Māravarman Rājasimha I was also a very powerful ruler. Reference has been made above[1] to his conflict with Nandi-varman Pallavamalla and some of its chief incidents, *viz.* the Pāṇḍya conquest of the Kāveri region, the siege of Nandipura, and the rescue of that Pallava by his great general Udayachandra. Hence Rājasimha took the title of *Pallavabhañjana*. His conquests in the Kongudesa included Kodumudi. He married a Western Ganga princess and defeated the Chālukyas—probably Kīrtivarman II. The Velvikudi grant mentions Rājasimha's renovation of the palaces and fortifications of Kūḍal (Madurā), Vañji (the Chera capital) and Koli (Uraiyūr). That mighty Pāndya is said to have made many *mahādānas* or great gifts—*gosahasras*, *hiraṇya-garbhas* and *tulābhāras*. He was succeeded by Neduñjaḍaiyan, the donor of the famous Velvikudi grant.

V. THE WESTERN GANGAS

The Eastern Gangas, or the Gangas of Kalinganagara, traced their descent from the Western Gangas, or the Gangas of Mysore, who claimed to belong to the Ikshvāku family, perhaps of Nāgārjunikonda. It has been suggested that the founder of the Ganga line of Kolār acted like Mayūraśarman Kadamba in taking advantage of the political confusion resulting from the southern expedition of Samudra-gupta. The circumstances of the origin of the Western Gangas detailed in their inscriptions are valueless for historical purposes. The name of the dynasty cannot be satisfactorily explained. Classical accounts mention the Gangaridae, or people of the Gangā valley, and the Gangaridae Calingae or Gangas of Kalinga. But the connection of the two Ganga dynasties with the river Gaṅgā is not clear. The territory of the Western Gangas of the Kānvāyana *gotra* was called Gangavādi, 96,000 and their titles were Koṅgunivarman and Dharmamahārājādhirāja. Their inscriptions on copper-

1 See p. 263.

plates and stones, the former predominating before 680 and the latter after that date, enable us to trace their genealogy, though there are difficulties in connection with the early Gaṅgas. But their chronology based on the data of their copper-plates is defective in several respects. Still some definite landmarks are provided by some copper-plates, which give A.D. 750 for the 25th regnal year of Śrīpurusha. We have also noticed the synchronism of Hari-varman and Siṁha-varman I Pallava, who ascended the throne of Kāñchī in 436. Therefore the foundation of the Western Ganga power may be assigned to the second half of the fourth century A.D

The founder of the Western Gaṅga line was Konguṇivarman or Mādhava I, who ruled probably from 350 to 400, with his capital at Kolār. He is said to have been helped by Simhanandi, a Jain *Achārya*. Mādhava II (*c.* 400-435) was a scholar who mastered not only the *Nītiśāstra* or politics, but also the *Upanishads* He wrote a *vritti* or commentary on the *Sūtra* of Dattaka, a predecessor of Vātsyāyana the Kāmasūtrakāra, on courtesans.[1] Under Hari-varman (c 450-460) the capital of Gangavāḍi was Taḷakāḍ (Talkād, Talavanapura) on the Kāverī, near Śivasamudram He was crowned king by Siṁha-varman I Pallava with a view to crush the Bāṇas, and therefore must have been feudatory to the Pallavas He donated a village to a Brāhmana who had vanquished his Buddhist adversary in philosophical disputation. Most of the Gangas were Jains, but Vishnugopa, who is not mentioned in some records, was a Vaishṇava and more a saint than a king Mādhava III (c 460-500), a brawny king, married a Kadamba princess, worshipped Śiva, and made grants to Brāhmanas, Jains, and Buddhists. His coronation by a Pallava king shows the continuance of the latter's supremacy over Gangavādi. Avinīta (c. 500-540) became king in his infancy, and was trained by Vijayakīrti, an erudite Jain Avinīta made donations to Jains and Brāhmanas Though a Jain, he worshipped Śiva

Durvinīta (c. 540-600) had to overcome some difficulties in the way of his accession to the throne He conquered Punnād (Southern Mysore) and Kongudeśa, and maintained friendly relations with the Chālukyas, but not with the Pallavas. He is said to have defeated the Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñchī. He favoured Vaishnavism and extended his benefactions to Jains, Brāhmanas and others He was not only a man of letters in Kannada, but also a reputed Sanskrit scholar He was a pupil of Pūjyapāda,[2] a Jain grammarian and author of the *Śabdāvatāra*, and a patron of the famous poet Bhāravi Durvinīta

1. *Dattaka-sūtra*, a treatise on erotics, is sometimes wrongly taken to be a treatise on adoption (cf *NHIP*, VI 248-9)
2. This is regarded as highly improbable by S. S Sastri (*Early Gangas of Talakād*, p. 45).

is the reputed author of a commentary on the 15th *Sarga* of his protégé Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, but the commentary is regarded as a literary forgery by some scholars like A. B. Keith Durvinīta himself is said to have compiled a grammar called *Śabdāvatāra*, and translated the Prakrit *Bṛhatkathā* into Sanskrit. In short, he was one of the greatest rulers of the Western Ganga dynasty. He was not only a conqueror, but also a scholarly king who patronised Sanskrit and Kannaḍa learning. His successors, Mushkara, Śrī-vikrama, Bhūvikrama and Śivamāra I, belonged to the seventh century. Their part in the contest between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas is not clear, but they were friendly towards the former and hostile to the latter. All the Western Gangas from the seventh century were Jains.

Śivamāra I, the great-grandson of Durvinīta, ruled probably from A.D. 670-713. He was succeeded by a ruler whose name is uncertain. Then the throne was occupied by Śrīpurusha, the grandson of Śivamāra (or son according to some) who ruled for some time as a viceroy [1] During his viceroyalty, Śrīpurusha overcame the Bāṇa ruler Jagadekamalla or Malladeva, son of Vijayāditya I. There was a contest between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas for the Koṅgudeśa, which was occupied by Rājasiṁha I Pāṇḍya who married a Ganga princess, probably Śrīpurusha's daughter Śrīpurusha's greatest victory was won over Nandi-varman Pallavamalla, but we cannot identify the Kāḍuveṭṭi said to have been slain by him The Gangavāḍi was exposed to Rāshṭrakūṭa invasions under Kṛishṇa I from 760 to the end of the reign of Śrīpurusha (725-788), but that did not prevent him from assuming many titles, including the imperial title of *Konguṇi-Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara* He transferred his capital to Mānyapura or Maṇṇe, near Bangalore His *Gajaśāstra* is a treatise on elephants, and he was thoroughly acquainted with elephant-warfare 'The Gangas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Śrīpurusha, in whose time the kingdom was called the Śrī-rājya or fortunate kingdom '[2]

VI THE KADAMBAS

The name of the Kadamba dynasty is explained in the Tālaguṇḍa Pillar Inscription of Kākutstha-varman as having been derived from the *kadamba* tree which grew near the ancestral home of the Kadambas. The successors of the Sātavāhanas in Kuntala (Western Deccan and Northern Mysore) were the Chūṭus, whose capital was Vaijayantī or Banavāsi. The Pallavas were the next rulers of Kuntala, and the Kadambas stepped into their place in that region.

1 M V Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, pp XI, 49; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 38
2 Rice, *op cit* pp 38, 50

The legendary accounts of their origin are found in the inscriptions of the later Kadambas of Hangal and Goa. These connect the ancient Kadambas with Northern India, but the Kadambas of Banavāsi seem to be indigenous to Kuntala, and this is apparent from their very name, as well as from their claim to Nāga descent. Their genealogy is well established, but not their chronology.

The Tālagunda Inscription elucidates the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Kadamba power by Mayura-sarman, an orthodox and learned Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Mānavya *gotra*. He proceeded to Pallavendra-purī (Kāñchī) with his *guru* Vīraśarmā in order to study *pravachanam nikhilam* (the whole of the *Vedas*) and entered the *ghaṭikā*. There he was angered by a fierce quarrel with a *Pallavāśvasaṁstha* and sadly reflected on the physical inferiority of Brāhmanas to Kshatriyas and on the fact that *Brahma-siddhi* (attainment of full holiness) was dependent on the king's pleasure. The usual interpretation of the above story is that Mayūra-śarman went to Kāñchī, a famous centre of higher learning (perhaps the seat of a Brahmanical University), and that his object was frustrated by his quarrel with a Pallava horseman. But this is doubtful. In the first place, *pravachanam nikhilam* is complete study of the *Vedas*, one branch of which he had already studied. Secondly, *ghaṭikā* does not seem to be a college or any place of higher learning, but the Brāhmana quarters of Kāñchī which he entered for *guru-kulavāsa*, and it was for making arrangements for it that his old *guru* had accompanied him. Thirdly, *aśvasaṁstha* means not a horseman, but a mounted spy, and Mayūra-śarman probably came into conflict with him for offending against the passport regulations, which must have been strictly enforced at Kāñchī about the time of Samudra-gupta's Dakshināpatha expedition.[1]

But be that as it may, the result of Mayūra-śarman's deep chagrin was that 'with the hand dexterous in grasping the *kuśa*-grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.' Then followed a conflict, in which he defeated the *antapālas* or frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest region up to Srīparvata (read also as Triparvata)[2] or Śrīśailam (Kurnool District). Subsequently he subdued "the Great Bāna" and foiled the attempts of the Pallavas to subdue him. So they came to terms with him; he became their feudatory and rendered valuable services to them. At last he received from them the territory bounded by the Western Sea and the Preharā, a river near Aparānta.[3] The

1 R Sathianathaier, *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam* pp 48-50
2 *JIH*, XII, 357.
3 *AOR*, V, Part 2, p. 3.

Chandravalli Prakrit inscription of Mayūra-śarman ascribes to him extensive conquests, *viz.* those of Ābhīra, Traikūṭa, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna, Sayindaka, Punāṭa, and Mokari. In the light of his extensive conquests, there might be some substance in the claim recorded in later inscriptions that he performed eighteen horse-sacrifices, though the Tālaguṇḍa epigraph does not mention any of them. On palaeographical grounds the record has been assigned to various dates from A.D. 250 to 300. If this opinion is confirmed, the current view about the date of Mayūra-śarman will have to be revised, and there have been recent attempts to assign him to the period between 250 and 350, and even earlier. But, as mentioned above,[1] some scholars doubt the genuineness of the Chandravalli Inscription. In any case, it is more likely that Mayūra-śarman flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D. We may hold in that case that he exploited the political confusion in South India consequent on Samudra-gupta's invasion of it, and carved out a principality for himself with its capital at Banavāsi. He probably ruled from c. A.D. 340-370.

Mayūra-śarman was succeeded by his son Kaṅga-varman (read also as Skanda-varman)[2] who ruled probably from 370-395. He assumed the title of *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* and changed the dynastic title from *śarman* to *varman*. He seems to have been defeated by Vindhyasena Vākāṭaka who claims to have annexed Kuntala.[3] Bhagīratha (c. 395-420), son of Kaṅga-varman, appears to have been the ruler of Kuntala, to whom, according to late tradition, an embassy led by Kālidāsa was sent by Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya, perhaps with a view to concluding a marriage alliance.[4] Bhagīratha's sons were Raghu (*c.* 420-430) and Kākutstha-varman (*c.* 430-450).[5] The latter distinguished himself as a *Yuvamahārāja*. The Tālagunda inscription mentions his marriage alliances with the Guptas and others. During his reign, his kingdom appears to have been prosperous. The Tālagunda inscription describes his greatness at length and refers to the perfect safety of travellers in his kingdom, the respect he commanded in the neighbouring countries, and his excavation of a great tank at Tālagunda.

The death of Kākutstha-varman was perhaps followed by the division of his kingdom between his two sons Śānti-varman (*c.* 450-475) and Krishna-varman. Śānti-varman's son and successor Mrigeśa-varman (c. 475-490), who ruled from Banavāsi, is said to have defeated the Western Gangas and the Pallavas. He was well disposed towards Jainism, which flourished in the Kadamba domi-

1 See p. 186, n. 1   2 *JIH* XII, 361   3 See above, p. 185.
4 See above p. 183 f.
5 For a different view about the date of this king, cf. p. 183.

nions. About A.D. 475, Kumara-varman, probably a brother of Śānti-varman, ruled over Uchchangi. Māndhātṛi-varman (c. 490-497), son of Kumāra-varman, enjoyed his usurped power for a short period. Ravi-varman (c. 497-537), son of Mṛigeśa-varman, secured the throne by defeating a combination of his enemies, including Vishṇu-varman of the younger branch of the Kadambas. Ravi-varman was a distinguished and popular ruler, and triumphed over the Western Gangas. His son and successor Hari-varman, however, was a very weak king and ruled for a short time (c 537-547). During his reign his feudatory, Pulakeśin I Chālukya, revolted and established his dynasty at Bādāmi.[1] Hari-varman came into conflict with the younger branch of the family and perished. With him ended the elder branch of the Kadamba royal family.

Kṛishṇa-varman I (c. 475-485), brother of Śānti-varman and founder of the younger branch of the Kadamba line, became an independent ruler in the southern part of the Kadamba kingdom, with his capital at Triparvata, perhaps Halebid. He performed the horse-sacrifice, but was finally defeated by the Pallavas His son Vishṇu-varman (c. 485-497) was crowned by a Pallava king, to whom he appears to have been subordinate His attempt to seize the throne of Banavāsi with Pallava help failed and cost him his life. His successor Siṁha-varman (c. 497-540) appears to have been subordinate to the elder branch Kṛishna-varman II (c 540-565) overthrew that branch and performed the horse-sacrifice. He strengthened his position by marrying his sister to a Gaṅga prince Aja-varman (c. 565-606), son of Krishṇa-varman II, became subordinate to Kīrti-varman I Chālukya, who was "the night of doom" to the Kadambas. Bhogi-varman (c. 606-610), son of Aja-varman, tried to re-establish the independence of his dynasty, but was overpowered by Pulakeśin II, who besieged Banavāsi, an event mentioned in his Aihole inscription. The Kadamba dynasty came to an end with the death, probably in battle, of Bhogi-varman and of his son The Kadambas seem to have attempted to re-establish their independent position during the interregnum in the Western Chālukya kingdom following the death of Pulakeśin II in 642, but the situation turned against them with the accession of Vikramāditya I in A D 655. There was, however, a revival of their power towards the close of the tenth century.

VII THE BĀṆAS

The Bāṇas were among the most important feudatory dynasties of South India. Their name is connected with Mahābali, the *asura*

1 See p 232 f

(demon) king, whose son was Bāṇa. Their epigraphical records are found in Kolār and North Arcot Districts. They were particularly associated with Nandagiri (Nandidurg) in Kolār District, and with Parivipura (Parigi, near Hindupur) in Anantapur District. Their crest was a bull. We have seen Mayūra-śarman's reduction of "the Great Bāṇa" and Hari-varman Gaṅga's coronation by Siṁha-varman I Pallava with a view to crushing the Bāṇas. The genealogy of the Bāṇas is given in the Udayendiram and Guḍimallam plates of Vikramāditya II.[1] Jayanandi-varman is the first ruler mentioned in the former plates, though they say that many other Bāṇa princes had preceded him. He is described as "the unique hero of great might" ruling over 'the land to the west of the Andhra country.' His predecessor is eulogised as a Bodhisattva in compassion[2] A Guḍimallam inscription of the 23rd regnal year of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla mentions a Bāna chief named Vikramāditya, who must have been different from the first Vikramāditya, mentioned in the Guḍimallam plates; he must have been a successor of Jayanandi-varman.[3] The Bāṇas were the feudatories of the Pallavas, but the inscriptions of the latter do not contain sufficient information about them. At a later period, the Bāṇas played a conspicuous part in the frontier wars.

VIII THE ĀLUPAS

The Āḷupa kings ruled over the Tuluva country (South Kanara) and their capital was Udayavara, south of Uḍipi Their territory was a 6000 province, and they worshipped Śiva Their power must have originated in the early centuries of the Christian era; for Ptolemy (second century) refers to Oloikhora (Āluvakheḍa) An inscription of the fifth century justifies the assumption that the Āḷupas were rulers on the West coast They were conquered by the Western Chālukyas under Kīrti-varman I and Pulakeśin II Guṇasāgara (c. 650) was Governor of Banavāsi under the Chālukyas His son Chitravāhana I (c. 675-700) was the first great Ālupa ruler Civil war broke out at Udayavara, and though Chitravāhana I was successful, it continued till about 750

IX. KOṄGUDEŚA AND KERALA

The Koṅgudeśa (the region from the Ānaimalai to the Shevaroy hills, *i e.* the whole of Coimbatore and most of Salem District), which some scholars regard as identical with Aśoka's Satiyaputra, was a distinct political entity in the Śaṅgam Age, and had active commercial intercourse with the Roman Empire. During the period

1 *EI*, III, 78-79, XVII, 6-7 2 Rice *op. cit*, p 20. 3 *JIH*, XXIX 168.

under review, it was invaded successively by the Western Gangas, the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, as we have seen. After the Aśokan and Saṅgam ages, the annals of Kerala are mostly unknown, though we know that it was under the Perumāḷs. Cosmas Indicopleustes, author of the *Christian Topography*,[1] vouches for the existence of Christianity in Malabar in the sixth century A.D

Appendix

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS

1. *Rise of the Pallavas*

The Pallavas, whose name appears to be of totemistic origin like that of the Kadambas, are referred to as Kshatriya in the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of the fifth century A.D. But they had probably in their veins an admixture of the blood of a Brāhmana family of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* hailing from northern India and that of an aboriginal family of the Nāgas. This Nāga family held sway over the district round Kāñchī, modern Conjeeveram in Chingleput District, Madras State. This land lying between the northern and the southern Penner was called Aruvānāḍu which is apparently the same as Arouarnoi of Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. A D. 140). According to the Greek geographer, Arouarnoi was, in his time, under the rule of a king named Basaronaga, no doubt belonging to an aboriginal family of the Nāgas. There is epigraphic reference to the marriage of Aśvatthāman, a descendant of the *gotrarshi* (Bharadvāja) of the Pallavas and the Brāhmana progenitor of the family, with the Apsaras Madanī, while the Velūrpālaiyam inscription distinctly says that an early member of the dynasty, named Vīrakūrcha, obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess Although these are mere legends, the Nāga association of the Pallavas may be deduced from Ptolemy's evidence The Pallavas may have been originally provincial rulers under the Later Sātavāhanas and risen to power in the Kāñchī region at the expense of the Nāgas. Pallava occupation of the land round Kāñchī has to be assigned to a date later than the second quarter of the second century when, according to Ptolemy, the Nāgas were ruling there But their rise must have taken place considerably earlier than the middle of the fourth century, when Samudra-gupta came into conflict with "Vishṇugopa of Kāñchi", undoubtedly a member of the Pallava family The earliest records of the family are the Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallava rulers Simha-varman, Śiva-skanda-varman and Skanda-varman, which may be assigned to the last quarter of the third and the first half of the fourth century

1 See above p. 36

on grounds of language and palaeography. Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy in the latter half of the fourth century. The dynasty however might have established itself at Kāñchī some time before, but probably not long before, the date of the Prakrit inscriptions referred to above. Certain early medieval records of the family trace its descent from Brahman, the lord of creation, through the *gotrarshi* Bharadvāja, but the names of the early members of the dynasty as found in them are certainly mythical and hence unreliable. The legend of the 'Three-eyed Pallava' is manifestly folklore, but traditions about Skandaśishya subduing a king named Satyasena, Kumāravishṇu capturing Kāñchī, and Buddhavarman fighting with the Cholas appear to have germs of truth, although they cannot be definitely assigned to a date earlier than that of the kings known from the Prakrit inscriptions The genealogical lists found in the later records appear to have confused the names of more than one line of the Pallava royal family.

2. *Pallavas of the Prakrit Records*

The Mayiḍavolu grant contains an order issued from Kāñchīpura, in the 10th regnal year of the father of the Pallava crown-prince Śivaskanda-varman, to the governor of Andhrāpatha residing at Dhānyakataka (Amarāvatī in the Krishṇā District) The Hirahadagalli grant was issued from the same city in the 8th regnal year of Śivaskanda-varman himself, who had already performed the Aśvamedha to assert the then recent, at least not very old assumption of the family's independence. The dominions of the Pallavas of Kāñchī about this time included wide regions of the Krishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā valleys as well as Kuntala or the Kanarese country and probably also the Gaṅga country in south Mysore The Kṛishṇā-Guntur region appears to have been conquered from the Ikshvākus who became powerful after the decline of the Sātavāhanas in the first quarter of the third century and ruled at least for three generations

Śivaskanda-varman refers to his father as *Bappa* which should be taken as the Prakrit word meaning "father" rather than as a personal name, because the word is used in the former sense in numerous royal charters and because it is quite unlike any of the many names in the traditional Pallava genealogy found in later records A Prakrit inscription of a Pallava king named Siṁhavarman has been recently discovered in Guntur District. Its palaeography closely resembles that of the Ikshvāku records and is earlier than that of Śivaskanda-varman's charters It is not improbable that Siṁha-varman was the father of Śivaskanda-varman In any case, Siṁha-varman appears to have ruled about the last

quarter of the third century, and Śivaskanda-varman about the first quarter of the fourth.

A successor of Śivaskanda-varman appears to have been king Skanda-varman (called *śrīvijaya*-Skanda-varman) of the British Museum grant discovered in Guntur District. Some scholars believe that the word *śiva* in the name Śivaskanda-varman is an honorific like *śrīvijaya* prefixed to the name of Skanda-varman and that *Śiva*-Skanda-varman and *Śrīvijaya*-Skanda-varman are identical. Considering, however, the facts that Śivaskanda, Bhavaskanda, etc., were quite popular names in South India in ancient times (cf. also modern Tamil names like Śivashaṇmukham), and that the officials responsible for drafting the charter could hardly have been unmindful of the ambiguity likely to be caused by the use of the word *śiva* alone as an honorific prefix to the king's name, it is better to take Śivaskanda-varman and Skanda-varman as two different kings. As the influence of Sanskrit can be felt more in the language of the British Museum grant, Skanda-varman may be assigned to a date slightly later than that of Śivaskanda-varman. It may, however, be admitted that early medieval records have confused Śivaskanda-varman with one of the many Skanda-varmans of the Pallava family Besides king Skanda-varman the British Museum grant refers to the crown-prince Buddha-varman (whose relation to Skanda-varman is not specified) and one of the latter's sons supposed to be named Buddhyankura It is not possible to determine whether even the crown-prince—not to speak of his son—ever ascended the throne.

The next known Pallava king is Vishṇugopa who came into conflict with Samudra-gupta about the third quarter of the fourth century, but whose relation with the kings of the Prakrit records is uncertain (cf. Genealogical Table No 1 at the end of this Chapter)

3. *Pallavas of Kāñchī known from Sanskrit Charters*

There are two Sanskrit charters issued from Kāñchī at a later date by two Pallava kings--the Chendalur grant of Kumāravishnu II and the Udayendiram grant of Nandi-varman The names of the issuers are mentioned together with those of three ancestors Of the two records the earlier seems to be the Chendalur grant issued by Kumāravishnu II, son of Buddha-varman, grandson of Kumāravishnu I and great-grandson of Skanda-varman It is not known whether Skanda-varman of the Chendalur grant is the same as the Pallava king of that name mentioned in the British Museum grant but the identification is not improbable It is also possible that Kumāra-vishnu I and Buddha-varman of the Chendalur record are

identical with Kumāravishṇu, conqueror of Kāñchī, and Buddha-varman, mentioned in a later record of the family as "the sub-marine fire to the Choḷa army." But whether Kumāravishnu I captured Kāñchī from a member of his own family or from enemies such as the Choḷas, who may have temporarily occupied the city, cannot be ascertained. Kumāravishṇu II could not have possibly ruled later than the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Udayendiram grant was issued by Nandivarman, son of Skanda-varman (III), grandson of Siṁha-varman I and great-grandson of Skanda-varman (II). King Siṁha-varman and his son Skanda-varman (III) are mentioned in the Gaṅga records, such as the Penu-konda grant, as having respectively installed on the throne the Gaṅga king Hari-varman[1] and his son Mādhava-Siṁha-varman (apparently named after his father's Pallava overlord who might have been his maternal grandfather). This Siṁha-varman Pallava seems to be mentioned in the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. The date of the composition of this work is given as the 22nd regnal year of Simha-varman lord of the Pallavas, corresponding to the year 380 of the Śaka era (A.D. 458). Pallava Siṁha-varman thus ruled from 436 to at least A D 458 The four generations of the Pallava kings of Kāñchī mentioned in the Udayendiram grant may therefore be assigned to the period between the first quarter of the fifth and that of the sixth century.

The king of Kāñchī called Chandadanda came into conflict with the Kadamba king Ravi-varman about the first quarter of the sixth century Whether Chaṇḍadanda was a *viruda* of Nandi-varman of the Udayendiram grant or of one of his immediate successors is not known But a Pallava king named Śānti-varman is known to have been the overlord of Kadamba Vishnu-varman whom Ravi-varman killed[2] It is most probable that Chandadaṇḍa was a *viruda* of king Śānti-varman

The Greater Pallava king Mahendra-varman I, who ascended the throne about the beginning of the seventh century, is known to have been preceded by his father Simhavishnu and grandfather Siṁha-varman Whether this Siṁha-varman was a king of Kāñchī, and whether he was a direct descendant of Nandi-varman of the Udayendiram grant, cannot be determined The Vāyalūr list of the Pallava kings, which is worthless as regards the earlier names but may be of value as to the names immediately preceding those of the Greater Pallavas, places three kings, *viz* Siṁha-varman Siṁha-varman, and Vishṇugopa, between Nandi-varman (of the Udayen-diram grant) and Simha-varman, grandfather of Mahendra-varman I.

1 See above, p 258 2 See above p 273

But the non-mention of Śānti-varman-Chaṇḍadaṇḍa seems to render even this part of the list extremely doubtful (cf. Genealogical Table No. 2 at the end of this Chapter).

4. *A Collateral Line of the Pallavas*

Side by side with the house of Kāñchī there ruled at least one collateral branch of the Pallava family in the northern part of the dominions of the Pallava monarchs, known from the Prakrit records. Rulers of this branch, who are known from their Sanskrit charters, flourished, roughly speaking, in the period A.D. 375-575.

The fragmentary Darsi grant was issued by a Pallava king from his residence at Daśanapura (Darsi in Nellore District). The only other known fact about this ruler is that his great-grandfather was king Vīrakūrcha-varman. Next in point of date comes the Omgodu grant (No 1) issued from Tāmbrāpa in the 33rd regnal year of king Skanda-varman (II), son of Vīra-varman, grandson of Skanda-varman (I) and great-grandson of Kumāravishṇu who also performed the Aśvamedha like Sivaskanda-varman. It is not improbable that this northern Pallava house was founded by a Pallava viceroy of the Kāñchī king shortly after the latter had been routed by Samudragupta. If such were the case, Kumāravishṇu's Aśvamedha probably indicated revival of the fallen fortunes of the family at least in the northern part of the empire.

Vishnugopa or Vishṇugopa-varman, son of Skanda-varman II, probably remained a crown-prince even during the reign of his son Simha-varman when he issued his Uruvupalli grant from Palakkaḍa, *Dharmamahārāja* Siṁha-varman, whose latest known date is his 10th regnal year, issued his grants from places like Menmātura and Daśanapura. The last known member of the house was Vishṇugopa-varman II, who was the son of Siṁha-varman and issued the Chura or Narasaraopet grant from Pālotkata (Palakkaḍa). The house was probably supplanted by the Greater Pallava king Siṁhavishṇu about the last quarter of the sixth century. The names of the rulers of this line appear to have been confused with those of the Kāñchī house in the traditional lists of Pallava kings found in the early medieval records (cf Genealogical Table No. 3 at the end of this Chapter).

5. *Mahendra-varman and His Successors*

Although Mahendra-varman I and his successors, unlike some of their contemporaries, did not date their records according to any era, their chronology can be fairly fixed on the strength of their relations with the Chālukya kings of Bādāmi, whose dates are known As noted above, both Mahendra-varman I and his son

Narasiṁha-varman were contemporaries of the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II.

Narasiṁha-varman I captured Bādāmi, where there is an inscription supposed to be dated in his 13th regnal year, and assumed the title Vātāpikoṇḍa, i.e. conqueror of Bādāmi. The Ceylonese prince Māna-varman is known to have helped the Pallava monarch in defeating the Vallabha king, i.e. Pulakeśin II, about A.D. 642 and succeeded with Narasiṁha-varman's help in securing the Ceylonese throne about A.D. 668.

The Gadval grant of Vikramāditya I, which is supported by other Chālukya records, shows that the Chālukya king, after having defeated the Pallavas and capturing Kāñchī, encamped at Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly) to the south of the Kāverī on the 25th of April, A.D. 674. It is also said that, to recover the lost empire of his father, Vikramāditya I had to fight with the Pallava kings Narasiṁha-varman I, his son Mahendra-varman II, and his grandson Īśvara or Parameśvara-varman I. As Narasiṁha-varman I succeeded his father some time (probably 13 years) before A D 642-43, as his grandson Parameśvara-varman I was already on the throne in April A D. 674, and as the accession of Māna-varman can hardly be placed earlier than A D. 668, the reigns of Narasiṁha-varman I and Mahendra-varman II may roughly be assigned to the periods A D 630-68 and A D. 668-70 respectively

Parameśvara-varman I claims to have defeated Vikramāditya (Chālukya Vikramāditya I) and destroyed the city of Ranarasika (Vikramāditya I), i e. the Chālukya capital Bādāmi These successes must have been achieved after April, A.D 674 Parameśvara-varman I was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha-varman II for whose reign we have a definite date According to the *Ts'o-fou-yuan-Kouei*, a Chinese encyclopaedia compiled about A D 1013, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasiṁha), king of the kingdom of South India, sent an embassy to China in A D 720 He proposed to the Chinese emperor his readiness to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Tajikas or Arabs) as well as the T'ou-po (Tibetans) and others Moreover, he asked that a suitable name be given to his army The Chinese emperor is said to have been pleased and conferred the name "the army which cherished virtue' to Narasiṁha's forces [1] According to another passage, the emperor a few months later sent an ambassador to confer by brevet the title of "the king of the kingdom of South India" on king Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kia-pao-to-pa-mo (Śrī-Narasiṁhapota-varman, the typical Pallava form of the king's

1 K A N Sastri *Foreign Notices of South India* pp 116-17

name). According to the *Kieou-T'ang-chou*, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kia-to-pa, king of South India, constructed in the same year a temple for the Chinese; and the emperor was pleased to give it the name "which causes return to virtue." These Chinese notices show that Pallava Narasiṁha-varman II continued to rule at least till A.D. 720. But he did not probably live much longer. His son and successor Parameśvara-varman II ruled at least up to A.D. 730 as Chālukya Vikramāditya II, still a *yuvarāja*, claims to have levied tribute from him at Kāñchī in the year 25 of Vijayāditya or shortly before it.[1] Roughly speaking, therefore, the reigns of Parameśvara-varman I, Narasiṁha-varman II and Parameśvara-varman II may be assigned respectively to the periods A D 670-95, A.D. 695-722 and A.D 722-30

It is probable that Parameśvara-varman II was the king of Kāñchī killed by the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha (who ascended the throne in A D 725 but was still ruling in A.D 788) at the battle of Vilaide The Ganga claims to have won for himself the Pallava umbrella (insignia of royalty) and the title Permānaḍi According to the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple inscription, the Pallava kingdom was destroyed on the death of Parameśvara-varman II and anarchy prevailed, when nobody was willing to assume the reins of government A deputation consisting of the Mātras, Mūlaprakritis and others waited on *Mahārāja* Hiranya-varman (a ruling chief belonging to the Pallava family) who asked the chief potentates as well as his own sons if any of them would accept kingship All of them refused, with the exception of Hiranya-varman's 12 year old son *Nandi-varman Pallavamalla* Hiranya-varman was persuaded to risk his son in the perilous undertaking and Pallavamalla ascended the throne These facts may point to the genuineness of Śrīpurusha's claim (Cf Genealogical Table No 4 at the end of this Chapter)

6 *Nandi-varman Pallavamalla*

We have seen that Narasiṁha-varman II ruled in A D. 720 and that his son and successor Parameśvara-varman II ruled at least up to A D 730 and might have died in a war with Ganga Śrīpurusha (acc A D 725) Thus Nandi-varman Pallavamalla could not have begun to rule earlier than A D 730

The precise date of Nandi-varman's accession may be determined by considering his relations with Vijayāditya's son Vikramāditya II (A D. 733-45) who claims to have invaded the Tuṇḍāka country (Pallava territory), defeated his natural enemy the Pallava who was king Nandipota-varman and captured Kāñchī. The occupation of the Pallava capital by Chālukya Vikramāditya II is proved

1 According to the newly discovered Ulchala Ins of Vijayāditya, year 35 (*Ancient India* No 5, p. 51)

by his inscription found in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Conjeeveram. Another inscription discovered in Nellore District is dated in the 15th regnal year of Nandipotaraśar (Nandipotarāja, *i.e.* Nandivarman Pallavamalla) and records gift of gold to the Subrahmaṇya temple at Tirubānbūr made by certain persons as *ājñaptis* or executors of the Chālukiaraśar (Chālukyarāja) at the instance of the Āḷuparaśar (Āḷuparāja). There is little doubt that this Chālukya king was no other than Vikramāditya II, the Āḷupa rulers having been the feudatories of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. Thus the 15th regnal year of Nandi-varman falls some time in A.D 733-45, the reign period of Vikramāditya II, and this shows that the accession of the Pallava king could not have taken place later than A D. 730-31. It would thus appear that Nandi-varman ascended the throne in A.D 730. As his latest known date is his 65th regnal year, his reign ended not earlier than A.D 795 but possibly some time later. In any case, Nandi-varman Pallavamalla's reign must have come to a close some time before A D. 804 when his son Dantiga or Danti-varman was already on the throne of Kāñchī according to a Rāshtrakūta record

GENEALOGY

1. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas of the Prakrit records

1. Simha-varman (end of the third century)

2 Śivaskanda-varman (beginning of the fourth century)

3. Skanda-varman (about the second quarter of the fourth century)

Buddha-varman
|
Buddhyankura

4 Vishnugopa (third quarter of the fourth century).

2. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas of Kāñchī known from the Sanskrit charters.

3 Skanda-varman I
|

Buddha-varman
|
(Buddhyankura)

4 Vishnugopa (third quarter of the fourth century)

5 Kumāravishnu I
|
6 Buddha-varman
|
7. Kumāravishnu II (beginning of the fifth century)

8. Skanda-varman II
|
9 Simha-varman A D 436-58
|

10. Skanda-varman III
11. Nandi-varman I
12 Śānti-varman Chaṇḍadaṇḍa (beginning of the sixth century
13 Simha-varman (c A D 550-575)
14. Simhavishnu (c. A.D. 575-600)
15 Mahendra-varman I (c. A.D. 600-30)

3. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas (c. A D 375-585) of the Nellore-Guntur region.

1 Vīrakūcha-varman
2 Kumāravishnu
3 Skanda-varman I
4 Vīra-varman I
5 Skanda-varman II
Vishnugopa-varman I
6 Simha-varman
7 Vishnugopa-varman II

4 Tentative genealogy of the Greater Pallavas.

1 Simha-varman (c 550-575)
2 Simhavishnu (c 575-600)
3 Mahendra-varman I (c 600-30)
4 Narasimha-varman I (c 630-68)
5 Mahendra-varman II (c A D 668-70)
6 Parameśvara-varman I (c 670-95)
7 Narasimha-varman II (c 695-722)
8 Parameśvara-varman II (c 722-30)
9. Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla (c A D 730-796)

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CHAPTER XIV

CEYLON

After the death of king Mahāsena (A.D. 334-362)[1] of the Lambakarṇa clan, whose history has been dealt with above,[2] his son Śrīmeghavarṇa became king of Ceylon. The new ruler, who was a virtuous man, pacified the Buddhist monks and repaired or reconstructed the monasteries and other buildings that had been damaged or destroyed by his father. In the ninth year of his reign, Buddha's tooth-relic is said to have been brought from Kaliṅga and consecrated in a temple in Ceylon. Śrīmeghavarṇa is no doubt the same as Chi-mi-kia-po-mo ("cloud of merit") who, according to Wang-hiuen-tse's *Hing-Tchoan*, sent two monks to the court of the Indian king San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to or Samudra-gupta, to secure permission for building a monastery at Gayā.[3] Śrīmeghavarna was succeeded by Jyeshṭhatishya, who was either his younger brother or his brother's youngest son and was a skilled carver in ivory. The next ruler was Jyeshthatishya's son Buddhadāsa who was a pious man and treated his subjects as if they were his children. Buddhadāsa is represented in the chronicles as a great healer of diseases and is said to have appointed physicians to provide for the cure of the

1 A word of explanation is necessary for the scheme of chronology followed in this chapter. The Pali chronicle entitled *Mahāvamsa* (with its supplement the *Chūlavamsa*) and the Singhalese chronicles such as the *Rājāvaliya*, *Pūjāvaliya*, *Nikāyasangrahaya* and *Rājaratnākaraya* as well as the *Narendracharitāvalokana-pradīpikā* often contradict one another, and their dates for the earlier kings, when applied to the Buddha-nirvāna era of 544 B.C., now prevalent in Ceylon, are not convincing and are sometimes contradicted by other evidence such as that derived from Chinese sources. The researches of Geiger and others have removed some of these difficulties, and Fleet's suggestion that in early times 483 B.C. was regarded in the island as the epoch of the Buddha-nirvāna era is now usually accepted. But even then inexact reference to a king's rule in a round number of years or to his death in a particular regnal year (without mention of months and days) stands in the way of reconstructing a definite chronological table of the kings mentioned in the chronicles. In the following pages, Geiger's approximate chronology has been followed down to the reign of Mahānāga, and the reign (nine years) of Lamāni Singanā, who is not mentioned in the *Chūlavamsa* and was probably a collateral ruling chief, has been omitted. This has been done to rectify Geiger's error of about nine years in regard to the accession of Mānavarman. According to Geiger, Mānavarman ascended the throne in A.D. 676, although his accession could hardly have taken place much later than A.D. 668. From the reign of this king, therefore, we have followed the more reliable chronology proposed by Hultzsch. It may also be pointed out that Geiger's date for Jagatipāla is almost certainly wrong. On the other hand a slight modification of one year has been introduced in the chronology proposed by Hultzsch from the reigns of Mahendra I and Agrabodhi VI downwards. This is mainly because his dates for the accession of Mahendra V and Vijayabâhu appear to be too early at least by one year if not by two years.

2 Vol II, p 241

3 See p 11, where the date given for Meghavarna is based on Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p xxxix

sick in different parts of the kingdom. The ascetic Mahādharmakathin translated the Buddhist Sūtras in the Ceylonese language during this reign. He was very probably the same as Ta-mo-kiu-ti, mentioned as a contemporary by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien who stayed in Ceylon about A.D. 411-12. The chronology followed in these pages seems to indicate that the monk survived king Buddhadāsa. Buddhadāsa was succeeded by his eldest son Upatishya whose reign was seriously disturbed by a famine and an epidemic.[1] Upatishya was murdered by his queen who later married his brother and successor Mahānāman (A D. 409-31). During Mahānāman's rule, the celebrated Buddhist writer Buddhaghosha, an inhabitant of Magadha, reached Ceylon where he lived for a number of years. Tradition ascribes Buddhaghosha's landing in Ceylon to a date probably corresponding to A D. 412-13 According to Chinese sources, Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan (Mahānāman of Ceylon) sent a letter to the Chinese imperial court in A.D 428.

After a rule of twenty-two years Mahānāman was murdered by his son Svastisena, who was himself murdered the same day by his step-sister whose husband was raised to the throne. The new king died soon and one Mitrasena became king with the help of a minister Soon after his accession, Mitrasena was killed by a Damila (Dravida or Tamil) named Pāṇḍya who came from the coast of South India and probably belonged to the Pāṇḍya royal family of Madurā When North Ceylon was conquered by the Damilas, Ceylonese nobles fled to Rohaṇa in the southern part of the island. Pāṇḍya and his five Damila successors ruled for about 27 years (A.D. 433-60), and then a Ceylonese chief named Dhātusena (A D. 460-78), who belonged to the Moriya (Mayūra) clan, expelled the foreigners and became ruler of the island. Buddhism does not appear to have been patronised by the Damila kings; but Dhātusena reinstalled the old order. He built an exceptionally large number of monasteries, dug tanks, and founded numerous other institutions. Dhātusena's rule ended in a disaster. His eldest son Kāśyapa (A.D. 478-96), who rebelled against his father, took him prisoner and usurped the throne.[2] The old king was murdered after a rule of 18 years In the 18th regnal year of Kāśyapa himself, his brother Maudgalyāyana,

1 Geiger believes that the change from the old era of 483 B C to the new one of 544 B C falls in the earliest period dealt with in the *Chūlavamsa* covering the reign of Śrīmeghavarna down to that of Upatishya I. The four kings *viz* Śrīmeghavarna, Jyeshṭhatishya II, Buddhadāsa and Upatishya I, are assigned in the *Chūlavamsa*, reigns respectively covering 28, 9, 29 and 42 years (altogether 108 years) Geiger is inclined to believe that these four kings actually ruled for 47 years, but that their reigns have been expanded by 61 years in order to reconcile the old era of 483 B C with the new one of 544 B C

2 Kāśyapa had no claim to the throne as his mother was not the chief queen of his father Maudgalyāyana was the lawful claimant for the throne

who had fled to India, came back to the island with an Indian contingent and many people assembled under his banner. In the struggle that followed, Kāśyapa lost his life and his brother Maudgalyāyana (A.D. 496-513) became king of Laṅkā. There is a Chinese notice referring to king Kia-che Kai-lo-ha-li-ya who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D. 527. *Kia-che* no doubt indicates the name Kāśyapa; but it has been suggested that the king of Ceylon here referred to is the same as a later ruler named Śilākāla.

Maudgalyāyana is said to have freed the island from the danger of hostile attacks from India by instituting a guard for the sea-coast. He was a pious ruler who presented his umbrella, the royal insignia, to the Buddhist Sangha in token of his submission to the church. Maudgalyāyana died in the 17th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Kumāradāsa or Kumāradhātusena (A.D 513-22). Some writers believe that Kumāradāsa sent an envoy to China in A.D. 515, but the belief seems to be based on a misunderstanding. A doubtful Ceylonese tradition of a later date identifies this king with Kumāradāsa, author of the celebrated poem *Jānakīharaṇa*. Keith, however, points out that the date of the poem is later than that of the *Kāśikāvṛitti* composed about the middle of the seventh century Kumāradāsa was succeeded after a rule of about nine years by his son Kīrtisena who was soon deposed by his maternal uncle Śiva. This usurper of the throne was soon after killed by Upatishya (A.D 522-24) who was the husband of Maudgalyāyana's sister and belonged to the Lambakarṇa clan Upatishya was succeeded shortly after by his rebellious son Śilākāla (A D 524-37) whose accession to the throne, according to a tradition in the *Rājaratnākaraya*, took place 1088 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa and 852 years after the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon. Śilākāla would thus appear to have become king in the year 1089 of the Buddha-nirvāṇa era of Ceylon corresponding to A D 545. According to some writers, the date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla canon (actually a Vetulla work possibly entitled *Dhammadhātu*), which tradition assigns to the king's 12th regnal year. But even this emendation does not suit the chronology of Geiger who, therefore, assumes an error in the tradition. Śilākāla made his eldest son Maudgalyāyana governor of the Eastern Province, while his second son Daṁshṭrāprabhūti was made the governor of the central mountainous country called Malaya and also of the Southern Province. When the king died in the 13th year of his reign, Daṁshtrāprabhūti seized the throne, but lost his life shortly after in a struggle with Maudgalyāyana, who next became king.

Maudgalyāyana II (A.D. 537-56), a poet of considerable merit, was a pious ruler, loved by his subjects. After a rule of about 20 years, this king died and his son Kīrtiśrīmegha ascended the throne. He ruled for a few days during which the queen-mother mismanaged the affairs of the state. This encouraged Mahānāga, a rebellious officer of Rohaṇa in South Ceylon, to advance against the king. Mahānāga (A.D. 556-59) occupied the throne after having killed Kīrtiśrīmegha and made his own sister's son Agrabodhi the *Uparāja* or sub-king. After about three years Mahānāga died and was succeeded by Agrabodhi (A D. 559-92),[1] who was the builder of several monasteries, dug the Kurunduvava and Mihintale taṇks, and founded numerous religious establishments and charitable institutions. Agrabodhi encouraged writing poems in the Ceylonese language. He conferred the dignity of *Mahādipāda* (title of the heir to the throne) on his sister's son, also called Agrabodhi, and died in the 34th year of his reign. During the reign of Agrabodhi II (A D 592-602), who dug the Kantalai ànd Giritale tanks, a prince of Kaliṅga and his queen came to Ceylon where they underwent the ceremony of world renunciation under the celebrated Buddhist teacher Jyotiḥpāla The migration of the Kalinga prince cannot possibly be associated with the Chālukya occupation of southern Kalinga under Pulakeśin II as the latter event took place shortly before A.D. 630-31. Agrabodhi II is said to have dedicated his kingdom and person to the relic shrine of Buddha. He died in the 10th year of his reign.

The next ruler was Saṅghatishya, who was a younger brother of Agrabodhi II according to some sources, although he may have been a relation of the latter's queen. A general of Agrabodhi II, named Maudgalyāyana, revolted against the new king's authority at Rohana in·the Southern Province shortly after his accession In the struggle that followed, Saṅghatishya was killed and Maudgalyāyana III (A.D. 602-08) became king, Jyeshṭhatishya, son of Saṅghatishya, having fled for his life. After a rule of about six years, the new king was himself killed by another rebel named Śilāmeghavarna (A.D 608-17) who occupied the northern part of the island together with the capital. By open generosity, Śilāmeghavarṇa won the heart of all classes of people But a general named Śrīnāga, who was a brother of king Saṅghatishya's queen, fled to South India and came back with a large army of Damilas (Tamils) to conquer the Northern Province now under Śilāmeghavarṇa. The

1 Certain Singhalese chronicles place the rule of a king named Lāmāni Singānā covering nine years between the reign of Mahānāga and that of Agrabodhi We have omitted this reign for reasons stated in footnote 1 (p 284) and have closed up the succeeding reigns.

by his son Agrabodhi VI Śilāmeghavarṇa (A.D. 719-59). According to a Chinese account, an Indian monk named Vajrabodhi, on his way from China to India, touched Ceylon where he was invited in A.D. 718-19 by king Chi-li-chi-lo, *i.e.* Śrīśilā, apparently an abbreviation of the name Śrī-Śilāmeghavarṇa. The king may have been the same as Agrabodhi VI Śilāmegha according to the scheme of chronology followed in these pages, although he is identified by Geiger with Kāśyapa III who is supposed to have assumed the same surname. From Chinese sources we also know that king Chi-lo-mi-kia, *i.e.* Śilāmegha or Śilāmeghavarna sent two embassies to the Chinese court in the years A.D. 742 and 746. There is little doubt that this king was Agrabodhi VI Śilāmeghavarṇa.

GENERAL REFERENCES

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was a position of trust carrying with it certain rights, apparently a share in the government The northern part of the island was called the Rājarāshṭra (the king's province), but the Southern Province is often described as the *Yuva-rāja-rāshtra* while the territorial division *Māyā rāshtra* (to the south of the Northern Province) is believed to stand for *Mahadipāda-rāshtra* A younger son of the king was often given the dignity of *Malaya-rāja* (lord of Malaya in the mountainous region of Central Ceylon)

CHAPTER XV

LITERATURE

I. SANSKRIT

The political unity and prosperity of India under the Guptas, combined with the staunch patronage that they extended to Sanskrit learning, resulted in the flourishing of Sanskrit literature in all its branches. The period under review saw the full development of the Purāṇas and the last phase of the Smriti literature. Possibly the Epics also got their final touches and received their present shape during this age. But the most important developments took place in secular literature. It may be fairly stated that it is this period that produced the best authors in almost all branches of literature, including even sciences like Astronomy and Mathematics. This is evident from the fact that dramatists and poets like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi and Māgha, prose writers like Daṇḍin, Subandhu, and Bāna, rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, grammarians like Chandra, Vāmana, and Bhartṛihari, lexicographers like Amara, philosophers like Gaudapāda, Kumārila, and Prabhākara, and astronomers like Āryabhata, Varāhamihira, and Brahmagupta, all flourished during this period which may, therefore, be aptly described as the "Golden Age" of Sanskrit literature. It was at one time held by some scholars that there was a revival or renaissance of Sanskrit literature during the Gupta Age. This can no longer be regarded as technically correct. For Sanskrit literature was never altogether eclipsed and its influence continued throughout the centuries preceding the Gupta Age. This is proved by the writings of Bhasa and Aśvaghosha referred to above.[1] The inscriptions of the Gupta period such as the Allāhābād Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Mandasor inscription of Vatsabhatti (A D 437) also clearly show that the high-flown Kāvya style was already in a mature state as early as the fourth or fifth century A D. There was undoubtedly an efflorescence, but not a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in the Gupta Age. We shall now proceed to give a short account of the different branches.

1 THE PURĀNAS

In the older Vedic literature the word "*purāṇa*" usually occurs in connection with "*itihāsa*", and originally it seems to have meant

[1] Vol II pp 258 ff

simply "old narrative" without any special significance as to the character of the narrative. According to the classical definition, however, a *purāṇa* is supposed to deal with five topics (*pañcha-lakshaṇa*), *viz.* (1) *sarga* or creation of the universe; (2) *pratisarga* or re-creation after destruction; (3) *vaṁśa* or genealogy; (4) *manvantara* or the great periods of time with Manu as the primal ancestor; and (5) *vaṁśānucharita* or the history of the dynasties, both solar and lunar. But the texts that have come down to us under the title Purāṇa hardly conform to this definition since they contain either something more or something less than the limitations set by it. If it be assumed that the definition was based on the contents of actual texts, then *prima facie* it would appear that the present Purāṇas are mutilated or revised versions of older texts.

The Purāṇas themselves state their number to be eighteen. They are in most cases enumerated as follows. *Brahma, Padma, Vishṇu, Śiva* or *Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhavishya, Brahmavaivarta, Linga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa,* and *Brahmāṇḍa* The *Padma Purāṇa* classifies these texts according to the three Guṇas and ascribes them to one or the other principal deity. Thus the *Vishṇu, Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma,* and *Varāha,* are Vishṇuite *sāttvika* Purānas, and as such lead to salvation; the *Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhavishya, Vāmana,* and *Brahma* are the *rājasa* texts devoted to Brahman and secure only heaven for their readers; lastly the *Matsya, Kūrma, Linga, Śiva, Skanda,* and *Agni* are Śaivite and styled as *tāmasa* It is surprising to note that these latter are regarded as leading to hell.

The *Brahma Purāna,* which is also called the *Ādi Purāṇa,* due to the place it occupies in the lists, is narrated by Sūta to the sages that had assembled in the Naimisha forest. The major portion of the work is devoted to the glorification of sacred places, and a large section deals with the Krishṇa legends It also contains a good deal of matter that is common to all the Purānas—the legends of creation of the world, of Manu and his descendants, of the kings of solar and lunar dynasties and descriptions of the earth and hell. At the end, there are a few chapters dealing with the *śrāddhas,* the duties of the castes and *āśramas,* and the rewards of Vishṇu worship.

The *Padma Purāna* has come down to us in two recensions of which the Bengali recension consisting of five books is older than the Ān SS No 28 consisting of six books. Besides the usual accounts of creation, genealogies, and glorifications, the Purāna contains numerous myths and legends including those of Śakuntalā, Purūravas, Rāma, and Rishyaśringa. The genealogical account of this

Purāṇa agrees with that of the *Matsya*. The last book gives an account of the incarnations of Vishṇu. Some of the books of the longer version contain chapters glorifying the Gaṇeśa and Śiva cults.

Of all the Purāṇas the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* appears to have preserved the original text more faithfully, since it more or less satisfies the classical definition of a Purāṇa. It declares Vishṇu to be the highest being and the sole creator and preserver of the world. The first book gives the usual account of the creation of the world, of gods and demons, etc. Among the narratives and myths that it contains mention may be made of the churning of the ocean, and of Dhruva and Prahlāda. The next book gives all sorts of fantastic descriptions of this world, the nether-worlds, and the heavens. In the third book we find an account of the Manus and the ages (*manvantaras*). The fourth book gives, in general agreement with the *Vāyu* account, the genealogical lists of the solar and lunar dynasties and a prophecy on the Kali age, which is described in the last book. The intervening fifth book speaks of the divine Kṛishna and his marvellous adventures.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which is referred to by Bāna in his *Harshacharita*, may also be said to have preserved much of the original text. Besides the usual matter, it contains many legends in glorification of Śiva whence its second name *Śiva Purāṇa*. The *Nārada Purāṇa*, on the other hand, propagates the Vishṇu cult and has a purely sectarian character. It does not contain the usual creation accounts and the genealogies.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the most popular in this class of literature, though chronologically it belongs to a very late period. Doubts have been expressed in India and elsewhere as regards the genuineness of this Purāna, and some scholars have ascribed it to the grammarian Vopadeva. It contains twelve books of which the tenth, devoted to the life of Kṛishna, is widely read. The other parts contain the usual Purāna material It is important to note that Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system, and Buddha appear as incarnations of Vishṇu in this Purāṇa.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, in which the sage Mārkaṇḍeya appears as the narrator, is one of the oldest in Purāṇa literature. In some of the sections neither Vishnu nor Śiva is glorified, but the Vedic deities like Indra, Agni, and Sūrya receive attention. It is mainly narrative in character, and is comparatively free from the sectarian element which so often predominates in the other Purāṇas.

The *Agni Purāṇa* is so called because Agni himself is supposed to have narrated it to Vasishṭha. Essentially it is a Śaivite work dealing with the cult of Liṅga, Durgā and Ganeśa. On account of

the variety of its subject-matter—astronomy and astrology, geography and politics, law and medicine, metrics and grammar, marriage and death customs, etc.—it has an almost encyclopædic character.

From the title of the *Bhavishya Purāna* one would expect to find in it different prophecies In fact, however, it mostly describes the Brahmanical rites, duties of castes, and so on The solar priests Bhojaka and Maga are mentioned in connection with the sun-worship of Śākadvīpa which is related to the Zoroastrian sun and fire cult.[1] The extant work is not the original Purāṇa of that name; and, as has been shown by Th. Aufrecht, the text which appeared in Bombay in 1897 in the Śrīveṅkata press is a 'literary fraud'.[2] The *Bhavishya Purāna* is mentioned in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[3] and hence the original Purāna may go back to the fourth century B C. But the later *Bhavishya Purāna* from which the *Matsya, Vāyu*, and the *Brahmānda* copied their accounts existed only in the third century A D[4] The *Brahmavaivarta Purāna* shows Brahman to be the creator of the world The second book shows *prakriti* resolving itself into five goddesses—Durgā, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā That this Purāna is devoted to Krishna can be seen not only from the last book which describes the life of the god, but also from the fact that the third book regards Gaṇeśa as the incarnation of Krishna.

The *Linga* and the varānas do not fit in with the original sense of the word Purāna and seem to be the creations of a later age The former is composed under the influence of the Tantras, and teaches the worship of Śiva especially in the form of a *linga*. The latter is mainly intended to be a manual for Vishnu-worshippers, though it contains legends of Siva, Durgā, and Ganesa.

The ancient *Skanda Purāna* is probably entirely lost to us. What remains of it is only the name to which extensive works, said to be the Samhitās or the Khaṇḍas of the original Purāna, and numerous Māhātmyas claim allegiance By some of the offshoots of this work we are informed that the *Skanda Purāna* consisted of six Saṁhitās teaching the worship of Śiva. The famous *Kāśi Khanda* belonging to this Purāna deals with the sanctity of the city of Banaras and narrates various legends connected with the origin of the temples and *tīrthas* round about the city. A single ancient Manuscript of this text in Gupta characters, belonging to the seventh century A D, was found by Haraprasāda Sāstrī; but even this does not agree with the five characteristics of a Purāna.

1. D R Bhandarkar, EI, IX p 279
2. ZDMG, LVII, pp 276 ff
3. II 9 242-6
4. Pargiter, AIHT, pp 50-51.

Similarly the *Vāmana Purāṇa* can hardly be accepted as the original work bearing that name. A considerable portion is devoted to Liṅga-worship and there are many legends about Śiva and Umā, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. Of the four Saṁhitās which constitute the *Kūrma Purāṇa* only the first has come down to us under that title. Here Vishṇu in the form of a tortoise (Kūrma) narrates the Purāṇa to king Indradyumna. It no doubt treats of the five themes of a Purāṇa, but there are many of the usual Puranic additions.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* is one of those few Purāṇas which have preserved most of the original matter. It is written in the form of a conversation between the fish (*matsya*) and Manu whom the former saves at the time of the great flood. As in the case of the other Purāṇas even this work tells many legends, such as those of Yayāti and Sāvitrī, and gives account of various festivals and rites, and glorification of sacred places.

In the *Garuda Purāṇa* more emphasis is laid on various forms of Vishnu-worship. Like the *Agni Purāṇā*, this work too has assumed as encyclopædic form. "The contents of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* are retold, and there are sections on cosmography, astronomy, and astrology, omens and portents, chiromancy, medicine, metrics, grammar, knowledge of precious stones (*ratnaparīkshā*) and politics (*nīti*). A considerable portion of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* has been included."[1] Funeral rites and ancestor worship, as well as funeral sacrifices for a Satī, are also mentioned in this work.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* was proclaimed by Brahman in glorification of the Brahman-egg. It is also supposed to have contained an account of the future Kalpas. The extant manuscripts, however, hardly agree with this description, for they contain only glorification of places and hymns of praise. The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* is considered to be a part of this Purāṇa. It teaches Vedantic monism and devotion to Rāma as paths to salvation

Besides these Purāṇas there are certain texts called Upapurāṇas whose number is also stated to be eighteen. They are more or less the outcome of local cults and different religious sects. Among the works belonging to this class may be mentioned the *Vishnu-dharmottara* which is often quoted by Alberuni. It is a Vaishnava work from Kāshmir, and besides the usual themes it also deals with fine arts like dancing, singing, painting and sculpture, and numerous other subjects. Among other things the *Bṛihad-Dharma Purāna*

1. Winternitz, *HIL*, I, pp. 576-77.

mentions even Vālmīki and Vyāsa, besides Kapila and Buddha, as incarnations of Vishṇu. The *Kalki Purāṇa* describes the deeds of Vishṇu at the close of the Kali age.

The original authors of the Purāṇas, like those of the epics, were the Sūtas or the bards.[1] Thus it is that in almost all the Purāṇas the Sūta Lomaharshaṇa or his son Ugraśravas (the Sauti) appears as narrator. Later on, however, they fell into the hands of priests who were not well educated and lived on worship in temples or places of pilgrimage. These temple priests helped themselves by adding to the Purāṇas a great deal of new matter which served their own ends. Some of these additions have a local tinge so that "the *Brahma Purāṇa* may represent the Orissa version of the original work, just as the *Padma* may give that of Pushkara, the *Agni* that of Gayā, the *Varāha* that of Mathurā, the *Vāmana* that of Thāneswar, the *Kūrma* that of Banaras, and the Matsya that of Brāhmans on the Narmadā."[2] The present Purāṇas are thus more or less sectarian, carrying on propaganda in favour of a particular deity or a place sacred to that deity.

The importance of the Purānas for the development of later Hinduism can never be overrated. In fact "they afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, than any other works."[3] From the historical point of view the most important Purāṇas giving ancient royal genealogies are the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Matsya* and the *Vishṇu*[4] Besides these, some of the Purānas—and especially the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* —give also the genealogies of important Brāhmaṇa families, which are, however, defective These genealogies of kings and sages are the only available specimens of early historical works in Sanskrit literature, as has been mentioned above.[5]

According to the orthodox tradition recorded in the *Atharvaveda* and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* the Purāṇas are of divine

1 On the original nature of the Purānas, Pargiter observes as follows: "It is highly probable that they (i e Purānas) consisted at first mainly of ancient stories, genealogies, ballads, etc., which formed the popular side of ancient literature, and were quite probably in Prakrit originally In fact, it seems to me that they were largely in an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes, but that, as the spoken languages diverged in time more and more from Sanskrit through political vicissitudes, that literary Prakrit became unintelligible, while Sanskrit remained the only polished language of Brahmanic Hinduism Hence it was natural that this literature should be Sanskritized, if it was to be preserved. .' *DKA*, Intr p. xvii, footnote 2. For the theory that the Purānas were originally composed in Prakrits and later on turned into Sanskrit. cf. *op cit* pp x-xi, and App I. Contra, Pusalker, *Acharya Dhruva Comm. Vol*, Part III, pp 101-104.

2 *JBBRAS*, Centenary Memorial, Volume, p. 73.

3 Winternitz, *HIL*, I 529. 4 *AIHT*, p 77 5 Vol I, pp 47 f.

origin. Even in the Purāṇa texts the chief speaker, who is generally Lomaharshaṇa or his son Ugraśravas, is represented to have gathered his information through Vyāsa from the Creator himself.

Though the Purāṇa is mentioned in Vedic literature, the actual existence of the Purāṇas can be traced only from the Sūtra period onwards. Thus some of the Dharma Sūtras like that of Gautama enumerate the Purāṇas among the sources of law, while the *Āpastamba* refers to *Bhavishyat Purāṇa*. These and other references to *Purāṇa* in *Mahābhārata* seem to indicate that the original Purāṇas existed long before the Christian era.

That the present texts hardly represent the original Purāṇas can be inferred from the disparity between the old definition of the Purāṇas and their present contents. On the one hand, some of the Purāṇas largely ignore the five subjects mentioned in the definition, while on the other, the definition altogether ignores the common factor in all the existing Purāṇas, *viz.* their glorification of Śiva or Vishnu and places sacred to them, description of the duties of the castes and *āśramas*, and so on.

It has been held by some[1] that there was originally a single Purāṇa out of which the present texts have been evolved. While this may be doubted, it may be more reasonably surmised that several Purāṇa texts existed before the Christian era which, revised and modified in later times, gave rise to the modern texts. The principal object of this revision was to introduce the sectarian doctrines which had come into prominence and to add extensive chapters of Hindu rites and customs so as to make them authoritative works like the Dharmaśāstras. The Purāṇas may thus be regarded as a deliberate attempt to bring the theistic religions like Vaishṇavism and Śaivism within the pale of orthodoxy by combining the new doctrines with a respect for Vedic rituals, customs, and beliefs, specially the orthodox ideas of caste and order (Varṇāśrama). These had fallen into disuse or comparative neglect, partly on account of the rise of the new sectarian religions, which were all more or less anti-Vedic and anti-Brahmanical in their inception, and partly on account of the large influx of foreign elements in the Hindu population in the wake of the successive invasions of the Greeks, Parthians, Śakas, and Kushāṇas. Necessity was therefore felt of a new class of popular literature which would reconcile the moderate heterodox cults like Vaishṇavism and Śaivism to the old social customs and rituals as far as practicable. The Purāṇas were thus revised and modified in order to serve as the religious texts of that

1. Jackson, *JBBRAS*, Centenary Memorial Volume, pp 67 ff, Blau *ZDMG*, 62, p. 337; Pargiter, *AIHT* pp 33 ff, 49 ff

large section of the people who, though devoted worshippers of Śiva and Vishṇu, were at the same time too much attached to Vedas and Smṛitis or Dharmaśāstras, particularly the Varṇāśrama, to abandon them altogether for the sake of the new creed. Thus a new class of sectarians arose who may be called Smārta-Śaivas or Smārta-Vaishṇavas. They originated what may be called modern Hinduism and the growth in their number led to the mutilation and multiplication of Puranic texts.

Dr. Hazra[1] has made a painstaking analysis to show how the different sections, dealing with orthodox rites and customs in the manner of Smṛitis, were added to the different Purānas at widely varying periods. Although his conclusions cannot claim finality they may be regarded as the best working hypotheses for the present. The earliest and latest probable dates for such additions to some of the important Purānas according to his theory are as follows:

	Purāna	Date
1	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna	3rd to 5th cent A D. (some portions may be much later)
2	Brahmāṇḍa and	3rd to 5th cent. A.D.
3.	Vāyu Purānas	
4	Vishnu Purāna	3rd to 4th cent. A.D.
5	Bhāgavata Purāna	6th cent A D.
6.	Matsya Purāna	6th to 7th cent. A.D (some portions may be as late as A.D. 1000 or even later)

As Dr Hazra has pointed out, "there were two main stages in the development of the Puranic Smṛiti materials". In the first stage, between the third and fifth century A D., "the Purāṇas dealt only with those topics on Hindu rites and customs which formed the subject-matter of the early Smṛitis, like those of Manu and Yājña-valkya. In the next stage from about the sixth century A D., they dealt with new topics relating to gifts, glorification of holy places, *vrata* (vow), *pūjā* (popular worship), consecration of images, sacrifices to the planets and their appeasement, etc "

It would appear from what has been said above that the Purāna texts, *as we have them now*, were written at different periods It is difficult to fix their chronology, even with an approximate degree of certainty. The six Purāṇas, whose dates have been discussed above, were probably older than others, but as *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishnu*, and *Bhāgavata Purānas* mention the Guptas among the royal dynasties, they could not have been finally redacted before

1 *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Chs II-IV. A chronological table of the Smṛiti-chapters in the Purānas is given on pp 174-189.

the fourth century A.D. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* is, however, mentioned in *Harsha-charita* and was therefore earlier than the seventh century A.D. The same is probably the case with *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* as Bāṇa's *Chaṇḍīśataka* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* were probably inspired by the well-known section of this Purāna known as Devī-māhātmya or Chaṇḍī. As Alberuni mentions the eighteen Purānas, they must all have been in existence before A.D 1000, though there might have been additions and alterations in some of them at a later date.

2 DHARMAŚĀSTRA AND ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Reference has already been made[1] to some of the Dharmaśāstras which were probably compiled in or shortly before this age The most important Dharmaśāstra that can be definitely referred to this period is that of Kātyāyana to which a detailed reference will be made later in connection with Law and Legal Institutions His work, which may be dated between A D. 400 and 600, has not survived, and is known only from quotations. The same is also the case with the Smriti of Devala who was probably a contemporary of Kātyāyana Next in point of importance comes the work ascribed to Vyāsa which may be dated between A D. 200 and 500. The work comprises about 250 verses divided into four chapters From citations made by Aparārka and others it would appear that Vyasa also dealt with rules of procedure and *Vyavahārapadas* and that his doctrines in most respects agreed with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana, and Brihaspati The extant *Parāsara-smṛiti*, a recast of an older text, has several verses identical with Manu whose views it frequently quotes. By the ninth century it had attained considerable authority; so much so that it may be placed before A D 500 The *Brihatparāśara*, however, is only a later recast of the Smriti of Parāśara Pulastya, Pitāmaha and Hārita also wrote their works between A D 400 and 700 But our knowledge of these authors too does not extend beyond the quotations that we come across in other works on *Dharmaśāstra*.

The beginnings of the extensive exegetical activities of the commentators can also be traced to the closing years of this age which can claim to have produced at least one of the important commentators, *viz.* Asahāya, whose Bhāshya on the *Nārada-smriti* has been published From quotations elsewhere, it would appear that he commented on the works of Gautama and also of Manu Asahāya has been quoted by Medhātithi and may, therefore, be placed between A.D 600 and 700. The only notable work on Artha-

1 See Vol II, pp 254 ff

śāstra during this period is the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka who probably flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D.[1]

3. PHILOSOPHY

The principal systems of philosophy and their tenets are described in Chapter XVIII. The earliest work expounding the *Sāṅkhya* system that we have is the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛishṇa who is sought to be identified with Vindhyavāsa who corrected his master's views as expressed in the *Shashṭi-tantra* in a set of seventy verses which Vasubandhu criticized in his *Paramārthasaptati*.[2] This would make Īśvarakṛishṇa only an older contemporary of Vasubandhu, who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.[3] At any rate he cannot be later than 557-569 (and must be much earlier) when the *Kārikā* with a commentary was translated into Chinese. This work has been commented upon by Gauḍapāda whose identity with the author of the *Kārikās* on the *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad* is rather doubtful. There is also a commentary on this work by Vāchaspati, the versatile genius who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

The earliest commentary on the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali is that of Vyāsa who gives therein a standard exposition of the Yoga principles. He is probably earlier than Māgha. In the middle of the ninth century Vāchaspati wrote his *Tattvavaiśāradī* on Vyāsa's *Bhāshya*. Another important commentary on the Sūtras is the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* by Bhoja (c. A.D. 1000).

The *Nyāyasūtra*. The earliest expositor of the *Nyāyasūtra*—Pakshilasvāmin Vātsyāyana—may be referred to the middle of the fourth century A.D. in view of the fact that while he combats the views of Nāgārjuna, he is himself criticized by Diṅnāga from the Buddhistic point of view. The works of this Diṅnāga, the chief of the early Buddhistic logicians, are not extant, though most of them are still preserved for us in the Tibetan language into which they were translated. Diṅnāga's date can be fixed with tolerable certainty from the circumstance that he is said to have learnt the principles of the *Mahāyāna* school of Buddhism from Vasubandhu. Diṅnāga may, therefore, be dated a little earlier than c. A.D. 400 Vātsyāyana, in his turn, found a champion to uphold his views in Uddyotakara, a staunch *pāśupata* of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who flourished in the seventh century A.D. In his *Nyāyavārttika*, Uddyotakara has defended Vātsyāyana against the attacks of Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti composed his *Nyāyabindu* to defend Diṅnāga against Uddyotakara, who was probably his senior contemporary.[4]

1. Winternitz, *GIL*, III. 526. For further discussion about this work, cf. Ch XVI.
2 Keith, *HSL*, p. 488. 3. See p. 14, also n. 2.
4 Keith, *HSL*, p 308, and preface, p. xxii.

The *Nyāyabindu* was shortly afterwards commented upon by Dharmottara which again was commented upon by Mallavādin. Nor were the Jain authors unrepresented in the literature of this period. Divākara,[1] famous as a great poet and the first systematic writer on Jain logic, has written among other works a very valuable treatise on logic—the *Nyāyāvatāra* in thirty two stanzas. He stands between Haribhadra on the one hand and Dharmakīrti on the other, and may therefore be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. About a century later was composed the *Parīkshāmukhasūtra* of Māṇikyanandin who has based it on Akalaṅka's *Nyāyaviniśchaya*.

The *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* of Praśastapāda is much more than a mere commentary on the *Vaiśeshikasūtra* of Kaṇāda. It gives quite a new exposition of the subject-matter and makes important additions to the original work. Praśastapāda seems to have been influenced by Vātsyāyana or Diṅnāga and may therefore be placed in the fifth century A.D. All the commentators of Praśastapāda belong to the tenth century and later. The only other name to be noted here is that of Chandra whose *Daśapadārtha-śāstra* is preserved for us only in a Chinese version of A.D. 648.

The *Mīmāṁsā sūtra*[2] of Jaimini and the earliest extant *Bhāshya* thereon by Śabara have been assigned to the fourth century B.C. and first century B.C., respectively, by some, while others assign a somewhat later date. After Śabara we find this system branching into two main schools championed by, and named after, Prabhākara and Kumārila, to which, later on, a third school was added, that of Murārimiśra Kumārila, generally known as Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Ślokavārttika*, the *Tantravārttika*, and the *Ṭupṭīkā*, together forming his commentary on the *Bhāshya* of Śabara, is earlier than Śankara and may be assigned to the seventh century A.D

The other school was championed by Prabhākara, generally known as *Guru*. He is said to be earlier than Kumārila, and is known to have composed his *Bṛihatī*, a commentary on Śabara's *Bhāshya*, about A.D. 600. His pupil Śālikanātha refers to Dharmakīrti in his famous work, the *Prakaraṇapañchikā*, which is a popular manual of the Prābhākara system. His commentary on the *Bṛihatī* is known as *Ṛijuvimalā*.

Of the Vedānta writers only three great names belong to this age. Gauḍapāda,[3] the reputed *Paramaguru* (teacher's teacher) of Śaṅkara, is the first systematic exponent of monistic Vedānta. He

1 Better known as Siddhasena Divākara For his date, works, etc., see Dr P. L Vaidya's Intro. to his edition of the *Nyāyāvatāra*, Poona.
2 Radhakrishnan, *IP*, II, p 376.
3 For his date, works, etc, see Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, *Āgamaśāstra*, Introduction

is generally assigned to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Walleser,[1] however, would place him somewhere about A.D. 550 on the ground that a *Kārikā* from Gauḍapāda's work is quoted in the Tibetan translation of the *Tarkajvālā* of Bhavanātha. The identity of this author of the *Māṇḍūkyopanishat-kārikā* with his namesake, the commentator of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛishṇa, is doubtful.[2] The views expounded in these *Kārikās*, the phraseology used, the use of particularly Buddhistic technical terms and of the illustration of the Alāta-chakra to expound his theory create a strong impression that the author of the *Kārikās* was influenced by Buddhistic teachings and works. It is certain. however, that he was not a Buddhist Bhartṛihari's *Vākyapadīya* has been already noticed. From this work it would appear that his views were akin to those of Sankara though he frequently betrays his Buddhistic tendencies.

4. KĀLIDĀSA

We may begin the account of secular literature with Kālidāsa, the most brilliant luminary in the literary firmament of the Gupta Age who has shed lustre on the whole of Sanskrit literature He is by common consent the greatest poet and dramatist that ever lived in India, and his works have enjoyed a high reputation and popularity throughout the ages Yet, curiously enough, we know hardly anything about his life, and have no definite knowledge of the time when he flourished. As usual, numerous legends and anecdotes have gathered round his name, but they possess little historical value These represent him as an idiot in early life who later became a great poet through the grace of goddess Kālī, and died in Ceylon at the house of a *hetaera*. He is said to be one of the nine learned men (nine jewels) who graced the court of king Vikramāditya (or king Bhoja of Dhārā) It is, however, almost certain that the different scholars who are referred to as his associates could not all have been his contemporaries Most scholars regard as a historical fact his association with king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, and the deliberate change in the name of the hero of the *Vikramorvaśīyam* from Purūravas to Vikrama lends colour to it Some regard this Vikramāditya as the ruler who, according to well established traditions, defeated the Śakas in 58 B.C. and founded an era—the well-known Vikrama *saṁvat*—to commemorate this fact.[3] Most modern scholars, however, do not believe that there was any king Vikramāditya in 58 B C., or that Kālidāsa flourished at so early a period.

1 See Radhakrishnan, *IP*, II, p 452 n 2
2 Nor can the author of a commentary on the *Uttara-gītā* and also on *Durgā-saptaśatī* be identified with the author of the *Māṇḍūkya-Upanishat-Kārikā*.
3 See Vol II, Ch. X.

The general opinion seems to be that he lived at the court of a Gupta Emperor, most probably Chandra-gupta II, who was also known as Vikramāditya, and, having defeated the Śaka satraps, could well lay claim to the title Śakāri which is associated with the Vikramāditya of tradition. The only definite data about the date of Kālidāsa are that he must have flourished after Agnimitra (c. 150 B C), who is the hero of one of his dramas, and before A D. 634, the date of the famous Aihole Inscription which refers to him as a great poet. If, as is held by competent scholars, some verses in the Mandasor Inscription of A D. 473 indicate knowledge of Kālidāsa's works, the lower limit of his date may be fixed at about A.D. 450. The theory that Kālidāsa flourished in the Gupta Age is now generally accepted and is supported by various arguments, *viz.* that he borrowed from Aśvaghosha and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and revised *Setubandha* of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II, that his works contain veiled allusions to the names of Gupta Emperors, that he knew of the Hūna invasion, etc.[1] But these are all mere conjectures which do not carry conviction While it may be permissible to argue that "the balance of evidence suggests that the end of the fourth century A D. is the most probable date of the poet",[2] we must admit that the evidence adduced in support of it is neither definite, nor direct and decisive. The safest course is to hold that Kālidāsa flourished some time between 100 B.C. and A.D. 450

A close perusal of his works shows that Kālidāsa was a pious Brahmin of Ujjain and a liberal Śaiva by belief, who had acquired a knowledge of the various branches of Brahmanical learning and gathered vast experience by travelling far and wide throughout India. He shows his familiarity with the whole range of Vedic literature, the philosophical systems, especially the Sānkhya and Yoga, the various works on *Dharmaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra*, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Vyākarana*, *Jyotiḥśāstra*, and even fine arts like music, drawing, and painting His versatile genius, his acquaintance with court etiquette, his shrewdness, his modesty, not without a due sense of self-respect, and his poetic talent are very well reflected in his works which are all permeated with a feeling of ease and contentment—"perfect satisfaction with the existing order of things"

The best known work of Kālidāsa is his drama *Śākuntala* This play is, by common consent,[3] one of the best not only in

1 For detailed discussion of this problem and references, cf Mirashi, *Kālidāsa* (in Marathi), Nagpur, 1934, pp 9-41 For a recent attempt to justify the first century B C theory, see Prof K M Shembavanekar, *JUB* 1 4, pp 232-42 Dr C K Raja denies Kālidāsa's association with Vikramaditya and makes him a contemporary of king Agnimitra (*IHQ*, XVIII 128)

2 *NHIP*, VI p 405

3 Oldenberg, however, criticizes it severely Cf *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, Berlin. 1903, p 261 *AIIC*, p 311

Sanskrit literature, but in the literature of the world. Kālidasa has based the play on the story of Śakuntalā as found in the *Mahābhārata*, but he has breathed quite a new and vital spirit into it by introducing several slight but effective changes in the original and also by adding to it some altogether new characters and incidents of high dramatic power. Thus, for example, while the *Mahābhārata* shows Kaṇva as having gone out merely for fetching flowers etc., Kālidāsa sends him, on a plausible ground, further away, thus postponing his return to the hermitage to an indefinite future. Similarly in the original we find Śakuntalā herself narrating the story of her birth to the king and later on bargaining with him before accepting his suit. Kālidāsa, with his dramatic instinct, has made Anasūyā, a friend of Śakuntalā, narrate Śakuntalā's past (and that too with proper decorum), while the idea of bargaining has been altogether dropped, only to give us an exquisitely charming picture of the working of love in the heart of a young innocent maiden. The curse of the wrathful Durvāsas, the loss of the ring, the scene of the fisherman and the concluding portion of the play, which charm the audience by creating alternately an atmosphere of suspense and relief, are the product of Kālidāsa's genius. By these dramatic touches Kālidāsa has created a magnificent edifice out of the brick and mortar supplied by the *Mahābhārata*. He has succeeded, not only in rescuing the hero and the heroine from the crudities under which they labour in the original and bestowing on them the vital qualities required in a hero or a heroine worth the name, but also in giving us a very fine portrait of an ideal king in Dushyanta, and a bewitchingly transporting picture of the life of a truly Indian maiden in all the three important stages. A loving sympathy with nature forms the background of this play in which Kālidāsa has also displayed his mastery in delineating sentiment, his wonderful skill in characterization, construction of plots, and creating dramatic situations, as well as his great lyrical gifts. The dramatic power and poetic beauties of this unique work have elicited the highest praise and admiration from scholars all over the world.

Before the *Śākuntala*, Kālidāsa had already composed two plays, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Vikramorvaśīya*. The former is a court comedy wherein king Agnimitra falls in love with a maid in the service of one of his queens and, in spite of repeated obstacles on the part of the queen, at last succeeds in his project with the help of his friend, the Vidūshaka There can be little doubt that this is the first play[1] composed by the poet as is apparent from the way in which he has in the prologue tried to plead on behalf of the *'nava Kāvya'* (new poem). In spite of several defects, the

1 Dr De however demurs. Cf. *IHQ*, XVI, p 403; *HSL*, p. 136.

play bears the unmistakable stamp of Kālidāsa's workmanship; and his authorship of it can hardly be doubted. The *Vikramorvaśīya* is a fairy-tale of the love of a celestial nymph and a mortal. Mme de Willman-Grabowska considers this to be the last of Kālidāsa's plays and remarks that "It already shows signs of commencing decline".[1] Some hold that the play was very probably composed on the occasion of the installation of Kumāra-gupta as Yuvarāja[2] Welding together the elements of the ancient Vedic legend found in the *Ṛigveda* and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and its versions in the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* and possibly also in the *Bṛihatkathā*, Kālidāsa has introduced therein several incidents and scenes of his own creation. In this play he seems to have concentrated more on characterization than on plot-construction as he has done in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. But the most debated portion of the play is Act IV where the hero, distracted by separation, gives vent to his feelings in short, sweet, and pathetic lyrics. These in themselves are exquisite, but they detract from the movement and dramatic power of the composition But it is this very defect that constitutes for posterity the peculiar charm of the work and has won for Kālidāsa such a high degree of popularity.[3]

Kālidāsa's genius shone with equal brilliance both in drama and in poetry or Kāvya His two Mahākāvyas, *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava*, and the lyrical poem *Meghadūta* are universally regarded as gems of Sanskrit poetry. The *Kumārasambhava* in 18 cantos tells us the story of the birth of Kumāra, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, who led the celestial forces and vanquished the demon Tāraka Commentators like Mallinātha have commented only on the first eight cantos of this poem, and one of them has in clear terms recorded the belief that the poem was left incomplete owing to the curse of Pārvatī whose anger was provoked by the descriptions in Canto VIII. It is also evident that the later cantos are much inferior in poetic power and hence they are not regarded as the work of Kālidāsa It would seem, therefore, that Kālidāsa left this work incomplete, for the title of *Kumārasambhava* requires that at least the birth of Kumāra should be included in the poem Kālidāsa has displayed considerable skill in delineating the main characters and the poem contains several passages of enchanting beauty, such as the Rativilāpa, the conversations between Pārvatī and God Śiva in the guise of a Jaṭila, the description of the Himālaya in Canto I, and of the sudden advent of spring in Canto III The poet

1 Cf *AIIC*, p 312 Hillebrandt also is inclined to take the *Vikramorvaśīya* as the last of Kālidāsa's plays Cf Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa, Ein Versuch zu seiner literarischen Wurdigung*, Breslau, 1921 p 87

2 Cf MM Mirashi, *Kālidāsa* p 161 3 *AIIC*, p 313

however, has exposed himself to criticism at the hands of rhetoricians like Ānandavardhana by indulging in what may be called sacrilegious description in the eighth canto.

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* the poet has set himself the onerous task of describing the varied incidents in the lives of several monarchs who, though possessed of some common characteristics, must needs have individuality of their own; and it must be admitted that he has achieved his purpose in a superb manner. The merit of *Raghuvaṁśa* as a Mahākāvya is unquestioned and the Indian estimate of it is well reflected in the fact that our poet is pre-eminently known as Raghukāra (author of *Raghuvaṁśa*). This poem, which is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and some Purāṇas, describes in all thirty kings of the solar race among whom Raghu appears to be singularly fortunate in having not only illustrious ancestors but also illustrious descendants for at least three immediate successors. That seems to be the reason why Kālidāsa named his poem after Raghu This poem, as we have it, is evidently also incomplete, breaking off with the description of the lascivious Agnivarna. In spite of the reports of the existence of some more cantos it is likely that Kālidāsa composed it only up to the end of the 19th canto and left it there owing to illness or death. This poem also, like its compeer *Kumārasambhava,* has several enchanting sections, the most appealing among them being the Aja-vilāpa.

Among the lesser poems of Kālidāsa, the *Ṛitusaṁhāra* is now generally accepted as his first work, though some have recently expressed doubts about his authorship of it.[1] The neglect by rhetoricians and commentators and also its inferiority in some respects need not, however, detract from its genuineness. Its subject is so simple and so devoid of opportunities for characterization, etc. that it naturally failed to evoke much interest It consists of six cantos describing the six seasons bearing ample testimony to the poet's minute observation and love of nature.

The *Meghadūta* is, however, among the most fascinating little poems that ever came to be written in Sanskrit In a little over a hundred verses the poet has displayed the vitality and versatility of his poetic genius. An imaginary Yaksha, separated from his beloved through his master's curse and maddened with pangs of separation at the sight of a cloud, requests this cloud to carry his

1 Keith, *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 1066-70, 1913, pp 410-2, Macdonell, *HSL*, p. 337; Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, pp 66 ff, and Kielhorn, Buhler, Hultzsch and von Schroeder, among others, accept Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Ritusamhāra* Walter, *Indica*, III, pp 6 ff, Nobel, *ZDMG*, 66, pp. 275-82, *JRAS*, 1913, pp 401-9, Harichand, *Kālidāsa et l'Art Poetique de l'Inde*, pp 240 ff, and others dispute the authenticity of the *Ritusamhāra*

message from Rāmagiri—for that was where he was in exile—to Alakā, the abode of his beloved, and describes in detail the path it should follow and the various places of interest that it would traverse. The poet has chosen the Mandākrāntā metre and has thus given us a complete picture in each one of the constituent verses. This poem has been variously called a lyric, an elegy or even a monody, though Sthiradeva would insist on calling it a **Mahākāvya**, while Vallabhadeva would call it only a Khaṇḍakāvya. **Rāmagiri**, where the Yaksha was in exile, is now identified with Rāmtek near Nāgpur. The story of Āshāḍha-kṛishṇa Ekādaśi, Yoginī-māhātmya, is said to be the source of the theme of this poem. This exquisite little poem has evoked the highest admiration of literary critics of all ages. According to a modern European writer "it is difficult to praise too highly either the brilliance of the description of the cloud's progress or the pathos of the picture of the wife, sorrowful and alone".[1]

As to the comparative merits of the different poetical works of Kālidāsa, the same critic observes: "Indian criticism has ranked *Meghadūta* highest among Kālidāsa's poems for brevity of expression, richness of content, and power to elicit sentiment, and the praise is not undeserved . To modern taste the *Kumārasambhava* appeals more deeply by reason of its richer variety, the brilliance of its fancy and the greater warmth of its feeling . . Though inferior in some slight degree to the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Raghuvaṁśa* may rightly be ranked as the finest Indian specimen of the Mahākāvya as defined by writers on poetics".[2]

Kālidāsa is "unquestionably the finest master of Indian poetic style", and his inimitable skill in the use of the 'simile' has become proverbial. His charming and graceful diction, the refinement of his language and sentiments, his minute observations of man and nature, his innate sense of beauty, his masterly use of metaphors and other figures of speech, his elevation of thought and suggestiveness of expression have immortalised him, and as has been aptly expressed, his works will endure so long as human beings retain a taste for great literature.

Both in drama and poetry Kālidāsa stands not only unsurpassed but even unrivalled. Nevertheless many other poets and dramatists flourished during the age and some of them were not unworthy successors of the great poet. We may now briefly refer to them.

1 Keith, *HSL*, 86 2 *Ibid*, 86, 87, 92.

5. DRAMA

(i) Bhavabhūti

In the field of drama, the best among Kālidāsa's successors is undoubtedly Bhavabhūti, alias Śrīkaṇṭha, surnamed Udumbara, who was born of Nīlakaṇṭha and Jātukarṇī at Padmapura in Vidarbha (Berār). His grandfather Bhaṭṭa Gopāla had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. Jñānanidhi was the name of his *guru*. According to Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*[1] Bhavabhūti was the oourt-poet of Yaśovarman, king of Kānyakubja, who was defeated by Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kāshmir some time after A.D. 736. From *Gauḍavaho*[2] it would appear as if Bhavabhūti had not witnessed the downfall of his patron. He, therefore, cannot be placed much later than the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In his plays, Bhavabhūti styles himself *Pada-vākya-pramāṇajña*, which would show that he was well up in *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṁsā*, and *Nyāya*. He also appears to have been an adept in *Vedānta* and *Veda*. In one MS he is identified with Umbeka and stated to be a pupil of the famous Mīmāmsaka Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. This identity, however, is not accepted by Kane who places his literary activity between A.D. 700 and 730[3]

Of the three plays that he wrote, two are based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, while the third is a social drama—a *prakaraṇa* in ten acts. The *Mahāvīra-charita* in seven acts depicts the earlier life of Rāma—Rāma the warrior; while the *Uttararāma-charita*, the last from his pen, also in seven acts, deals with the story of the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mālatī-mādhava* treats of the love between Mādhava and Mālatī through different stages of development, and is often described as the 'Romeo and Juliet' of India with a happy ending.[4]

Though in grace and felicity of language, simplicity, and perspicacity, Kālidāsa stands unrivalled, Bhavabhūti may be said to surpass him in depicting sentiments—particularly the *karuna* (pathos or tenderness). His style is rugged, his works abound in descriptive passages and long compounds out of proportion, and yet one must admit that he excels himself when he treats of pathos. The love he treats of is more spiritual than sensuous,[5] and *hāsya* (humour) is rare in his works,—he being almost unique in banish-

1 IV 144
2 Verse 799
3 Cf Kane, *KHDS*, I, p 263 But as against this, read *Śaṅkara-Gurukula-Patrika*, Vol II, Part 6 "Problems of identity—Maṇḍanamiśra Sureśvara" by P. P S. Sastri, and also his article in *Festschrift Kane*, pp 405-7. Keith (SD, p. 187) places Bhavabhūti "somewhere about A D 700".
4 Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, III, p 135; Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 235.
5 Cf. Winternitz, *GIL*, III, p. 236

ing off the stage that standing source of humour in Sanskrit plays, the *Vidūshaka*. Owing to the abundance of long compounds in the prose speeches in his works it has been surmised that they were meant more for being read than staged.[1] This supposition, however, may not be well founded.

A precursor of Bhavabhūti in depicting pathos is Dhīranāga of Arālapura who composed a play in six acts and on the same theme as that of the *Uttararāma-charita*. He is said to have lived earlier than c. A.D. 500.

(ii) Śrī-Harsha

Next in point of time is Śrī-Harsha or Harsha-vardhana, king of Kanauj, whose career has been described above.[2] Himself a poet of no mean order, he was a great patron of learning and letters, and had great scholars like Bāṇa, Mayūra, and Divākara at his court. Three plays, *viz.* the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Priyadarśikā*, and the *Nāgānanda*, are ascribed to him. Doubts have, however, been raised regarding Harsha's authorship of these plays, mainly on the strength of a stray remark of Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and the explanation of the same by some of the commentators. Thus Hall and Bühler ascribed all the three plays to Bāṇa, while Pischel ascribed them to Dhāvaka, a contemporary of Śrī-Harsha. Cowell, on the other hand, refused to admit the common authorship of all of them and ascribed *Ratnāvalī* to Bāṇa, *Nāgānanda* to Dhāvaka, and *Priyadarśikā* to some unknown author.[3] But that all these emanated from the same pen is shown by their prologues, and also by various other characteristics which they have in common with one another. Nor is there any very substantial ground for doubting the authorship of Harsha who was known as an author from very early times—nay, even in his own day. Thus even Bāṇa praises his patron Harsha as being endowed with poetic genius. I-tsing (end of the seventh century A D.) records that king Śīlāditya (*i.e.* Harsha) versified the story of Bodhisatva Jīmūtavāhana and acted it on the stage. Dāmodara-gupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata* ascribes the *Ratnāvalī* to a royal author.

The *Nāgānanda*, a Nāṭaka in five acts, depicts the story of Jīmūtavāhana. Though Buddhistic in its colourings, its main purpose would seem to be to bring about a harmonious blending of Buddhism and Hinduism when we take into account the parts played by Garuḍa and Gaurī therein. This, by common consent, is the last work of Harsha. The remaining two are very similar to one another, being for the most part composed in imitation of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and having almost the same plot. But in the *Priyadarśikā* the author seems to have gained confidence enough

1 *Ibid*, p 232. 2 See Chapter IX. 3. Konow, *ID*, p. 74.

to introduce into his play a new device, the *garbha-nāṭaka* (drama within a drama)—a device adopted for the first time in the history of Sanskrit Drama and repeated very rarely after Harsha. In fact we know of only two writers in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature who have used this device—Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāma-charita* and Rājaśekhara in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*. *Ratnāvalī*, on the other hand, is said to be the most perfect play from the point of view of the classical canons of dramaturgy, and may, therefore, be said to be the earlier of the two, its excellences being accounted for by the fact of its being a closer and more successful imitation of Kālidāsa. The place of Harsha among the play-wrights has, therefore, to be judged from the *Nāgānanda* which he had not composed after any model. This play, however, appears to be a patchwork of three parts,[1] and the humour in the second part is certainly not of a high order. Credit, of course, is due to Harsha for having succeeded in investing this play with a living interest and a strong appeal to its readers Harsha's poetic powers also are apparent in the verses in these plays.

(iii) Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana and others

To the same period belongs Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of Śāndilya Gotra, surnamed Mṛigarāja Wilson identifies him with a Brahmin of that name who was invited by Ādiśūra from Kanauj to Bengal As the legend of Ādiśūra has no historical basis, we need not attach much importance to the various dates proposed for Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana, ranging from the latter half of the seventh to the ninth century A D on the strength of the identification of king Ādiśūra Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana probably flourished before eighth century A D, for he is quoted by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. His *Veṇīsaṃhāra* is a Nāṭaka in six acts based on the *Mahābhārata* story of Bhīma fulfilling the vow of avenging the insults heaped upon Draupadī by the wicked Duryodhana The chief sentiment of the play is *Vīra* (heroic) and the author has shown considerable skill in creating a fine drama out of the crude materials derived from the *Mahābhārata* It may be noted that like the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* also strictly conforms to the rules of dramatic structure as laid down in books on dramaturgy and is, on that account, held in high esteem [2]

The *Rāmābhyudaya* is another play, hitherto unavailable, narrating the story of Rāma in six acts, composed by Yaśovarman. This play is mentioned by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* and also in the *Daśarūpaka* *Nāṭyadarpana*, *Nāṭaka-lakshana-ratna-kośa*, *Śṛingāra-prakāśa* and *Sāhitya-darpana*.[3] This Yaśovarman, like Śrī

1 Cf Winternitz, *GIL* III, p 228
2 Cf Schuyler, *BSD* Intr, p 12
3 Cf De, *HSL*, p 299

Harsha, is a royal poet and is very probably to be identified with the patron of Bhavabhūti. Another royal play-wright to be noted is the Pallava king Mahendra-varman (c. A.D. 600-630) who has composed a farce named the *Mattavilāsa.*[1] To a somewhat later period is probably to be assigned Anaṅgaharsha Mātrarāja, a Kalachuri king, son of Narendravardhana. He is often referred to as Māyurāja and must have flourished before the close of the eight century A D. as Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata*[2] laments his death. From Abhinavagupta's references, we know that this royal author had composed two plays—the *Udāttarāghava* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja* relating the story of Udayana, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. Reference has already been made to *Kaumudī-mahotsava,*[3] a nameless drama ascribed to Vijjakā, who has been identified with Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā, wife of Chandrāditya, eldest son of Pulakeśin II and brother of Vikramāditya I.[4] Various dates, ranging from the fourth to "later than the eighth century", have been assigned to the play, which appears to belong to our period. The work is a mediocre production.

6 KĀVYA

The *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Śiśupālavadha*, two of the famous five *Mahākāvyas,* belong to this period Bhāravi, the author of the former, is mentioned in the Aihole inscription (A.D 634) along with Kālidāsa, and is also cited in the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* (c. 650). He is, perhaps, not much earlier than Bāna who, however, ignores him. He may, therefore, be placed in the latter half of the sixth century A.D His poem in eighteen cantos, giving the *Mahābhārata* story of the combat between Arjuna and god Śiva in the garb of a Kirāta, displays vigour of thought and language and lofty eloquence of expression. At the same time it evinces Bhāravi's attempts at the artificialities of the *Chitrakāvya,* and also several mannerisms which —unfortunately—are freely and zealously copied by later poets Māgha, son of Dattakasarvāśraya, grandson of Suprabhadeva, was the first poet to vie with Bhāravi in every respect in his *Śiśupāla-vadha.* Suprabhadeva is said to be the minister of a king whose name is variously read as Varmalāta, Varmalākhya, Dharmanābha, Dharmalābha and so on We have an inscription of one king Varmalāta of A.D 625, so that Māgha may be placed in the latter half of the seventh century A D. This very well accords with the fact that Māgha in his *Śiśupālavadha*[5] makes a clear reference to the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* and the *Nyāsa* thereon, and also knew the *Nāgānanda* of Harsha.[6] His reference to Buddha and his teaching would seem

1 See above, p 260 2 Verse 777 3 See p 5
4 Cf *Kaumudi-mahotsava* (Edited by Sakuntala Rao, Bombay, 1952), pp 11-12
5 II 112 6 Cf Keith, *HSL*, p 124

to show that he was much in the company of the Buddhists.[1] Traditional opinion about the workmanship of Māgha is well expressed in the saying "In Māgha exist (all) the three qualities."[2] Māgha is rich in vocabulary and an adept in the various devices of poetry. He also displays great erudition in his work. And yet it must be said that the age of artificiality ushered in by Bhāravi has been carried a step further by Māgha.

Among other poets of lesser repute may be mentioned Buddhaghosha whose identity with the famous Pāli scholar Buddhaghosha can hardly be seriously maintained.[3] His Mahākāvya *Padyachūḍāmaṇi*, a poem of some merit in ten cantos, describes the life of Buddha. From Kalhaṇa we hear of a poet Menṭha at the court of king Mātṛigupta of Kāshmir from whose *Hayagrīvavadha* one verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara and Kshemendra and one more by Rāghava in his commentary on the *Śākuntala*. The date of Menṭha depends upon that of Mātṛigupta who, as the predecessor of Pravarasena, may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century A D. About a century later (between c. A D. 675 and 775) flourished Kumāradāsa who, in his *Jānakīharaṇa*, in twenty cantos, has narrated the story of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa

Slightly earlier is Bhaṭṭi, the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or the *Rāvaṇavadha* composed under the patronage of king Śrīdharasena of Valabhī The *terminus ad quem* for Bhaṭṭi is therefore A D. 648, the last known date of the last of the four Śrīdharasenas of Valabhī, or rather A.D. 650, the earliest known date of his successor This poem is interesting as Bhaṭṭi has illustrated in it the rules of grammar as given by Pāṇini in his *Ashṭādhyāyī*, and has also devoted one full canto to *Alaṅkāras* His identification with Vatsabhaṭṭi, or even with Bhartṛihari (the name Bhaṭṭi is Prakritized form of Bhartri), is unfounded. He is certainly earlier than Māgha, and was known to Bhāmaha. On the same lines and not much later, was composed the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* by the Kāshmirian poet Bhaumaka. This poem of twenty-seven cantos narrates the story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Rāvana, and at the same time illustrates almost the whole of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. Reference may be made to the *Ghaṭakarpara Kāvya*, a poem describing in 22 stanzas a message which a young wife sends by the cloud to her absent husband at the beginning of the rains It thus describes a situation the reverse of that depicted in the *Meghadūta*, and is held by some to be earlier in date than that poem But this view is not generally accepted. This poem, along with others like *Nalodaya* and *Śriṅgāratilaka*, has been attributed to Kālidāsa, but this is highly improbable

1 Cf Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, p 156
2 i e Upamā, Artha-gaurava, and Pada-lālitya
3 Keith, *HSL*, p 143

Lastly we may mention a class of poetical works called Śatakas, *i.e.* consisting of one hundred stanzas. The best known are the three Śatakas of Bhartṛihari. The texts of these are found to vary with different versions. The author, Bhartṛihari,[1] is identified with the author of the *Vākyapadīya* who is said to have died in c. A D. 650. The author of the *Vākyapadīya*, we know, was a Buddhist, while that of the *Śatakatraya* shows no trace of this faith. But we are told that Bhartṛihari was constantly wavering in his creed so that the identity of the grammarian with the poet Bhartṛihari is not improbable His *Śṛiṅgāra-*, *Nīti-*, and *Vairāgya-śatakas* are good specimens of fine and forceful poetry. They deal with the general aspects of these three topics (*i.e.* love, wise conduct and indifference to worldly enjoyment), and contain sage advice on general conduct of life couched in memorable words. Slightly later comes Amaru, the famous author of the centum named after him The *Amaru-śataka* also is found in four different versions having only fifty-one verses in common. In these verses Amaru or Amaruka has dealt with various aspects of love particularly depicting the relation of lovers This *Śataka* has been expounded as illustrating types of heroines or some figures of speech.[2] But Amaru does not seem to have concerned himself much with either Mayūra, a contemporary of Bāṇa, has given us a *Mayūra-śataka*, also called the *Sūrya-śataka*, to compete with which Bāna wrote his *Devī-śataka*. To about the same period belongs Mātaṅga Divākara, of whom we hear only from anthologies, and who has been identified with the Jain writer Mānatuṅga, the author of the *Bhaktāmara-stotra*, and perhaps also Siddhasena Divākara, the author of the *Kalyānamandira-stotra* [3]

7 FABLES AND ROMANCES

We can easily trace several stages in the evolution of fables as a form of literature. There are first the stories or tales which are told for entertainment or amusement. Then they are definitely framed for inculcating moral lessons and useful knowledge. Lastly they are reduced to a literary form in which the story is related in prose but verses are introduced to emphasize the point of the tale or fix the moral in the memory Such a fable is gradually enlarged and complicated by what may be called a process of emboxment, *i e* by interweaving different fables into a single whole This is easily done by making the different characters in the story support

1 *Ibid*, 176
2 It may be interesting to note that Jñānānanda has expounded this Śataka as conveying erotical as well as philosophical significance
3 It is doubtful whether this is the work of the famous author of the *Nyāyāvatāra* (last quarter of the seventh century A D) This latter has composed thirty-two stotras each comprising thirty-two stanzas For this author, his date, etc, see Dr P L Vaidya's Introduction to his edition of the *Nyāyāvatāra*

their points of view by allusions to other fables which they are naturally asked to develop at some length.

Although the different elements of such literature existed in India from a very early period, no earlier actual examples in Sanskrit are known than *Pañchatantra*. The original of this work, now lost, goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. It attained wide popularity all over India and was translated in most of the languages of the world, as will be related in Chapter XXIII. In India we have three distinct versions: the north-western, which can be traced in *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī* and *Kathāsarit-sāgara;* two Kāshmir versions called *Tantrākhyāyikā* and two Jain recensions based on a text akin to it; a southern version from which was derived the Nepalese *Pañchatantra* and the well-known *Hitopadeśa* All the extant versions, except *Tantrākhyāyikā*, whose date is not known, belong to a period later than that dealt with in this volume. The only other work of this type that has been assigned to this period is the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, composed probably in *Paiśāchī* prose. Its date is not later than A D. 500, though some place it much earlier,—even in the first century A.D This is, however, quite conjectural.[1] The work is irretrievably lost.

After short stories come the longer and more elaborate and artificially narrated stories in the works of great masters like Daṇḍin or Bāṇa. These Romances are either based on historical facts or are purely imaginary. This was the main point of distinction that Amara[2] drew between the two classes of works going by the names of *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā*, both of which are included under the term Romance. The other points of distinction which Bhāmaha[3] sought to draw between the two are flatly denied by Daṇḍin, who even goes to the length of declaring both these as being only two names for one and the same class of works[4] The next attempt to distinguish between the two is that of Rudraṭa; and later on, of Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhitya-darpana*,[5] who bases his views on Bāna's *Harsha-charita* and *Kādambarī* which their author has designated *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā* respectively But even these attempts are futile; for the points of real distinction stated there are very flimsy and have not been regarded as such by any of the later writers Amara's view of this matter, therefore, seems to be the soundest. And the same view again would seem to be endorsed by Bāna when he compares the *Ākhyāyikā* and the *Kathā* to a 'cosy

1 Keith, *HSL*, p 268 2 Cf. *Amarakośa*, I vi 5-6
3. Cf. his *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, I. 25-29
4. Cf "*Tatkathākhāyiketyekā jātiḥ saṁjñādvayāṅkitā*"-*Kāvyādarśa*, I 28a.
5 Cf Rudraṭa, *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra*, XI. 20-27, *Sāhityadarpana*, VI 332-6

bed' and 'a young lady full of love approaching the bed' respectively.[1]

The oldest name in this branch of literature is that of Daṇḍin.[2] The theory that Daṇḍin was a resident of Kāñchī, that he flourished under the Pallava kings, and that Ratnavarman (or Rājavarman) referred to by him is a Pallava prince, is no more than a mere hypothesis based on not very firm ground. For, the verse[3] on which the theory mainly rests is a riddle so that, in the absence of definite evidence any solution that is offered cannot but be mere guess work.

Daṇḍin, the author of *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Daśakumāra-charita*, is earlier than Bāṇa and even Subandhu, as is suggested by his comparative simplicity. The geographical data in the *Daśakumāra-charita* also seem to point to a date anterior to the empire of Harshavardhana.[4] His *Kāvyādarśa* is very probably earlier than Bhāmaha. Tradition ascribes to Daṇḍin three works, of which the *Daśakumāra-charita* may belong to the youthful Daṇḍin, and the *Kāvyādarśa* is probably the outcome of his mature age. As for the third, Pischel takes it to be the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, while others hold that it is the *Chhandovichiti* that is referred to in the *Kāvyādarśa* itself. There is also an allusion to the *Kalāparichchheda* in the *Kāvyādarśa*. But it is more likely that both the *Chhandovichiti* and *Kalāparichchheda* are merely the names of the chapters—and not independent works—which Daṇḍin wanted to include in his *Kāvyādarśa*; while Daṇḍin's authorship of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* becomes highly doubtful since the verse on which the theory is based is found to be common not only to the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* and the *Kāvyādarśa*, but also to the *Chārudatta* which is definitely from the pen of Bhāsa. From quotations in Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāra-prakāśa*[5] it would appear that the third work of Daṇḍin is the *Dvisandhāna-kāvya*, a poem with double *entendre* narrating simultaneously the stories of the two great epics of India. We have various imitations of this *Dvisandhānakāvya* abounding in greater feats of artificiality as seen in what are called the *Vilomakāvyas*. The *Avantisundarī-Kathā* is another work which has been ascribed to Daṇḍin by scholars who doubt his authorship of *Daśakumāra-charita*. But it is difficult[6] to accept the former as a work of Daṇḍin and reject his authorship of the latter. Of the three parts of the *Daśakumāra-charita*, the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* (introduction) and the *Uttarapīṭhikā* (conclusion) are

1 Read introductory verses 8 and 9 of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*
2 Read Dr De's paper in *Festschrift Kane*, pp 112-144
3 *Kāvyādarśa*, III 114
4 Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracharita*, p. 46
5 See Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, p 461, n 5
6 See Keith, *HSL* Preface, p xvi

not from the pen of Daṇḍin. But this does not go against the *Daśa-kumāra-charita* proper being the work of Daṇḍin.

In the *Daśakumāra-charita*, as the name implies, the hero (prince Rājavāhana) and his nine companions, who were separated and passed through strange vicissitudes of fortune, being again re-united, relate to each other their strange adventures. This device gives a sort of unity to diverse stories which treat of different types of men and women belonging to all classes of society and in different walks of life. Daṇḍin shows in this work great powers of characterization and drawing realistic scenes of life. His style is easy and unaffected and full of wit and humour.

Later than Daṇḍin, but earlier than Bāṇa, is **Subandhu**, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, which must have been composed before A D. 608-9, as it is referred to by Jinabhadra in a Bhāshya finished in that year [1] Subandhu would thus appear to be only an older contemporary of Bāṇa. His *Vāsavadattā* is a fine *Kathā*—a story of love and romance, comparable to Bāna's *Kādambarī*, with whom he shares all the merits and defects of the prose form. Long involved constructions, unusual words, use of epithets after epithets with the verb held back for pages together, unusually long compounds, and fondness for details and descriptions even to the neglect of the main narrative and action, are the defects with which Bāna is charged. But we should remember that Bāna wrote mainly for the upper classes, and that too in an age when vigour (which is defined as abundance of compounds) was looked upon as the main characteristic of good prose. Passages in the simple style are not wanting in the works of Bāna. In his fondness for detail again he is typically Indian In arts like sculpture, painting or music, and even in nature, may be noticed a world of difference between the east and the west. Fullness of details is the characteristic of the east And if Weber compares Bāna's work to 'an Indian wood', Gray, after mature study, is inclined to liken Subandhu's work to "India's own architecture, where the whole structure is so overlaid with minute detail that the eye forgets the outlines of the building in amazement at the delicate traceries which cover it "[2]

Bāna's gratness can very well be seen from the fact that his works supplied ample material for later critics to base their theories on Thus it was on the basis of his works, that Rudraṭa and others sought to lay down the points of distinction between *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā* It was again after him that several varieties of prose such as *Kalikā*, *Muktaka*, *Chūrnaka* and *Padyagandhi* came to be recognised, whereas Dandin knows of no such varieties The box

1 *POC*, XIII, Part II, pp 113-4

2 Gray, *Vāsavadattā*, Intro., p 27

system again, though old, is yet given a new life by Bāṇa who has combined his boxes into one inseparable whole unlike those in works like the *Pañchatantra*. So far as this technique is concerned he makes a decided advance even over Daṇḍin who has shown little improvement in his *Daśakumāra-charita* in this respect.

Besides the *Kādambarī* and the *Harsha-charita*, which depicts the life of his patron Śrī Harsha of Kanauj, there are two other works ascribed to Bāṇa, *viz.* the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*,[1] and the *Chaṇḍī-śataka*. On the strength of a solitary reference by a commentator of the *Nalachampū*, Bāṇa has also been credited with another play called the *Mukuṭatāḍitaka*

8. POETICS AND METRICS

The earliest writer in the field of poetics whose work has come down to us is Bhaṭṭi. He is not known to have written any independent treatise on poetics. But one full canto of his famous *Rāvaṇa-vadha* is devoted to the illustration of the *Alankāras* The close resemblance[2] between the *Rāvaṇa-vadha*[3] and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*[4] would favour the priority of the former over the latter. It is quite certain that Bhaṭṭi is earlier than Daṇḍin and that he is not to be identified with Bhartṛihari. Attempts to identify him with Vatsabhaṭṭi also are futile for want of any very definite ground in their support. A comparison of Bhaṭṭi's treatment of the figures of speech with that of Bhāmaha or of Daṇḍin would show that he worked independently and was indebted to neither of these two great writers[5]

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālankāra* are two great works on poetics which have exercised great influence on subsequent writers. There is a keen controversy about the chronological relation between the two, some holding Bhāmaha to be the earlier and others the opposite view Bhāmaha's date may be fixed about A.D. 700 and he was probably later than Daṇḍin.[6]

Both Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha are supposed to have written on metres also, but there is no reliable evidence

Varāhamihira, who died in A D 587, was himself a great versifier and employed quite a large number of Classical Sanskrit metres in his *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and *Bṛihaj-jātaka* He devotes an entire

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1 *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*, however, is really the work of Abhinava Bāna named Vāmana Bhatta Bāna, the court poet of Vemabhūpāla (fifteenth century) — De, *HSL*, p 299; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL* pp 215, 542
2 See Kane, *HAL*, p xxxix, *HSP*, p 116, Dasgupta, *HSL*, p 529
3 XXII 34. 4 II 20 5 See Kane, *HAL*, pp xiv ff, *HSP* p 71
6 For the chronological position of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, see Kane, *HSP*, pp. 96-125, Dasputa, *HSL*, pp 530-3, De, *SP*. I, pp. 64-70, Keith, *HSL*, pp 375-6

chapter[1] of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* to the illustration of about 60 such metres. Here he introduces the names of the metres in the illustrative stanzas, but nowhere does he define a metre. He displays his knowledge of the Prakrit metres such as Gāthā, Skandhaka, Māgadhī and Gītaka, and gives their original Sanskrit names, *viz.* Āryā, Āryāgīti, Vaitālīya and Narkuṭaka respectively.

Virahānka's *Vṛittajātisamuchchaya* is the next work on metres, both Sanskrit and Prakrit (in some cases even Apabhraṁśa), which is composed in the Prakrit language for the most part[2] Virahānka is very careful in defining the older *Dvipadis* of 4 lines each which by the time of Hemachandra had come to be considered as obsolete. Like Jayadeva, he too mentions the graphical representation of short and long letters almost in the same words. Besides, he gives all the different varieties of the Prastāra and drops the Vedic metres altogether.

9 LEXICOGRAPHY

On the technical side also the Classical Age has given a rich harvest of works on various scientific subjects, though it cannot be said to have marked the beginning of any new branch as such. Thus lexicography in India can be traced back to the Vedic *Nighaṇṭus*, though we hardly come across any lexicon in the real sense of the term until we come to Amara's *Nāmalingānuśāsana*, usually called the *Amarakośa*. From its commentators Kshīrasvāmin and Sarvānanda we know that Amara was preceded in this field by Vyāḍi, Dhanvantari, Vararuchi, Kātya or Kātyāyana, and Vāchaspati, among authors, and by the *Trikāṇḍa*, the *Utpalinī* and the *Mālā*. Amara laid under contribution not only the *Nāmamātratantras* and the *Lingamātratantras*, but also medical lexicons like that of Dhanvantari But his greatness can be realised when we consider that like Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* his work also threw into oblivion all its predecessors Tradition makes Amara one of the nine jewels at the court of king Vikramāditya whose very identity it has not yet been possible for scholars to fix beyond all doubt He is "known as a poet, and was certainly a Buddhist who knew the *Mahāyāna* and used Kālidāsa"[3] His date is uncertain but he probably flourished before the eighth century A.D

The frequency with which *Amarakośa* is quoted by commentators and the very large number of commentaries that have been composed upon it are convincing proof of the wide popularity enjoyed by this lexicon The oldest extant, and at the same time the most important, commentary is the *Udghātana* composed by

1 Chapter 103 2 Published in *JBBRAS*, 1929, 1932.
3 Winternitz, *GIL* III, p 411, Keith, *HSL*, p 413

Kshīrasvāmin, who quotes Rājaśekhara and Bhoja and is quoted by Vardhamāna and in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*. He must, therefore, be placed in the eleventh century A.D. Gauḍa Upādhyāya and Giribhoja are the earlier commentators mentioned by him. The other important commentators are Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya of Bengal who composed the commentary called *Ṭikāsarvasva* in A.D 1159; Subhūti (or Subhūtichandra) whose *Kāmadhenu*[1] is extant only in its Tibetan version; and Bṛihaspati Rāyamukuṭamaṇi (or simply Rāyamukuṭa) who wrote his *Padachandrikā* in A D 1431. Nor are commentators wanting in later centuries. Thus to the seventeenth century belong Nārāyaṇaśarman (A D. 1619), Rāmanātha Vidyāvāchaspati (A.D 1633), and Mathureśa Vidyālaṁkāra (A D. 1666), while still later are Mahādeva, Maheśvara and others.

Amara has followed the Vedic *Nighaṇṭus* in having a homonymous section after the main body of the book consisting of synonyms, though there is hardly any other point of similarity between the two. Perhaps contemporaneous with Amara is the *Anekārtha-samuchaya*[2] by Śāśvata in which the homonyms are arranged according as the explanation takes a whole verse, a half verse, or a quarter verse, and finally come the indeclinables. The Kośa in the *Agni Purāna* is, on the face of it, nothing but Amara's lexicon abridged and rearranged.

The *Nighanṭu* of Dhanvantari in its original form must have preceded the *Amarakośa;* but in its extant form it must be ascribed to a later date.

10. GRAMMAR

The rise of the Chāndra and Jainendra—two of the several systems of Sanskrit grammar[3]—marks this age Chandra or Chandragomin, the founder of the former, was not only a close student of the great Āchāryas of the school of Pāṇini, but has fully utilized their works in an attempt to evolve a system of grammar free from the taditional Brahmanical element. He was a Buddhist and his grammar was very popular in Kāshmir, Tibet, Nepāl and Ceylon. The earliest and the latest references to this school are those made by Bhartṛihari in his *Vākyapadīya* and by Mallinātha in his commentary on the twenty-fifth stanza of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* respectively. The *Kāśikā-vritti* (c. A D. 650) has borrowed without

1 MSS of this commentary have been noticed by Prof P K. Gode, *ABORI*, XVI, pp. 313 f For Subhūti's date, read his paper in *Kuppuswami Sastri Comm Vol* pp 47-51 Also see *NIA*, II, p 414

2 R. Sarma (*Kalpadrukośa*, intr p xxv) argues in favour of its being older than Amara

3 For these in general, see *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by Dr S K Belvalkar, Poona

acknowledgement several sūtras from Chandragomin's work. Again Vasurāta, the preceptor of Bhartṛihari, who is said to have passed away about the year A.D. 650, acknowledged Chandrāchārya as his master This would give c. A D. 600 as the probable date of Chandra. But this date may be pushed back by a century in view of his reference to a victory of a Jarta (Gupta?) over the Hūṇas which probably alludes to Skanda-gupta's victory over them.[1] This work has 3100 aphorisms arranged into six chapters of four quarters each. The Jainendra Vyākaraṇa which gave rise to the other school in this age is nothing but Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* and Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* thereon, condensed as much as possible with a number of ingenious shifts. Though ascribed to Jinendra, the real author of this work is Pūjyapāda Devanandin who probably composed it in A.D. 678

All other work in the field of Grammar during this period is in the form of commentaries Bhartrihari, who according to I-tsing died in A D 650, is said to have commented on the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, though this commentary has not come down to us. His *Vākyapadīya* is a metrical work on the philosophy of Grammar in three parts called *Khaṇḍas*. Jayāditya and Vāmana wrote the famous *vritti*—the *Kāśikā*—on Patañjali's work, and it was widely used by Chinese scholars for studying Sanskrit at the time I-tsing visited India (last quarter of the seventh century A.D.) Books I to IV seem to be the work of Jayāditya who presumably died before he could complete the work which was thereafter completed by Vāmana. The Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi wrote his commentary—the *Nyāsa*—on this *Kāśikā*. Māgha in his *Śiśupālavadha*[2] makes a definite reference to this *Nyāsa* which may, therefore, be dated c A D 700.[3]

11. MEDICINE[4]

The only great medical writer of this period is Vāgbhata, who ranks only next to Charaka and Suśruta There were probably two writers of this name of whom we have two famous works—the *Ashṭāṅga-sangraha* and the *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya-saṁhitā*. The former, like the *Suśruta*, is in prose mixed with verse and is cited as the work of *Vṛiddha Vāgbhaṭa*. The latter, on the other hand, is entirely in verse and its author is referred to as *Vāgbhaṭa* only The saying that *Vāgbhaṭa* is good for Kaliyuga while the others were good for

1 See above, p 26 f. 2 II 112

3 One more name may be noted here—Bhīmasena Prof. Gode has shown that he is earlier than A D 600 He is known and widely quoted—cf *NIA*, II, pp 108-10

4 For this section, see Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg, 1901 (Eng trs by C G Kashikar, Poona, 1951), Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, Baltimore, 1948, Filliozat, *La Doctrine Classique de la Médecine Indienne Ses origines et ses parallèles Grecs*. Paris, 1949

the earlier *yugas* (but not for the Kali age), shows that the works going under the name of Vāgbhaṭa are later than those of Charaka and Suśruta. Among the two Vāgbhaṭas there is no doubt that the author of the *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya-saṁhitā* laid the other under contribution to a large extent. Vāgbhaṭa the senior is the son of Siṁhagupta, grandson of Vāgbhaṭa, and a disciple of the Buddhist Avalokita. His work is in all probability referred to by I-tsing and may, therefore, be placed about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It is not certain whether the younger Vāgbhaṭa was in any way related to the elder one, and very probably he is to be placed about a century later, *i.e.* about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. It may be noted that this younger Vāgbhaṭa also claims the same parentage as his elder namesake. Both these, however, were Buddhist and naturally enough the *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya-saṁhitā* was translated into the Tibetan language.

There were also treatises on the diseases of animals. The best known is *Hastyāyurveda*[1] which, in the form of dialogue between Romapāda, king of Aṅga, and the sage Pālakāpya, deals elaborately with the diseases peculiar to elephants. Some scholars refer it to fifth or even sixth century B C, but others regard it as of much later date The work was probably known to Kālidāsa, though this is by no means certain. A similar treatise on horses—*Aśvaśāstra*—is attributed to the sage Śālihotra. We have several later works of this class but their date is uncertain.

12. ASTRONOMY

Varāhamihira, who flourished in the sixth century A.D., has preserved in his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* some account of five astronomical works which were evidently regarded as authoritative in his own time These five works or Siddhāntas are referred to as Paitāmaha, Romaka, Pauliśa, Vāsishṭha and Sūrya. The first of these belonged to the pre-scientific period, but the other four show a more advanced stage of thought and spirit. It has been urged by some that all these four indicate a knowledge of, if not based upon, Greek astronomy. This seems to be undoubtedly true of the second and third, for though Romaka need not be taken to refer to the city of Rome itself, it certainly alludes to the Roman empire in a general sense. The Pauliśa is also most probably derived from the name of Paulus Alexandrinus It is to be noted that both these refer to the meridian of Yavanapura. The *Sūrya Siddhānta*, even in the revised form in which we have it, is said to have been revealed by Sūrya to Asura Maya in Romaka. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of its western origin or at least Greek influence. Thus there cannot

1. *HBR*, I. 295.

be any reasonable doubt that the Indians had knowledge of Greek astronomy and were profoundly influenced by it. This view is supported by a careful examination of the contents of these works and also by various other considerations.

Although we possess some texts bearing the names of the five old Siddhāntas, they are all later than Varāhamihira's time, and evidently revised versions of the older texts, if not altogether new works under old names The original texts, whose contents are noted by Varāhamihira, may be placed between A.D. 300 and 500 though some of them are perhaps still older.

Varāhamihira refers to several other astronomers such as Lāṭa, Siṁha, Pradyumna Vijayanandin, and, last but not the least, the famous Āryabhaṭa. Of these a few works of Āryabhaṭa alone have come down to us such as *Āryabhaṭīya*, *Daśagītikāsūtra* and *Āryāshṭaśata* Āryabhaṭa was born in Śaka 398 (A.D 476), probably at Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra, and his *Āryabhaṭīya* was composed in A D 499. He was the first to treat Mathematics as a distinct subject and dealt with evolution and involution, area and volume, progressions and algebraic identities, and indeterminate equations of the first degree Āryabhata was also the first to hold that the earth was a sphere and rotated on its axis, and that the eclipses were not the work of Rāhu but caused by the shadow of the earth falling on the moon Both these views were rejected and severely condemned by later astronomers like Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta. Āryabhata also arrived at a "remarkably accurate value of π, viz. 3 1416."[1]

One of the most important features of Āryabhata's mathematical system is his unique system of notation It is based on the decimal place-value system, unknown to other ancient peoples, but now in use throughout the civilised world Whether Āryabhata invented the system or merely improved on an existing one cannot be definitely stated But with the doubtful exception of Bakhshali manuscript, which is referred by some to c A D 200, the earliest use of the system occurs in *Āryabhaṭīya*, and it is found in all later mathematical works. The importance of this system for the development of science in general and of Mathematics in particular cannot be exaggerated. On the whole Āryabhata deservedly occupies a very high place among Indian astronomers and has had many followers and commentators [2]

1 For Indian astronomy, cf Keith, *HSL*, pp 516 ff Also cf *Bhāratīya Jyotih-Śāstra* by S B Dikshit, 2nd Edn, Poona, 1931 For Āryabhata and his predecessors, cf Keith, *op cit.* 517 ff

2 For the divergent views on the origin of the decimal place-value system, cf *History of Hindu Mathematics* by B Datta and A Singh (Lahore 1935), and also *IHQ*, III, 97 ff, 356 ff

The next in order of time comes Varāhamihira. He takes the Śaka year 427 as the basis for calculations, so that he may be said to have flourished towards the close of the fifth century A.D. The view that he died in Śaka 509 (c. A.D. 587) rests on a passage[1] of dubious authenticity. He has given us no less than six works on all the three branches into which he divides the Jyotisha-śāstra, *viz.* Tantra (astronomy and mathematics), Horā (horoscope), and Saṁhitā (astrology). His astronomical work *Pañchasiddhāntikā* has been mentioned before. His work on astrology, *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, is an encyclopaedia of useful information in various branches of knowledge, such as movements of heavenly bodies and their effect upon men, geography, architecture, construction of images, excavation of tanks, laying out of gardens, special characteristics of the different classes of women and animals, jewellery, augury, marriage, etc He deals specifically with auspicious times for marriage in two separate works, the *Bṛihadvivāhapaṭala* and *Svalpavivāhapaṭala*, and a third work *Yogayātrā* is devoted to omens about wars of kings His works on Horā will be noted later. The next writer whose works are extant is Brahmagupta whose *Brahmasiddhānta* was composed in Śaka 550 (c. A D 628) His other well-known work *Khaṇḍakhādya* was very probably composed in Śaka 587 which is taken there as the base for calculations He also seems to have composed the *Dhyānagraha* in seventy-two verses in the *Āryā* metre "Brahmagupta's work covers very briefly the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube roots, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry, including treatment of the rational right-angled triangle and the elements of the circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow problems, negative and positive quantities, cipher, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees, in considerable detail, and simple equations of the first and second degrees which are briefly treated. Special attention is given to cyclic quadrilaterals".

There were also many works on Horoscopy Thus we know of the *Pārāśarī*—big and small, the *Jātaka-sūtra* of Jaimini current in Malabar, the *Bhṛigu-saṁhitā*, the *Nāḍīgrantha*, the *Mīnarāja-jātaka*, also known as the *Yavanajātaka*, the *Laghu-* and the *Bṛihaj-Jātakas* of Varāhamihira and the *Shaṭpañchāśikā* of his son, Prithuyaśas Among these, however, we know nothing definite about the dates of any but the last two. The two works of Varāhamihira show distinct traces of Greek influence.

1. "*Navādhikapañchaśatasaṅkhyaśāke Varāhamihirāchāryo divaṁ gataḥ*" quoted by Dikshit, *op cit*, p 211.

13. MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to the subjects mentioned above, there were others on which regular texts seem to have been written during this period, but they were all superseded by later works and lost to us. In particular, mention may be made of such widely varying subjects as architecture, music, dancing, painting, and perhaps even the art of stealing.

This inference is supported by the *Kāmasūtra* (Art of love) of Vātsyāyana Mallanāga. It appears from the introduction of this work that the subject of erotics was previously dealt with by a number of authors, whose names are also known from other sources but whose works are altogether lost. The date of Vātsyāyana is uncertain, but he probably flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D. though some scholars refer him to an even earlier date. The book deals with the subject in a comprehensive manner and throws mueh revealing light on the manners and customs of society.[1] The work is written in a style which may be regarded as midway between Sūtra and Bhāshya, and would have been partly unintelligible but for the excellent commentary *Jayamangalā* by Yaśodhara (thirteen century A D.).

14 CONCLUSION

The broad and running survey of the Sanskrit literature produced in the Classical Age clearly shows that great advance was made in literature on every side and in every branch. Some of the important sciences such as Grammar, Mathematics, Astronomy. and Astrology almost reached their fullest development in this Age; so much so that it forms what may be called the creative period after which they produced very little of permanent value. Similarly, this age was singularly fortunate in having pr duced the best authors and works in almost every branch of *belles lettres* Thus we have Kālidāsa who combines in himself poetic and dramatic talent of an exceptionally high order. He has produced not only two of the five famous Mahākāvyas, and the best Sanskrit drama, but also the best small poem which evoked admiration and imitative efforts from his successors The *Uttararāma-charita,* which ranks only next to his works, belongs to this period. Poets like Bhāravi and Māgha also shed lustre on this period. Even prose was carried to high perfection in this period under a band of able writers like Dandin, Subandhu, and Bāṇa. But though the best in every branch was produced in this age, it must be noted that towards its close artificiality was slowly but steadily creeping into the domain

1 Cf Ch XX

of literature and was destined to eclipse and stifle all real art. In general, it may be said that this age was the Classical or Golden Age of Hindu learning and literature with glorious achievements in almost every branch of artistic and scientific literature.

II. PRAKRIT

The Śvetāmbara Jain Canon and its exegetic literature in Ardha-Māgadhī Prakrit, the few religious texts of the Digambara Jains of the South in the Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī Prakrits, and the commentaries on Buddhist texts written in Pāli constitute the most important Prakrit and Pāli literature during the period under review. These have been discussed in Chapter XVIII and we may here refer only to a few works of outstanding importance outside the domain of canonical literature.

Mention may first be made of independent religious narratives like the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Dharmadāsa and Saṅghadāsa. This work is shown by Alsdorff[1] to contain numerous traces of the influences of the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya Similarly a religious romance called *Taraṅgavatī-kathā* is known to have been written very early. It is mentioned in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra,* which is itself a part of the Āgama, fixed up at the Council of Valabhī. The author of this Romance is said to be Pādalipta, who is also credited with the composition of a Prakrit commentary on a Prakīrṇaka called *Jyotishkaraṇḍaka.* Malayagiri mentions this commentary in his Ṭīkā of this work. But even comprehensive works on Jain Logic and Philosophy were composed in Prakrit during this period and one such is Siddhasena's *Sammatitarka Sūtra.* It consists of about 167 Gāthās divided into three chapters and is an important work on ancient Jain Nyāya. It is mentioned in Jinadāsa's *Viśeshachūrni* on the *Niśītha Sūtra*, and also in the commentary called *Dhavalā*, of Vīrasena, on a Digambara work called the *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama.*

When the Pāli and the Prakrit languages came to be progressively used for literary purposes, there naturally arose a tendency to preserve them in their purer form and so there arose grammars of Prakrits and Pāli. Vararuchi's *Prākṛitaprakāśa* and Chaṇḍa's *Prākritalakshaṇa* are possibly the oldest among the grammars of the Prakrit languages; they are composed in Sanskrit and are moulded on the pattern of Pāṇini. On the other hand, the grammar of the Pāli language called *Kātyāyanaprakaraṇa* was written in the Pāli language itself. The author of this treatise is supposed to be Kātyāyana, who shows a close acquaintance with the *Kāśikā-vritti* of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* and with the *Kātantra Vyākarana.* But the

1. *Apabhraṁśa-Studien,* Leipzig, 1937

Kātyāyanaprakaraṇa is not mentioned by Buddhaghosha in the fifth century A.D. and may have been composed much later.

Even the votaries of Sanskrit language and literature sometimes indulged in writing Prakrit poetry, both of the lyric and the narrative types. Specimens of the former are to be found in the large number of illustrations quoted from different Prakrit poets by Svayambhū in his work on Metres.[1]

Among the Prakrit Kāvyas two deserve special attention, *viz. Setubandha* and *Gauḍa-vaho.* The former is a long narrative poem written in the Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit. It is also known as *Rāvaṇavaha* (killing of Rāvana) and describes the story of the *Rāmāyana* from the expedition to Laṅkā up to the death of Rāvana and the recovery of Sītā. Peterson was the first to suggest, from verse 15 of the Introduction to *Harsha-charita*, that the poem was composed by Pravarasena, though it is not unlikely that he was merely the patron of the real author. Even assuming that Pravarasena wrote the poem we cannot definitely identify him. He is identified by some with king Pravarasena II of Kāshmir, and by others with the Vākāṭaka king of the same name.[2] The work has also been attributed, though quite wrongly, to Kālidāsa It is written in the same artificial style as the Sanskrit Kāvya and exhibits all its characteristic features [3]

Vākpatirāja, the author of *Cauḍa-vaho,* describes himself as a pupil of Bhavabhūti and was a court poet of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The poem was written about A D 725 and is more of a panegyric than an historical poem which it claims to be It contains information about the deeds of valour of the hero, *i.e.* king Yaśovarman,[4] interspersed with descriptions of landscapes and seasons, sunrise and sunset, mountains, rivers and temples, in the manner of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, but also mixed up with many mythical legends. Vākpatirāja's style is generally free from artificial word-puns, though long compounds are not entirely wanting He, however, excels in depicting scenes from village life which is rarely seen in the earlier Kāvyas The present work which runs into 1200 stanzas, is probably only an extract from the original poem, leaving aside the bare historical parts which were not of much poetical value, or perhaps an abridged form of the fuller poem which was never actually written

III. TAMIL

The Tamil literature of the period is almost wholly influenced by the religious movements in South India which will be discussed in Chapter XVIII It will suffice here to state that although Jainism

1 Published in *JBBRAS*, 1935 and *JUB*, November 1936
2 See above, pp. 182 ff 3 Winternitz, *GIL*, III. 63. 4. See pp. 128 ff.

and Buddhism exercised strong influence at first, they had ultimately to yield to Śaivism and Vaishṇavism which together may be said to constitute orthodox Hinduism.

From the sixth or seventh century onwards, the Hindus found inspired champions of their creed in the many Śaiva Nāyanmārs and the Vaishṇava Āḻvārs. These powerful forces of Hindu regeneration gradually succeeded in eliminating Jain influences and establishing on secure foundations the twin glittering edifices of Śaivism and Vaishnavism. Jain influences persisted for a considerable time in the Kannaḍa country and contributed a glorious chapter to Kannaḍa literature. Even in Tamil, stray Jain writers continued to enrich the literature with a new grammar, or a theological poem, or a didactic essay in verse; but supremacy in letters had for ever passed into the hands of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava poets.

1. *The Nāyanmārs and the Āḻvārs*

The Śaiva Nāyanmārs and the Vaishṇava Āḻvārs were simple-hearted *bhaktas* rather than philosophical or theological *pundits*. The Supreme, whether approached in the first instance as Śiva or Vishṇu, was a beloved to be wooed with love and devotion, a king to be obeyed with simple reverence and affection. The Supreme revealed Himself, not to the proud ratiocinative intellect, but to the hungering soul that felt that without His grace it simply could not live! Religion threw off in the twinkling of an eye the gorgeous draperies of dialectic and the sack-cloth and ashes of pessimistic introspection. Religion became a simple and poignant human experience; and the *jīva* and the Lord sought one another out, they *would* be together The hitherto barred doors of Felicity were flung wide open, and the humblest of mortals found to his amazement that he could enter unafraid the sacred precincts, and claim and share the Fatherhood of God. These Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs, whether or not they were singers equally inspired, were all of them god-intoxicated people who transmitted their divine infatuation to millions of their contemporaries. But some of them were superlatively gifted singers as well and have left behind an imperishable legacy of devotional poetry which has rarely been equalled in quantity and quality and never surpassed during the whole course of human history.

We owe the collection and preservation of the devotional songs of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints to the indefatigable labours of two religious leaders, Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Śrī Nāthamuni. The former arranged the available Śaiva hymns into eleven *Tirumurais*, the first seven (collectively called *Tevāram*), bringing together the hymns of Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar, the eighth (called

Tiruvāchakam) being the work of Māṇikkavāchakar, the ninth (called *Tiru-iśaippā*) being a miscellaneous collection, the tenth bringing together the mystic outpourings of a sixth century Śaiva yogi, Tirumūlar, and the eleventh and last *Tirumuṟai* being another miscellany of poems from Nakkīrar to Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi. Likewise, Śrī Nāthamuni arranged the extant Vaishṇava hymns into a colossal collection, *Nālāyira Prabandham*, a veritable treasure-house of devotional poetry. The four thousand hymns included in this collection are the work of twelve Āḻvārs (of whom one is the woman mystic, Āṇḍāl), the major contributions being those of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār, Nammāḻvār, Periyāḻvār, Tirumaḻiśai-Āḻvār, and Śrī Āṇḍāl.

2. *The Śaiva Saints*

Tirumūlar, author of the tenth *Tirumurai*, enunciates in his work (called *Tirumandiram*) the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine of Pati-Paśu-Pāśam. Tirumūlar believed that the spirit no less than matter must be accepted as real, for it is impossible to conceive of one quite independently of the other. Likewise, Love and Śivam are not different categories of experience· Love culminates into Śivam and rests in that beatific condition. For achieving one's salvation, it is essential that the devotee should choose a reliable guide:

> The blind who spurn the guidance of the wise
> Will seek the guidance of the blind;
> The blind and the blind will dance a blind round,
> And together the blind will fall into the ditch

Tirumandiram is made up of 3,000 *mantras* and is held in great veneration by the Tamil Śaivas.

About a century later, Māṇikkavāchakar and the other three great Śaiva Samayāchāryas—Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar—flourished in the Tamil country and sounded a clarion call, a call to self-knowledge, a call to implicit self-surrender at the feet of the Supreme. It is now generally agreed that Appar and Sambandar were contemporaries, and that Sundarar lived two or three decades after Appar's death in A.D. 681. It is, however, a debatable point whether Māṇikkavāchakar preceded or came after the three *Tevāram* singers. The discussions on this point are seemingly endless, but to the present writer it appears probable that Māṇikkavāchakar also was Appar's contemporary. The dates arrived at by Mr C V. Narayana Ayyar seem to be on the whole satisfactory; Appar (A D 600-681); Sambandar (A.D. 644-660); Māṇikkavāchakar (A.D 660-692), and Sundarar, who "must have lived for 18 years any time between A D. 710 and A D. 735 "[1]

1. *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*, p. 462.

(i) Appar or Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār

Appar was originally called by his Veḷḷāḷa parents Marunīkkiyār. He at first changed from Śaivism to the Jain faith but again became an ardent devotee of Śiva. He made numerous and life-long friendships. He bore the pin-pricks of the Jains with dignity, and once he sent this message to the Pallava king who was a Jain:

> We are slaves of nobody, we fear not death;
> Sinless, we shall not taste the torments of Hell;
> Proud are we that we know no ill, no bondage;
> Ignorant of pain, we are for ever happy.

Appar's contribution to *Tevāram* consists of 313 hymns. Their tone and texture, their content and imagery, are conditioned by two facts concerning Appar's life. Of the four great Nāyanārs, only Appar lived to a ripe old age, living longer than the other three put together. His longevity helped him, as it helped Sophocles, to see life steadily and to see it whole. Accordingly, Appar's ripest and most characteristic hymns partake of the mellowness of age and breathe the persuasive gentleness that comes from experience. With the wise pensiveness of age, Appar quietly assured his followers:

> He is our father and mother,
> He is our brother and sister;
> Of the three worlds is He creator,
> The dweller in the flowery city;
> He'll help us all, the Unseen God.

Secondly, being a Vellāla by birth whose ancestral calling was agriculture, Appar naturally insinuated himself into the hearts of the lowly and the wretched who mostly people our villages. He read Nature's thought-processes like an open book Birds and beasts were next of kin to him. The sea, the hills, the woods, the fields rich with crops or green grass, the winding rivers; lions, leopards, tigers, jackals, green-legged frogs; water-lilies, violets, the jasmine and the lotus, plants, creepers, trees; cascades and floods, the dazzling moon of which the cobra itself is afraid; these are the usual themes of Appar's dissolving melodies. The devotee no less than the farmer speaks in verses like:

> Didst thou plough with Truth and sow the seed of Desire,
> Didst thou weed out Untruth and water with patient skill,
> Didst thou pledge with Propriety and stand by in affection,
> Then must you surely reach Śivan's place and see Him.

Verily the "King of Beautiful Speech," Appar's strains have the sumptuous quality of autumn, giving us the strength to face the future with courage and abiding hope.

(ii) Sambandar

Sambandar was a "marvellous boy who died in his prime." He is reputed to have composed 10,000 hymns in his all too brief life of but sixteen summers, though only 384 of these are now known to us. The artless grace and mellifluous sweetness of Sambandar's hymns have been universally praised, but they cannot be brought out in translations. The following verse, the most famous perhaps of his outpourings, is said to have involuntarily escaped Sambandar's mouth while he was still a boy hardly three years old:

> The serpent is His ear-stud, He rides the bull, He is crowned with the pure White crescent;
> He is smeared with the ashes of destroyed forests;
> He is decked with a garland of full-blossoming flowers;
> When of yore His devotees called Him, He came to glittering Piramapuram and bestowed His grace upon all;
> He is indeed the Thief who has stolen my soul away.

Two other frequently quoted verses may be freely rendered as follows:

> He will not tarry with those who sing not His praises,
> We too shall avoid their godless company . . . .
> One's father is dead, one's mother is dead, one's own turn will come,
> For Yama with his mace is awaiting the appointed hour to carry everyone away;
> Poor soul! You hope to bide here for ever, you'll be snatched away no less!
> But Felicity is yours if you follow the lead of Tiruvārūr—fear not Death.

(iii) Mānikkavāchakar

This great saint's life is narrated both in the *Tiruvilaiyādal* and the *Vādavūrar* purānams. Like Sambandar, Mānikkavāchakar too was born of Brahmin parents. Later, Mānikkavāchakar became the Prime Minister of a Pāndyan king, but soon lost his confidence. Realization came to him in due course, and thenceforth he dedicated himself to the Life Divine The collection of hymns known as *Tiruvāchakam* is Mānikkavāchakar's spiritual autobiography, and it takes us as it were to the very laboratory of mysticism. Reading it, we feel that we peer into the very core of this great devotee's heart. Dr G. U Pope has rendered into sensitive English verse the whole of *Tiruvāchakam*, from which the following may be quoted in illustration of the singular quality of Mānikkavāchakar's spiritual fervour:

"Grass was I, shrub was I, worm, tree,
Full many a kind of beast, bird, snake,
Stone, man, and demon. 'Midst Thy hosts I served.
The form of mighty Asuras, ascetics, gods I bore.
Within these immobile and mobile forms of life,
In every species born, weary I've grown, great Lord!

"I dread not mighty jav'lin, dripping gore;
Nor glance of maids with jewell'd arms!
But those that will not sweetly taste His grace,
Whose glance can melt the inmost soul,
Who dances in the hallow'd court,—my Gem
Unstained and pure—nor praise His Name;
Such men of loveless hearts when we behold,
Ah me! we feel no dread like this!"

It has been well said that *Tiruvāchakam* will melt the heart and purify all sins; that he who is unmoved by its strains is veritably a stone. *Tiruvāchakam* seems to bring out the quintessence of Tamil Saivism—and especially its doctrine of self-surrender to the Supreme God—even more completely than *Tevāram*, astonishing as is that variegated and rich collection of devotional lyrics. Sambandar's artless and moving strains, Sundarar's haunting lullabies of love, Appar's home-spun similes and images bespeaking ripe wisdom and experience, all these fuse into a unity, dazzling like the midday sun and profound as night, in the fifty-one songs that constitute *Tiruvāchakam;* and Mānikkavāchakar is indeed, in his profound humility and all-embracing humanity, among the most infallible of our "ambassadors of the Absolute"

(iv) Sundarar

Sundarar—or Sundaramūrti Nāyanār—was the last of the four great Śaiva Samayāchāryas. During his incredibly short life of only eighteen years. Sundarar crowded a career of service in the cause of the Divine which is astounding. Of the tens of thousands of songs attributed to him, hardly one hundred have been preserved. Instinct with singular beauty and glow of colour, Sundarar's hymns are on every devout Tamil *bhakta's* lips to this day, and are sung by musicians in temples and *mutts*. Here is a free rendering of one of them:

I'm the slave of all His devotees true,
The slave of all the laureates of the spirit,
The slave of those whose minds do rest in God,
The slave of all the inhabitants of Tiruvārūr,

The slave of the priests who daily conduct the divine service
thrice,
The slave of the ascetics anointed all over,
The slave of the *bhaktas* beyond Tamiḻakam's confines,
The slave for ever of Tiruvārūr's Lord.

Utterances like "O Madman, with the shining crescent-crown," "I will not die, nor be born again, nor being born will grow old again", "As I meditated on thy flower-soft feet in terms of love, my bonds burst away for ever", and scores of others from his hymns, being once heard, must reverberate in one's memory for ever.

(v) Other Śaiva Saints

In addition to the eleven *Tirumurais*, which include only the devotional poetry of the Nāyanārs, there is also the *Periyapurāṇam*, a comprehensive account of the lives of the sixty-three Śaiva saints held in veneration to this day. It is a stupendous work of over four thousand stanzas and fact and legend mingle freely in its pages. The sixty-three saints were drawn from every important Tamil caste then known—kings, Brahmins, chieftains, merchants, farmers, shepherds, potters, weavers, hunters, fishermen, 'untouchables', etc. —and the *Periyapurāṇam* was thus a reminder to the Tamil people that God's love and salvation were quite independent of caste or profession or the other material circumstances of life In the hagiology are also found many memorable pictures of women devotees like Tilakavatiyār, Punitavatiyār and Mangaiyarkkaraśiyār. The authorship of the *Periyapurāṇam* is attributed to Śēkkilār, himself the subject of a purāṇam by Umāpati.

3. The Āḻvārs

We now pass on to the Āḻvārs The word 'āḻvār' has been explained as 'one in deep wisdom'; and the 'āḻvārs' are thus wise seers who exercise a spiritual sovereignty over the hearts of men. Tradition arranges the Āḻvārs into three groups in the following order:

(1) *Ancient:*	Poykai Āḻvār	..	4203 B.C.
	Bhūtattār	..	4203 B C.
	Peyāḻvār	..	4203 B.C.
	Tirumaliśai Āḻvār	..	4203 B C.
(2) *Middle:*	Nammāḻvār	..	3102 B.C.
	Madhurakavi Āḻvār	..	3102 B.C.
	Kulaśekhara Āḻvār	..	3075 B.C.
	Periāḻvār	..	3056 B.C.
	Āṇḍāl	..	3005 B.C.

(3) *Last:*	Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Āḻvār	..	2814 B.C.
	Tiruppān Āḻvār	..	2760 B.C.
	Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār	..	2706 B.C.

As the traditional dates of these Āḻvārs take us to anything from five to six thousand years backwards, these seemingly precise dates are of no use whatsoever as historical data. At the same time, as Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar points out, "it is still possible to regard *this traditional order* as fairly in chronological sequence."[1] As it is impossible with the facts at our disposal to determine with any exactitude the dates of the Āḻvārs, we have to be satisfied with the broad inference that the Āḻvārs in all probability flourished in the period marked by the extreme limits of A.D. 500 and 850, and that it is not unlikely that some of the greatest Śaiva Nāyanārs and Vaishṇava Āḻvārs were actually contemporaries.

The Āḻvārs hailed from different parts of the Tamil country. The Pallava country contributed the first four Āḻvārs enumerated above, and Choḻa Deśa the last three; the Chera country contributed Kulasekhara; and Pāṇḍya Nāḍu contributed the rest, notably Nammāḻvār, the greatest of them all, and Āṇḍāl one of the supreme women mystics of the world. From this distribution it is sometimes assumed that the Vaishṇava movement began first in the Pallava country in the north and then passed on to the Choḻa country, and finally gravitated to the south, culminating in the Tinnevelly (Tirunelveli) District, the place of the great Nammāḻvār's nativity. It is also worthy of note that the twelve Āḻvārs, even like the sixty-three Nāyanārs, are a cosmopolitan group, being gathered from all castes and various strata of society, their one common characteristic being their fellowship in the love of God. Nammāḻvār, like Appar, was a Vellāla by caste; Tirumaṅgai came from a *kaḻḻa* (robber) family; Kulaśekhara was a princely ascetic; Periāḻvār was a Brahmin. All this illustrates the noble catholicity of the Tamils of a bygone age.

The four thousand stanzas that make up the *Nālāyira Prabandham* are divided into four more or less equal parts. The first thousand stanzas include the work of Periāḻvār, Āṇḍāl, Kulaśekhara, Tirumaliśai, Toṇḍaradippoḍi, Tiruppān, and Madhurakavi; this part is called *Tirumoḻi*. The second part, called *Peria Tirumoli*, is the work exclusively of Tirumaṅgai; the third part, called *Iyalpā*, includes the work of the first three Āḻvārs, and the rest of the third part is made up of Tirumaliśai's, Nammāḻvār's and Tirumaṅgai's contributions; the last part, *Tiruvāymoḻi*, is exclusively the work of Nammāḻvār. These four thousand hymns have been frequently annotated, and the verses are committed to memory and recited in temples by Tamil Vaishṇavas to this day.

1. *Ancient India and South Indian Culture*, II, p. 738.

(i) *The first four Āḻvārs*

The first three Āḻvārs, Poykai, Bhūtattār and Peyāḻvār have contributed one hundred stanzas each in *veṇbā* metre in praise of Tirumāl. The poems are richly embroidered by references to Vishṇu's sports in His various *avatāras;* but the general key-note of the poems is love, an upsurge of mystical longing for the Lord. The traditional story is that Poykai, Bhūtattār and Peyālvār accidentally took shelter in the same place in pitch darkness. Of a sudden they became conscious of a fourth person, a blazing transcendence that lifted them up from their normal consciousness and gave them for the nonce the voice of poesy. And when morning came, they gave utterance to their ecstatic thoughts. One stanza from each is here freely rendered into English:

Poykai:

> The river flows to the dark agitated sea;
> The lotus gazes at the rising sun;
> Life gravitates towards the God of Death;
> Knowledge wells up to reach the Divine Consort of Lakshmī,
> sprung up from the ravishing lotus.

Bhūtattār:

> From the knowledge of the Veda you know that its essence
> Is the singing of Purushottama's praise;
> If the Veda is beyond you, poor folk, know that
> The Veda's cream is but the recitation of Mādhava's name.

Peyālvār:

> This day I saw the Divine Consort by the side of Her blue-tinted Lord,
> I saw His glorious golden effulgence, bright as burning sun,
> I saw His gold-made *chakra,* irresistible in war,
> I saw His conch that wins the love of its beholders.

Tirumaḻiśai, the fourth and last in the first group, appears to have been a militant Vaishnavite, giving no quarter to Buddhist, Jain or Śaiva. He was uncompromising in his monotheism, and his learning was prodigious. This is how he describes the discipline of God-realisation:

> When the grooves of the senses are barred and sealed,
> When the high-way of knowledge is lit with Wisdom's lamp,
> When intense pity melts the heart and relaxes the bones,
> Then only can Vishṇu the wielder of the Sacred Disc be seen.

His single-minded devotion and firm faith are revealed in an asseveration like:

> Be it today or tomorrow or some future day,
> Your grace is surely mine;
> I shall take refuge in none other than you,
> Neither will you ever abandon me, O Nārāyaṇa.

(ii) *Nammālvār*

Of the five Ālvārs in the second group, Nammālvār and Madhurakavi may be taken together. Nammālvār was a mystic *in excelsis*, one of the greatest of god-intoxicated men. Madhurakavi, the Brahmin scholar and saint, sought out Nammālvār and, as it were, nursed that great mystic bud with the warmth of his devotion, till, petal by petal, it blossomed to its full amplitude and dedicated its unearthly beauty to the God of Gods. Nammālvār sang of God because the urge to trumpet His praises was in him an elemental irresistible force; and Madhurakavi took down the verses as they came, and preserved them for posterity. The sweetness, intuitive depth, and kindling imagery of Nammālvār's hymns have been praised, but cannot be praised too highly. His poems express piercingly the varied mystic notes from self-abasement to the finality of ecstatic union. Whether he is screaming like a homesick soul eager to return to the Father, or affirming his faith in loud ringing tones, or protesting his love like one god-intoxicated in the extreme, or but describing the splendours of beatific union, equally is Nammālvār gloriously articulate and a supreme laureate of the spirit Quotations cannot do justice to his poetry, but the following verse expresses the core of Nammālvār's faith:

> The indwelling God is in all created things and in all the religions professed by Man;
> It is in vain to reach Him through the senses; and He defies mere intellectual cognition;
> Seek Him in the soul's sanctuary, the source of all life,
> In firm meditation, but free from disturbing mundane thoughts,
> And the Lord can be secured for ever.

Nammālvār's contribution to the *Nālāyira Prabandham* consists of the whole of the fourth part, called *Tiruvāymoli*, and *Tiruviruttam*, *Tiruvāśiriyam* and *Periyatiruvantādi*, which are included in the third part. *Tiruvāymoli* is subdivided into ten parts, and each part contains ten poems; this century of poems taking up 1,102 stanzas. Nammālvār's poetry is encyclopædic in its mystic range and covers the entire gamut of striving, half-lights and false trails,

the nights of darkness, the burst of morning sunshine, the splendour of beatitude and the ecstasy undying. The *jīva* seeks Him and would be with Him, because He has already chosen and is with His devotee. The *jīva* sometimes is compared to a love-sick maiden hungering and pining for the divine nectar of her Lord's love. The symbolism of love is intricate and subtly elaborate, and the whole of *Tiruviruttam* is cast in the form of such a symbolic love poem. *Tiruviruttam* indeed is one of the incandescent peaks of mystic poetry and its century of stanzas illustrate poetically every unblemished shade of erotic symbolism. The whole poem has been done into English by Mr. J. S. M. Hooper from which the following are extracted. Nammālvār is the maid rapt in devotion to her beloved Lord, Vishṇu. They have met, and after a moment's infinity He has left her, and she is experiencing the 'dark night of the soul':

> "Love's glow is paling, and instead, a dark
> And sickly yellow is spreading;—and the night
> Becomes an age! This is the matchless wealth
> My good heart gave me when it yearned and sought
> Keen discus-wielding Kaṇṇan's tulasī cool' ....
> The flying swans and herons I did beg,
> Cringing: 'Forget not, ye who first arrive,
> If ye behold my heart with Kaṇṇan there
> Oh, speak of me, and ask it 'Sir, not yet
> Hast thou returned to her? And is it right?'. .
> Many a different way of worshipping
> And many clashing creeds from different minds,
> And in the many creeds their many gods
> Thou'st made, spreading abroad thy form! O thou
> Matchless, I will proclaim my love for thee!"[1]

Madhurakavi was the born disciple, his whole life being dedicated to Nammālvār; his short hymn in praise of his *guru* is sung by all Vaishnava devotees. It is a fervent song of but eleven stanzas and concludes with the verse:

> He (Nammāḷvār) poured the cream of the Vedas into his songs,
> Singing a thousand grace-filled hymns,
> To feed his devotees with the love of God·
> Praise him for his peerless grace!

(iii) *Periyāḷvār and Āṇḍāl*

Periyāḷvār (known also as Vishnu-Chittar and Bhaṭṭarpirān) was a Brahmin who, according to tradition, found the child Āṇḍāl

1 *Hymns of the Ālvārs*, pp 64, 69, 87 (*Tiruviruttam*, 12, 30, 96).

at the foot of a tree while digging in his garden and, taking her home, brought her up with more than a fatherly affection. Periyāḻvār's most famous song is *Tiruppallāṇḍu*, which he composed when he was vouchsafed the beatific vision of the Lord:

> For many a year, many a year,
> Many a thousand year,
> Many a thousand million thousand year,
> Oh Thou victor over the Mallas,
> Thou sapphire-tinted strong-shouldered,
> Thou effulgent mighty One,
> May your shining crimson feet
> Be for ever and for ever blest!

That the devotee should be *anxious* about the All-seeing, All-powerful Eternal One is the measure of his poignant all-human love for the Lord. Periyālvār has contributed about five hundred hymns to the "Four Thousand", and they are remarkable for their earnestness, learning, descriptive power, and metrical resilience Periyālvār spent the best part of his life at Śrīvilliputtūr (in Rāmnād District), serving the local deity, and composing the *Tirumoli*, a splendid imaginative re-creation of Lord Kṛishṇa's life

Periyālvār's daughter, Āṇḍāl or Kōdai, from the outset thirsted for the Divine, and poured forth her divine love into some of the finest poetry in the language She saw herself as one of Kṛishṇa's *gopīs*, sought Him with singular fervour and determination, and achieved union with Him at last at Śrīraṅgam. Of her two works, *Nāchchiyār Tirumoli* and *Tiruppāvai*, the latter is rightly more famous. It places her alongside of great women mystics like St Teresa, Rabia, and Mīrā *Tiruppāvai* is a pageant, a song-offering, a lyrical essay on the dynamics of true devotion, a feast of the most marvellous music, an imperishable treasure in the hearts of Tamil Vaishṇava *bhaktas*, especially women. Āṇḍāl and her girl-friends bathe at dawn in the fresh waters that rain from the sky and go in procession to Kṛishna's palace; of imagination all compact, they are the *gopīs* once again, seeking the nectar of divine love at Kṛishṇa's hands The processionary rhythm is in tune with the wonderful theme and winds its beauty into our hearts. The love-sick devotees know full well the efficacy of Krishṇa's love:

> "When thus all pure we come, strewing fair flowers,
> Adoring, and with songs upon our lips,
> And meditating in our hearts on him—
> Māyan, the child of Northern Mathurā:
> The Ruler of great Jumna's sacred stream:
> The shining lamp which in the shepherd caste

Appeared: Dāmodaran, who brightly lit
His mother's womb—faults past and faults to come
Cease, like to cotton that within the fire
Flames into dust".[1]

And their faith and their adoration are no transient things, but will abide eternally:

" .. .. not for today alone
Have we become thy slaves, but, Govinda,
For aye, for sevenfold births! Only to thee
We'll service give from us do thou remove
All other loves ..."[2]

(iv) Kulaśekhara

Kulaśekhara, the remaining member of the second group of Āḻvārs, was a king of Travancore whose god-hunger made him more and more unworldly, till at last he renounced the throne and wholeheartedly consecrated himself to the service of the Divine *Perumāl Tirumoli*, his contribution to the "Four Thousand," consists of 103 stanzas, one of which may be translated as follows

They (the worldly-wise) are but mad men to me,
And I am mad too (*they* think),
Who benefits by this talk?
I call you, Kṛishṇa, Ranganātha!
I am mad with longing for You!

(v) Tiruppān, Toṇḍaraḍippodi and Tirumaṅgai

Of the three Ālvārs of the last group, Tiruppān was responsible for only ten stanzas and Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi for fifty-five; but Tirumangai contributed no less than 1,351 stanzas, a slightly larger number than even Nammālvār's contribution. Tiruppān was a member of the so-called 'untouchable' caste, but so great was his devotion to Lord Ranganātha that He asked the Brahmin priest of the temple to bring Tiruppān on his shoulders to His presence There he broke into song and *Amalanādippirān* was the result. Here is the fifth stanza of this poem:

Having destroyed the burden of my long-gathered sins,
He made me turn to Him in love, and entered my heart
Himself;
I know of no austerities that secured this love,
Rather have I been saved by the divine grace of
Raṅganātha, wearing the pearl-necklace, with
Lakshmī seated on His fair bosom!

1 *Op cit*, p. 51 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, originally called Vipra Nārāyaṇa, lived for a time with a courtesan and got into trouble, but was ultimately saved by Raṅganātha. He now dedicated himself to God and wrote the two hymns, *Tirumālai* and *Tiruppaḷḷi Yeluchchi*, addressed to Raṅganātha. The following is from *Tirumālai:*

> Should men live one hundred years as the Vedas say,
> One half will be wasted in sleep; the fifty remaining will be likewise wasted
> In childhood, boyhood, sensuality, hunger, disease and old age;
> O Dweller in Śrīraṅgam's temple! I desire birth no more!

The life of Tirumangai, the last of the Ālvārs, seems to have been a colourful and adventurous one, his career was not unlike that of St. Paul's and his missionary fervour was catching. A prolific poet and a skilful versifier, Tirumaṅgai's songs have much rush and tumult and decorative matter, though as a mystic poet he has to be placed below Nammālvār. One stanza from Tirumangai is given here:

> (When you met Guha the boatman) You did not deem him ignorant or strange or of low birth,
> But pitied him and further showered on him your celestial grace
> And said. "This my companion (Sītā) with the shy deer's downcast eyes is your companion as well;
> My brother (Lakshmana) is your brother." When he (Guha) wished not to be left behind
> You added. "You are my friend, bide here."
> These words have come down the ages and have led my heart
> To Your feet, ocean-hued in colour, O Lord of Śrīraṅgam rich with luxuriant trees!

The biographical accounts as given in the *Guruparamparai* mix fact and fiction so liberally that they are of little value to the historian Be that as it may, there cannot be two opinions about the spiritual fervour and high poetical quality of the *Nālāyira Prabandham.*

(vi) Iṛaiyanār and others

This chapter may close with a passing reference to a few unclassified writers of the Śaṅgam and post-Śaṅgam periods There was Idaikkādar, who wrote a book of fifty-four verses distinguished for their verbal conceits; there was Kallādar, the author of a poem called *Kallāḍam;* Perundevanār, author of a Tamil *Mahābhārata,* of

which only a few lines have survived; there were Divākarar and Piṅgaḷar, father and son, authors of dictionaries bearing their respective names; there was Iṟaiyanār, of *Ahapporuḷ* fame, the greatest grammarian of his day; Aiyan-āritanār, the editor of *Puṟapporul-veṇbāmālai;* there was Vāmanāchāryar, the author of a long Jain poem giving the story of two brothers; and there were also many women poets whose verses are represented in some of the great anthologies of the Third Śangam.

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CHAPTER XVI

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

I. POLITICAL THEORY

The political ideas of the period covered by the present volume are scattered through works belonging to various branches of our ancient literature These are.—

1. The late metrical Smṛitis, especiallly those of Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana,

2 The group of works belonging to the first phase of the extant Purāṇa literature, especially, the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇas*,

3 The writings of Buddhist poets and philosophers such as Āryadeva Āryaśūra and Vasubandhu, to which list we may add the name of Buddhaghosa,

4 The works of the poets, dramatists and prose writers belonging to this golden Age of classical Sanskrit literature In this list may be mentioned the names of Viśākhadatta, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Māgha,

5 The works on the technical science of polity represented by one complete specimen, namely the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka.

It is impossible to give here a summary even of the principal political ideas of this period We may consider here four of their branches, namely, (A) Origin of the social and the political order, (B) Law of the social order and the State law, (C) Relation of the temporal ruler to his subjects, and (D) Relation of Politics to Ethics

A *Origin of the social and the political order*

Nārada and Brihaspati give us short accounts of the creation of the State and its institutions When in days of yore says Nārada, the Patriarch Manu exercised sovereignty, the people were wholly devoted to virtue and were speakers of truth, but when virtue (*dharma*) disappeared among men, law and legal procedure (*vyavahāra*) were instituted, and the king was created for their administration as well as for wielding the rod of chastisement We have a shorter version of the above in Brihaspati. This account involves the conception of a primitive State ruled by a Patriarch with highly virtuous subjects and as such without laws, and its transformation

because of man's sin into the law-State under a human ruler. In the second place two parallel stories of the creation of the social order are found in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmanda Purānas* In the first account we read how human beings were created by Brahmā at the beginning of the present creation-period in such a way that they enjoyed complete equality as well as perfect happiness, and how the fall of man led the Gods in their own interest not only to create various crops for their subsistence, but also to divide them into four castes and prescribe their duties and occupations The second account is practically a supplement of the first Here we are told how the duties of the castes and the orders as laid down by Brahmā in the Vedas and the Smṛitis were proclaimed by the seven sages at the beginning of the second creation-cycle, and how Manu created two kings when the people neglected their duties and fell into strife This means that the Society and the State were created by the Divine Being or the semi-divine beings so as to keep pace with man's growing degeneracy and decline. In the third place we have two parallel stories of the evolution of the world and of man and his institutions in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga.* These are imperfect visions of the original story occurring in the Pali canon The accounts tell us how "the beings" at the beginning of the cosmic Age had god-like qualities, and how they were subsequently transformed into humans When the rice lost its self-ripening quality through their sins, they marked the boundaries of their fields When theft and other vices appeared in their midst, they created a king who would protect their fields in return for a share of their rice The above begins with the conception of an original State of Nature with beings enjoying perfect happiness It then tells us how the institutions of property and the State were created in successive stages because of their growing degeneracy and decline by the processes of Social Contract and Governmental Compact respectively.[1]

B Law of the social order and the State law

As regards the branch of social order, the later Smritis repeat and clarify the ideas of Manu and Yājñavalkya about the authority and sources of *dharma.* We may quote a few typical extracts and views to illustrate this point. No one, says Parāśara, ever created the Vedas, but on the contrary the Veda was remembered by Brahmā as the Smriti was remembered by Manu at each successive creation-period (*kāla*). This involves the novel dogma of periodical procla-

1 Nār Introd p 2, Bri I 11 (stories of creation of the State)=*Vāyu* VIII 1-171, *Brahm.* VIII 1-172, *Vāyu* V 7-8= *Brahm* 62 (stories of creation of the social order) Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* III 98, Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* Chap XIII (stories of evolution of the world) For the original version see *Dīgha Nikāya* Vol III, pp 84-95

mation of the Sacred Canon by the gods and sages during successive time-cycles, thus reconciling the old doctrine of eternity of the canon with the Purāṇic and late *Smṛiti* theory of recurrent evolution of the world Again Bṛihaspati and Parāśara repeat Manu's dictum (I 85-6) making austerities, knowledge, sacrifice and gifts the duty (*dharma*) for the *Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali* Ages respectively. What is more, they quote different canonical authorities for the successive Age-Cycles Dharma, we are further told, is earned in one year, three seasons, three fortnights and one day in *Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali* Ages respectively. Dharma was entire in *Kṛita*, it was three-fourths in *Tretā*, one-half in *Dvāpara* and one-fourth in *Kali*. The above extracts introduce us to the doctrine of different authorities and standards of *dharma*, as well as that of proportionate decline in the quantum of *dharma* along with proportionate increase in the facility of its acquisition for suiting man's diminishing capacity during the successive Ages. To turn to another point, what act on being done, says Viśvāmitra, is approved by the Aryans versed in the canon (*āgama*) is law (*dharma*), and what they blame is held to be its opposite. This involves the important principle that enlightened opinion in the final analysis is the criterion of law.[1] To the above we have to add that the Smṛiti authorities of this period enumerate shorter or longer lists of what are called practices forbidden in the *Kali* age (*Kali-varjya*). Taking the ancient custom of levirate (*niyoga*) as an example, Bṛihaspati observes that it cannot be practised by others because of the diminishing potency of the later Ages. Men in the *Krita* and *Tretā* Ages, the author explains, were endowed with austerities and knowledge, while those in the *Dvāpara* and *Kali* Ages are lacking in strength. According to an anonymous authority quoted in *Smṛitichandrikā*, the above acts were forbidden for the purpose of protection of the people by men of learning and high character who made a convention (*vyavasthā*) to that effect; for as the author remarks with striking boldness, the conventions (*samayas*) of good men are authoritative like the Vedas. The first extract repeats an old *Smriti* argument justifying the rejection of palpably immoral ancient practices by the transparent fiction of the superior stamina of the ancients. The second extract involves an original principle namely, that of the binding (almost canonical) authority of conventions of good men abrogating outworn ancient practices in the public interest[2]

Turning to the branch of State Law, we have first to mention that the late Smritis repeat and develop the older ideas of its sources

1 Par I 20-24, Bri II 4 &14, Viśvāmitra quoted in *Kṛtyaratnākara* p. 7 (authority and sources of *dharma*)

2 Bri II 267-69, Quotation in *Smriti-chandrikā* I pp 30-31 (*Kalivarjyas*). For other refs see *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p 309

and their authority. To quote a few typical extracts, Bṛihaspati bestows high praise upon the king who investigates suits in accordance with the canonical principles. What has been established by themselves, he continues, among the castes born in the wrong order (*pratiloma*) as well as the residents of inaccessible places, and in regions, castes, families and so forth, must be maintained just as they are; otherwise the subjects would be disaffected, and the people would be alienated and the king's army as well as revenue would be lost Persons following a number of very unorthodox practices mentioned by name, the author concludes, do not thereby become liable either for penance or for punishment by the king Whatever convention, we are told by Kātyāyana in the same spirit, has been settled in accordance with the consent of the people of a particular region must always be preserved in writing and sealed with the royal seal; it should be sedulously upheld like the dictates of the Sacred Law. According to an anonymous authority, quoted by the commentator on *Nārada-Smriti*, usages which are prevalent in different regions and have been handed down from generation to generation must never be overruled by the authority of the canonical texts [1] In the first extract Brihaspati allows the authority of law to the conventions of disapproved social groups as well as regional and family usages, while he grants complete immunity to people for observance of admittedly heterodox regional customs In the second extract Kātyāyana grants the fullest authority of law to the popular and especially the merchants' conventions with adequate provision for their official record In the last extract the author goes so far as to lay down the doctrine of inviolability of usages irrespectively of the canonical injunctions

C *Relation of the temporal ruler to his subjects*

The ideas of the authority and obligation of the temporal ruler in the older Smritis are repeated and developed by their successors Thus as regards the principle of authority the king is identified with Vishnu by Nārada and with Indra by Kātyāyana The king's person according to Brihaspati was created by appropriating portions of the lustre of seven deities The king, says Nārada, assumes five divine forms according as he fulfils as many distinctive functions. All creatures, continues Bṛihaspati in the context from which we have quoted above, yield themselves for enjoyment and swerve not from their duties through fear of the king in a country without a king the occupations of agriculture trade and money-lending do not exist, and therefore the king was created in former times as the leader of the castes and the orders In the result Nārada reflecting the extreme

1 Bri I 1 126-31, Kat vv 46, 50, Asahāya's commy on Nā , Introd 37 (authority and sources of the State Law)

view on this point, requires the subjects to abide by the king's command whether right or wrong and to honour him, even though he should be worthless.[1] In the above extracts the authors develop the king's authority after their predecessors on the triple basis of his origin, his office, and his functions, and they draw from the same the corollary of the subjects' obedience to their ruler.

As regards the complementary principle of the obligation of the temporal ruler towards his subjects, the king is required by Nārada to protect all orders in accordance with the canonical rules, while his share of the agricultural produce is explained as his fee (*vetana*) for the protection of the people The king, says Kātyāyana, was created for the three-fold purpose of constant protection of the people, of eradication of thorns and of honouring the Brāhmanas[2]

The early Purānas repeat the three-fold basis of the king's authority as well as his obligation both in their formal statements of royal duties and in their stories of individual kings[3] Special mention may be made in this connection of the Purāṇa stories of the tyrant Vena and his illustrious son and successor Prithu in three more or less parallel versions[4] We are here told on the one hand that the State of Nature without a king is synonymous with wild anarchy, even the tyrant Vena is said to be gifted with superhuman faculties, while his son Prithu is expressly indicated by his bodily signs to have been a portion of the God Vishnu On the other hand the exclusive claim of the king to divine honours and to unlimited obedience on the part of his subjects is put into the mouth of Vena only to justify his deposition and death at the hands of the offended sages.

As regards the authors of the technical science of polity, we find in Kāmandaka such statements as the following. Protection of the people depends upon the king and their livelihood depends upon protection without the king the law would disappear and with the disappearance of the law the world would perish This means that the king's office is the grand safeguard of the people's security as well as stability of the social order after the canonical standards. The author's position is amplified in other extracts The king who is approved by the aged, we are told, is the cause of prosperity of this world should the king not be a good guide, the people would suffer complete destruction like a boat without the helmsman· the king who is devoted to righteousness unites himself as well as his

1 Nār XVIII 13, 24-29, Kāt v 8 Bri I 1, 6-8 (authority of the temporal ruler)
2 Nār XVIII 5 & 17 Kāt 15 (obligation of the temporal ruler)
3 Cf *Vāyu* 88. 49 and 69 (stories of Kings Kuvalāśva and Māndhātā *Mārkandeya* 27.21-5 (of Queen Madālasā)
4 *Vāyu* 62, 104-93= Brahm 68 104-93 (1st version) Vishnu I 13 11-87 (2nd version), *Bhāgavata* IV 13 16-23 (3rd version)

subjects with the three-fold end of life, but he who is otherwise surely destroys both.[1] In other words, while the king with the requisite qualifications is conceived to be capable of ensuring complete security and happiness of the individual and prosperity of the State, the king without these qualifications is held to be the cause of the people's destruction.

The principle of the king's obligation is dealt with by the Buddhist authors in a more original fashion. As his followers, says the hero of a story in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, being always intent on carrying out his orders have charged him with the burden of rulership, he has undertaken to bear the same with affection fixed on them as on his own sons. The above involves the argument that protection is a ruler's moral obligation towards the ruled in return for their obedience A more daring line is taken by Āryadeva in his *Chatuhśataka*. How can you, asks the author addressing an imaginary king, feel pride,—you who are a mere slave of the multitude (*gaṇadāsa*) fed (*bhrita*) by the one-sixth share (of the crops paid by the subjects)?[2] In the above the author lays down the doctrine of popular sovereignty on the basis of the old *Smṛiti* principle of the king's quasi-contractual relation with his subjects.

A few words may be said about the ideas of the masters of classical Sanskrit literature on this subject. The king is declared to be an image of the god Vishnu by Viśākhadatta in the concluding verse of his *Mudrārākshasa* drama. An altogether different view is found in another passage. Some kings being deceived with more than mortal praises by cunning rogues, says a wise minister to a young prince in an extract of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, consider themselves, though mortals, to be derived from divine particles, and in trying to act like heavenly beings become the objects of ridicule to all men.[3] Here, it will be noticed, the conception of the king's divinity is held up to scorn as an invention of unscrupulous flatterers for deceiving foolish kings.

D Relation of Politics to Ethics

The discussion of the relation of Politics to Ethics which is as old as Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the early Smritis is repeated by the authors of this period. We may begin with a few extracts from the stories in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*. The path of virtue (*dharma*), we read, is lost in "the royal science" (*rājaśāstra*) through following (the goal of) wealth (*artha*) that men enter the path made unclean by the deceit associated with statecraft, the cause thereof is verily

1 *Nītisāra* I. 9-17, II 34
2 *Jātakamālā*, verse 15, *Chatuhśataka* V 77
3 *Mudrārākshasa* VII 19, *Kādambarī*, pp 177-78.

pleasure (*kāma*): the practices set forth in "the Kshatriya science" (*Kshatravidyā*) are contrary to righteousness (*dharma*) as following the crooked path of statecraft (*nīti*) and as being soiled by ruthlessness. the lesson of statecraft is that the ministers and others exist for the king's sake and not vice versa: those skilled in the science of politics declare it to be impolicy (*anaya*) and calamity (*vyasana*) for kings to follow righteousness (*dharma*) which is demonstrably in conflict with wealth (*artha*) and pleasure (*kāma*)[1] The above extracts repeat the early Buddhist canonical principle of the fundamental antithesis and in fact antagonism between Politics and Ethics. Politics, it is held, is dominated by the ends of wealth and pleasure in opposition to virtue and in fact is based upon shameless and merciless exploitation of subjects in the ruler's interest.

In the second place we may quote an extract from Bāṇa's famous prose romance the *Kādambarī* containing the advice of a wise minister to a prince on the eve of the latter's consecration In this extract the minister condemns in the strongest terms those kings for whom the treatise of Kauṭilya, merciless in the cruelty of his teachings, is an authority and in particular their worship of wealth, their application to the destructive sciences and their policy of exterminating devoted brothers In the same censure the minister joins the priests habitually practising witchcraft who are the teachers of those kings and the deceitful ministers who are their advisers It follows from the above that Politics as represented by the great work of Kauṭilya and as practised by worldly-minded and cruel kings and their hard-hearted and tricky advisers, is based upon a creed of gross materialism, heartless cruelty and base superstition With the above we may compare an epigram of the epic poet Māgha identifying Politics with a creed of naked self-interest Winning success for one's own self and inflicting injury upon the enemy, in this, he says, lies the double content of statecraft (*nīti*).[2]

We may conclude this subject by quoting the views of Kāmandaka in his *Nītisāra*. Dealing with the branch of internal administration, he tells us in one place that the king is not tainted with sin for slaying the wicked, and he justifies this not only by the example of sage-like kings, but also on the principle that the good or bad opinion of Āryas versed in the sacred canon is the criterion of *dharma* (law or righteousness). Again, in the course of his statements on the policy of peace and war the author warns the king against trusting the enemy even after making peace. for did not the god Indra destroy the demon Vritra in the midst of a truce?

1 *Jātakamālā* IX verse 10, XIX verse 27, XXIII 21 XXVII verse 17, XXXI For earlier refs see *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, pp 49, 150-53.
2 *Kād* pp. 177-78, *Śiśupālavadha* II 30

The son as well as his father on the throne, it is further argued, undergoes change (in the normal attitude towards each other), and therefore the behaviour of kings is held to be different from that of ordinary men The author, moreover, while declaring the king's selection of the vital policies of honourable and treacherous fighting to be purely a matter of political expediency, justifies the king's killing his enemy by the example of the Epic hero Aśvatthāman.[1] In the above the author develops Kauṭilya's policy of sacrifice of morality for political ends in several respects. For he justifies this policy not only by the interests of the king and the community, but also by the broader principle of the characteristic selfishness of human nature and statecraft. What is more, the policy is justified at the bar of morality by the pious examples of gods and heroes Well may we claim for Kāmandaka that he contributed vigorously along with his master Kauṭilya to that principle of separation of Politics from Ethics which goes back to the early *Arthaśāstra* times [2]

II ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION—NORTHERN INDIA

1. *The Imperial Guptas, their Contemporaries and Successors*

The Guptas, whose history has been discussed above,[3] discarded the modest title of *Rājan* (king) which had for the most part contented the indigenous dynasties of earlier times, and adopted the high-sounding style brought into vogue by the foreign rulers of the past The most characteristic of such titles was *mahārājādhirāja* adopted by the Guptas from Chandra-gupta I onwards alike in their inscriptions, coin-legends and seals The Gupta coins and inscriptions contain several variants of this title such as *rājādhirāja*, *paramarājādhirāja*, *rājādhirājarshi*, and *rājarājādhirāja* [4] To the above, the great Guptas added other epithets claiming for themselves superhuman qualities which raised them almost to the level of the gods. Thus in the Allāhābād Pillar Inscription Samudra-gupta is referred to as a god dwelling on the earth, and a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind. In the later genealogical accounts also he is habitually described as "equal to the gods Dhanada (Kubera), Varuna, Indra, and Antaka (Yama)", "who had no antagonist of equal power in the world" and "who was the battle-axe of the god *Kritānta* (Yama)"[5] In the records of North

1 *Nītisāra* IX 5-7, XIV 54-5 XXXI 54 and 71
2 For a complete account of the subject-matter of this chapter (with full refs) see Part V Chaps XVII-XXII of the author's work *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Bombay, 1959
3 See Chs I-VI
4 For variants see Allan, *Catalogue*, *Introduction*, cxi, cxv, *CII*, III 35, 59; *EI*, XXI 8f.
5 Allāhābād pillar inscription (*CII*, III 8) cf also *ibid*, pp 26, 43, 53

Bengal, the Gupta Emperors are given the trilogy of titles (*parama-daivata paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*), which with the slight substitution of *parameśvara* for *paramadaivata* became the distinctive designation of paramount rulers in later times. With the same object of claiming superhuman excellence, the coin-legends of the Gupta Emperors from the time of Samudra-gupta refer to them as having acquired heaven (by good deeds) following their conquest of the earth.[1]

Next in rank to the Emperor stood the Crown Prince. The rule of succession in the Gupta Empire was hereditary descent in the male line, such as can be traced back to the Vedic period But, as we have seen above,[2] the Emperor frequently exercised the right of selecting his heir-apparent.

The Imperial Guptas continued the traditional machinery of bureaucratic administration with nomenclature mostly borrowed or adopted from earlier times. The *mantrī* (High Minister), whose office is known to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*,[3] evidently stood at the head of the civil administration Among other high imperial officers were included the *mahābalādhikrita* (commander-in-chief), the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (general) and the *mahāpratīhāra* (chief door-keeper, perhaps chief of the palace guards) The *mahābalādhikṛita*, probably corresponding to the *mahāsenāpati* of the Sātavāhana kings, controlled a staff of subordinate officers like the *mahāśvapati* (chief officer of cavalry), the *bhaṭāśvapati* (officer in charge of the regular cavalry), the *mahāpīlupati* (chief officer in charge of elephants), the *senāpati*, and *balādhikṛita* The *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, whose office may be traced back to the time of the Kushāna emperors and the Ikshvāku kings of the Telugu country, was the controlling authority over the *daṇḍanāyakas* The *mahāpratīhāra* was similarly in charge of a staff of *pratīhāras*. A high imperial officer, heard of for the first time in the Gupta records, but destined to have a long career, was the *sāndhivigrahika* (minister of peace and war, or more generally 'foreign minister').[4]

1 Allan, *Catalogue*. Introduction, cviii f 2 See p 7 3 V 3

4 See *EI*, X. 71f (for *mantrī* and *mahābalādhikrita*). Fleet, *CII* III 10. Basārh seal No 17 in Bloch's list and Bhita seal Nos 32, 43-44 in Marshall's list (for *mahādandanāyaka*); Basārh seal Nos 16 and 18 in Bloch's list (for *mahāpratīhāra*), Basārh seal No 18 in Bloch's list (for *bhaṭāśvapati*), Basārh seal No 572D in Spooner's list (for *balādhikrita*), Bhita seal No 32 (for *mahāśvapati*), *IHQ*, VI 53f (for *mahāpīlupati*), Bhita seal No 31 (for *senāpati*) and Nos 44-51 (for *dandanāyaka*) ibid No 52 (for *pratīhāra*), *CII*, III 10 (for *sāndhivigrahika*) *Mahāsenāpati* of the Sātavāhana dynasty is mentioned in *EI* VIII, 67, 89, XIV 153f. while *mahādandanāyaka* of the Kushāna and Ikshvaku kings is referred to in *EI*, IX 242, XX 14-18. XXIV 206 The description of Basārh seals and sealings (with accompanying lists) by T Bloch and D B Spooner occurs in *ASI* 1903-4 and 1913-14 respectively, while that of Bhita seals and sealings (with similar lists) by J H. Marshall occurs in *ASI*, 1911-12

A link between the central and the provincial administration of the Imperial Guptas is furnished by the class of officers called *kumārāmātyas* and *āyuktas*. The *amātyas* stand for the general body of officials in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Jātakas*, while the *āyuktas* (or *āyuktakas*) may be traced back to the *yutas* of the Aśokan inscriptions and the *yuktas* of the *Arthaśāstra* Out of the class of *amātyas* the Guptas created a new order (or rank) called *kumārāmātya* to which belonged not only high imperial officers, but also officers on the personal staff of the Emperor, the Crown Prince and others as well as those in charge of districts.[1] Similarly the *āyuktas* (or *āyuktakas*) of the Gupta Empire are entrusted sometimes with the task of restoring the wealth of kings conquered by the Emperor[2] and sometimes placed in charge of districts or metropolitan towns.[3]

In the branch of provincial administration the Guptas followed the older models, but with a changed official nomenclature and with some daring improvements. The provinces called *bhuktis* were usually governed by officers called *uparikas* and sometimes by princes of the royal blood with the title *mahārājaputra devabhaṭṭāraka* The *uparikas* represented the *prādeśikas* of Aśoka's Empire and the *amātyas* at the provincial headquarters in the Sātavāhana administration, while the *mahārājaputra devabhaṭṭāraka* had his prototype in the *kumāra* viceroys of Aśoka's times The province (*bhukti*) was often divided into districts usually called *vishayas*, which were ruled by officers called *kumārāmātyas*, *āyuktakas* or *vishayapatis*[4] It is characteristic of the policy of administrative decentralisation followed by the Gupta Emperors that the district officer (in the North Bengal inscriptions of this period) is habitually said to be nominated by the provincial governor, though this statement is naturally lacking where there is no mention of either of these officers

From the series of North Bengal inscriptions just mentioned, we learn that the essential business in connection with the sale of government lands was sometimes carried out by the *kumārāmātya* (or the *āyuktaka* or the *vishayapati* or the prince-viceroy) in co-operation with the Municipal Board (*adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa*), and sometimes by the *kumārāmātya* with the District Office (*vishayādhi-*

1 Cf *CII*, III 10 *EI*, 71f, XV. 130f, XXI 81f, Basārh seals Nos 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 20, 22 in Bloch's list (for *kumārāmātya*), *EI*, XV 138, XX 1 (for *āyuktakas*) On the significance of the titles *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *kumārāmātya* see the work *Studies in Indian History and Culture* by the present writer Ch XIII pp 445 ff

2 *CII*, III 8 3 *EI*, XV 138, XX. 61

4 For references to *uparikas* (in charge of *bhuktis*) and *vishayapatis* etc, (in charge of *vishayas*) under the Imperial Guptas see *EI*, XV. 130f, XVII, 130f, 317 XX, 61*f*, XXI 8*f* The *uparika* of Tīrabhukti had his own office (*adhikaraṇa*) commemorated in Basārh seal No 20 in Bloch's list

karaṇa), and at other times by the *ashṭakulādhikaraṇa* with the village headman (*grāmika*), the householders (*kuṭumbins*), and so forth. The Municipal Board in the complete examples is said to consist principally of four members, namely the Guild-President (*nagaraśreshṭhī*), the chief merchant (*sārthavāha*), the chief artisan (*prathamakulika*) and the chief scribe (*prathamakāyastha*).[1] The precise significance of *ashṭakulādhikaraṇa* is unknown, but in one example it is said to be headed by the village elders (*mahattaras*), and we may take it generally to mean the Rural Board Whatever that may be, the above records point to the association of popular representatives with the district as well as town and village administration. In particular, there is reason to think that the members of the Municipal Board other than the chief scribe were the representatives (perhaps even the Presidents) of the guilds of *śreshṭhis*, *sārthavāhas*, and *kulikas* such as are known to have flourished in North Bihār at this period. In this association of the popular element with local government we may recognise one of the boldest administrative experiments of the Imperial Guptas. We have unfortunately no detailed knowledge of the working of local administration in other provinces of the Gupta Empire But the references to the *tīrakumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* and *vaiśālyādhishṭhānādhikaraṇa* in the legends of seals recovered from the site of ancient Vaiśālī[2] probably indicate that the District and Municipal Boards were also functioning in North Bihār under the Guptas. On the analogy of the constitution of the Municipal Board in North Bengal, we may also surmise that its sister institution in North Bihār consisted of representatives of the guilds of *śreshṭhīs*, *sārthavāhas* and *kulikas*

With politic generosity and in accordance with the best traditions of imperial policy laid down in the text-books, the Guptas left a number of conquered states (monarchies as well as republics) in a position of subordinate independence We have a long list of frontier kings (*pratyantanṛipatis*) and republican peoples brought within the orbit of dependence by the victorious arms of Samudragupta[3] In later times the so-called Parivrājaka-*mahārājas*,[4] ruling in the modern Bāghelkhand region, habitually issued their land-grants "during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Emperors" The status of the feudatories probably varied according to their relative strength in comparison with that of the paramount power Under the vigorous rule of Samudra-gupta it is likely enough that the frontier kings had no other choice than to pay tribute to the Emperor, to render him general obedience and to attend his court

1 See the references under f n 1, p 344 above.
2 Basārh seals Nos 22 and 25 in Bloch's list.
3 See above, pp 8 ff
4 See above, p 30.

for offering homage On the other hand it is remarkable that the Parivrājaka-*mahārājas* are completely silent in their records about the name of the reigning Emperor,[1] while some other feudatories[2] do not even refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas in their official records.

We have a glimpse of the general characteristics and tendencies of the Gupta imperial administration in the valuable, though brief, account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien[3] who visited Northern India during the reign of Chandra-gupta II. We learn from him how the strong arm of the Guptas was sufficient to establish such peace and order throughout "the Middle Kingdom" that a solitary pilgrim from abroad had no reason to complain of molestation by robbers. It was the imperishable glory of these Emperors that they gave their subjects the benefits of "Gupta Peace" without having recourse to those harsh methods of police control and criminal justice that had disfigured, for instance, the administration of the Mauryas Introducing his account of "the Middle Kingdom" to which we have referred above, Fa-hien observes. "They have not to register their households or attend to any magistrates and their rules . If they want to go, they go. if they want to stay, they stay." And again, "The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishment. Criminals are simply fined lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case" When we remember the immemorial tradition of espionage and of deterrent punishments for crimes in this country, we cannot but regard the administration of the Guptas as marking a new era of humanitarian reform in the penal law of Ancient India Other features of the Gupta administration are reflected in the account of Fa-hien from which we have just quoted "The king's bodyguards and attendants", he says, "all have regular salaries" This proves that the Imperial Guptas followed the wise policy of the Mauryas in paying fixed salaries to their troops. Other aspects of Gupta administration may be gleaned from later records From the Girnār rock inscription of Skanda-gupta we learn that when the ancient Sudarśana lake, excavated by Chandragupta Maurya's governor and reconstructed by Aśoka's officer, burst its embankment in A D. 455, it was equipped with a great masonry dam by Chakrapālita, the governor in charge of the chief city of Surāshtra The munificence of the Imperial Guptas in the cause of learning and religion is proved by the foundation of a number of monasteries at Nālandā by a succession of rulers and princes of this line.[4]

1 See above, p 30
2 See pp 30 ff
3 Fa-hien tr by Legge, pp 42-43, 52, 79
4 *HTW*, II 164-65

The result of the beneficent administration of the Gupta Emperors was revealed in the prosperous condition of the people under their rule. We have Fa-hien's invaluable testimony to the effect that the people of the Middle Kingdom were "numerous and happy". Certain parts of the Empire, specially Magadha and Sāṅkāśya, enjoyed exceptional prosperity. Not without reason did the Imperial Guptas pride themselves in their records on their benevolence towards the needy and the afflicted as well as their success in elevating the moral and material standards of their subjects.[1]

The decline and fall of the Gupta Empire were followed by the rise of new powers, none of which, however, succeeded in building up a lasting Empire. These powers, in general, continued the old administrative traditions of the Guptas. The Hūṇa Toramāṇa[2] who assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*, had under him a viceroy called Dhanyavishṇu ruling the Airikiṇa *vishaya* (modern Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh). From the fact that *Mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu, elder brother of this Dhanyavishnu, is known to have exercised his authority under a Gupta provincial governor in charge of the tract between the Yamunā and the Narmadā,[3] we can conclude that even the ferocious Hūṇa conquerors sometimes left intact not only the old system of provincial administration, but also the ancient official families. A record of king Vishṇuvardhana[4] who ruled Western Mālwā with the title of *rājādhirāja parameśvara* mentions a certain Abhayadatta, who as *rājasthānīya* (viceroy) governed the tract bounded by the (Eastern) Vindhyas, the Pāriyātra (Western Vindhyas) and the ocean Abhayadatta was assisted in the administration of his many districts (*deśas*) by his own ministers (*sachivas*). It thus appears that like the Gupta provincial governors in North Bengal, the governor of Vishnuvardhana was at liberty to select his own subordinates in charge of districts.[5]

Among the minor dynasties of the period following the downfall of the Imperial Guptas may be mentioned that of the Maitrakas of Valabhī.[6] Beginning with the modest titles of high functionaries of the Gupta Empire, the Maitrakas latterly assumed full imperial titles. The administration of the Maitrakas, while evincing the

1 Compare the description of Samudra-gupta (*CII*, III. 8) and that of Skanda-gupta (*ibid.* 59).
2 *CII*, III. 159f, *Sel Ins* 396-7. See above, pp. 35 ff.
3 *CII*, III 89, *Sel Ins*, 327, cf above, p 31
4 *CII*, III 152 ff, *Sel Ins*, 386-92 For Vishnuvardhana *alias* Yaśodharman, see above, pp 39 ff.
5 The explanation of *rājasthānīya* as viceroy suggested by Buhler (*IA*, V. 207) on the authority of Kshemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* is supported in the present context by the reference to numerous *deśas* ruled by Abhayadatta through his own 'ministers'. Less probable explanations are 'Foreign Secretary' (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 138) and 'Political Agent' (Pires, *The Maukharis*, 170).
6. See pp 60 ff.

general characteristics of other Indian Governments of this period, had some distinctive features. Among the officers of the central government[1] mentioned by name in their records are included a *divirapati* (sometimes with the addition of the titles *sandhivigrahādhikṛita mahāsāmanta*), a *mahāsandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhipati* and a *pramātṛi*. Again, the list of officials specified in the formula of the Maitraka land-grants includes *āyuktakas, kumārāmātyas, drāṅgikas, dhruvādhikaraṇikas, chauroddharaṇikas, daṇḍapāśikas, rājasthānīyas,* and *anutpannadāna-samudgrāhakas.* It is easy to recognise in the *sāndhivigrahikas* of the above list officers of the same name in the Gupta records. The *divirapati,* as the name shows, was the head of the *diviras* (clerks), an office which may be traced back to a record of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārāja* Jayanātha[2] dated A.D. 496. The *āyuktakas* and *kumārāmātyas* are well-known names of executive officers of the central as well as local administration dating from Gupta times. Equally well known were the *drāṅgikas, i.e.* commanders of military outposts, the *chauroddharaṇikas* and the *daṇḍapāśikas* who were police officers, and the *rājasthānīyas* who were probably viceroys Among new names are those of *pramātṛis* probably meaning officers connected with the department of land survey, *dhruvādhikaraṇikas* apparently signifying officers charged with supervision of revenue from farmers and the *anutpannadāna-samudgrāhakas* who were probably charged with forcible collection of the so-called voluntary gifts from the subjects[3] It would seem from the above that the central government of the Maitrakas was sufficiently organised to include the offices of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief Secretary and Chief Accountant besides officers in charge of police and revenue departments. A regular organisation of provincial administration under the Maitrakas is suggested by the location of the donated lands in specified *peṭhas* (or *sthalīs*) comprised in *vishayas* (or *āharaṇīs* or *prāveśyas*), which were themselves included in *bhuktis* But we have no mention of the officers in charge of these districts and divisions. The high prosperity of the kingdom under the rule of the Maitrakas is testified to by Hiuen Tsang who observes that "it was very rich and prosperous".

2. *Harsha, his Contemporaries and Successors*

In the first half of the seventh century A D king Harshavardhana of the ruling house of Thāneswar made himself the strong-

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1 For the titles of officers and administrative divisions of the Maitrakas mentioned below, cf *EI*, I. 87, VIII. 108, XI 81f, 104f, 174f, XVI. 17f; XVII 105f, XXI 179f; XXII 114f, 164f, *CII*, III 166, *IA*, XV 186f

2 See p. 30

3. *Pramātṛi* has also been taken to mean 'spiritual counsellor' (Buhler, *EI*, I 118) and 'judge' (Tripathi *History of Kanauj*, 140). On *dhruvādhikaraṇika* and *anutpannadāna-samudgrāhaka*, see *Hindu Revenue System*, 221-222.

est power in Northern India by his successful wars and conquests.[1] He assumed (as his father and grandfather had already done on hardly sufficient grounds) the imperial title of *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*. To judge from the extent of Harsha's empire and the size of his forces, his administration must have been highly organised, but we have few details of the same. Describing the incidents preceding Harsha's accession, Hiuen Tsang tells us how immediately after Rājya-vardhana's murder "the statesmen of Kanauj", acting in accordance with the advice of "their leading man Bani (Bhaṇḍi?)", invited Harsha to ascend the throne, and how this request was pressed by "the ministers of state". This seems to refer to a smaller and a larger State council functioning at the beginning of the reign. Among the high imperial officers of Harsha's court mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* are a *mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛita*, a *mahābalādhikṛita*, and a *mahāpratīhāra*, while officers of lesser importance mentioned in the same work are the *senāpati* (general), the *bṛihadaśvavāra* (chief cavalry officer), the *kaṭuka* (probably meaning an officer entrusted with the administration of criminal justice),[2] and a *grāmākshapaṭalika* (village notary). Harsha's own land-grants refer to a *mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛita-sāmanta-mahārāja* and a *mahākshapaṭalika-sāmantamahārāja* as writers of the charters and a *mahāpramātāra-mahāsāmanta* as the executor (*dūtaka*) of the grants.[3] In the above the *mahāsandhivigrahādhi-kṛita*, the *mahābalādhikṛita*, and the *mahāpratīhāra*, already known from earlier times, mean respectively the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commander-in-Chief, and probably the chief of the palace guards. The *mahākshapaṭalika* was the Head of the Accounts Office, the office of *akshapaṭala* being known from the time of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The *mahāpramātāra* was evidently the head of the *pramātṛis*, an office which we have traced back to the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The title *mahāsāmanta* (or *sāmanta-mahārāja*) attached to some of these offices would seem to indicate that Harsha utilised the services of his feudatories for the direct administration of his empire. The offices of the *senāpati* and the *bṛihadaśvavāra* point to the organisation of the army under different commands. In the branch of provincial administration we find from the description of the donated lands in Harsha's inscriptions that his kingdom was divided into *bhuktis* (provinces) sub-divided into *vishayas* (districts). Various officers of the local administration bearing the titles *bhogapati*, *āyuktaka*, and *pratipālakapurushas* are

1 See Ch IX
2 On the significance of *kaṭuka* see *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 453
3 *EI*, I 67f, IV 208f

referred to in a passage of the *Harsha-charita*.[1] This would suggest an official-ridden village administration at that time. Another officer mentioned in the *Harsha-charita* is the *grāmākshapaṭalika* whose title points to a regular arrangement for maintaining the village accounts. We have an insight into the general character and tendencies of Harsha's administration in the contemporary, if somewhat partial, accounts of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa. Harsha's strong love of justice, his unremitting industry, and the benevolence of his rule are strikingly brought out by the Chinese pilgrim in the following words:[2] "He (Harsha) was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works . . . The king's day was divided into three periods of which one was given up to affairs of state and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him". In another context the Chinese pilgrim says of Harsha that he was "virtuous and patriotic" and "all people celebrated his praises in songs". Illustrating the king's solicitude for the good government of his kingdom, Hiuen Tsang says that he made tours of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing long at any one place and not going abroad during the three months of the rainy season With all his vigilance, however, Harsha was unable to ensure such complete peace and security as had been achieved by the Imperial Guptas When going down the Gaṅgā with about eighty other fellow-passengers on board a vessel to the east of Ayodhyā, Hiuen Tsang had the misfortune of being captured by a band of pirates from whose hands he could save himself only by the miraculous rise of a storm In the course of the account from which we have quoted above, Hiuen Tsang refers to Harsha's building rest-houses for travellers throughout his dominions besides his erection of numerous *stūpas* and Buddhist monasteries. One of the most famous of these monasteries must have been the one built by Harsha at Nālandā which, according to Hiuen Tsang's account, was covered with brass-plates and was about one hundred feet in height. The most impressive exhibition of Harsha's benign rule is to be found in his series of quinquennial assemblies at Prayāga for the distribution of all his accumulated treasures, the sixth and last of these being witnessed and described by Hiuen Tsang.

Among the contemporaries of Harsha none was more remarkable than Bhāskara-varman, the able and fortunate king of Kāmarūpa.[3] In the list of officials mentioned by name in his inscription[4] are

1 *Harsha-charita*, tr by Cowell and Thomas, p. 206
2 For the quotations from Chinese authorities in this section cf *HTW*, I. 140, 168-177, 199, 340f, 364, II 164-65, 246, Beal, *Life*, pp 83, 86-9, 184-7.
3 See pp. 139 ff.
4. *EI*, XII 65; XIX 118f.

included an *ājñāsatam-prāpayitā* (an officer charged with carrying the king's orders into effect), a *sīmāpradātā* (the officer for fixing the boundaries of the donated lands), a *nyāyakaraṇika* (a judicial officer), a *kāyastha* (scribe), a *śāsayitā* (officer entrusted with execution of the charter), a *bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛita* (superintendent of stores), and an *utkheṭayitā* (officer in charge of the collection of taxes?). The description of the donated lands as lying within the limits of Chandrapurī *vishaya* (district) and the mention of the officer (*nāyaka*) in charge of the same in the record just mentioned, point to the usual administrative division of the kingdom into districts. The reference to the *vishayapati* and the *adhikaraṇa* as receiving communication of the king's grant suggests the association of the district officer with the District (or Municipal) Board of the kind existing in North Bengal under the Imperial Guptas.

We have a connected account of the system of public administration prevailing in India in Harsha's time from the pen of the illustrious Hiuen Tsang, who visited almost every part of the subcontinent except the extreme south between A D 630 and 644. Introducing his general description of India, Hiuen Tsang observes that the country was politically divided into about seventy kingdoms. Evidently, then, in spite of the rise of great Empires like those of Harsha in the North and of Pulakeśin II in the Deccan, the country was far from being politically united. The Kshatriyas in Hiuen Tsang's time were traditionally held to have exercised the ruling power for centuries, the few instances to the contrary being explicitly declared to have been caused by breaches of the constitutional law. The aims of the Kshatriyas, again, were "benevolence and mercy" In judicial administration the standard of criminal law reform set up by the Imperial Guptas was evidently maintained, if not in its fulness, at least to a great extent. For violations of the statute law and plots against the king, the offender was imprisoned for life, and though not suffering any corporal punishment was "not treated as a member of the community" The law of treason in the seventh century was evidently more severe than in Gupta times, when according to Fa-hien, the penalty even for "a second attempt at rebellion" was only the loss of the right hand For breach of social morality and filial duty, Hiuen Tsang continues, the penalty was mutilation or exile—a punishment which strikes one as unduly severe For the remaining offences, the penalty was only a money-payment. In the branch of finance, Hiuen Tsang was impressed with the moderation of the State demand and the absence of vexatious restrictions against the liberty of the subject, from which resulted a complete security of property. He writes: "As the government is generous, official requirements are few. Families

are not registered, and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions". Again he says. "Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every man keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony". Hiuen Tsang's detailed reference to the condition of different parts of the country at this period may be taken to be a general comment on his description of Indian administration given above. From his account it appears that while certain areas like West Gandhāra and the tract stretching from Śrāvastī to Kapilavastu lay desolate, other regions like Kānyakubja, Vārāṇasī, Chan-Chu (probably Ghāzipur District), Puṇḍravardhana and Karnasuvarna (most of which, it will be noticed, lay within the limits of Harsha's empire) enjoyed high prosperity.

In the last quarter of the seventh and first half of the eighth century A D Magadha rose to a position of imperial greatness under the Later Guptas of Magadha [1] From Ādityasena to Jīvitagupta II we find four generations of these kings assuming the usual imperial title. Corresponding to this title of the kings was the title *paramabhaṭṭārikā mahādevī* borne by their queens We have no direct reference to the king's functions in these records, but no doubt he enjoyed the traditional headship of the civil and military administration [2] The list of officials mentioned in the inscription of Jīvitagupta II includes *dūtas* (ambassadors), *sīmākarmakāras* (makers of boundaries) and other well-known designations References to *bhukti* and *vishaya* also point to the continuance of the Gupta administrative nomenclature for provinces and districts

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION—SOUTHERN INDIA

1. *The Dynasties of the Deccan*

In the region of Vidarbha (Berār and the adjoining tracts) the illustrious house of the Vākāṭakas rose to power as early as the second half of the third century A D and their rule lasted almost down to the middle of the sixth [3] The administration of these kings presents some striking features Pravarasena I assumed the title of *dharmamahārāja* which was justified by his performance of numerous Vedic sacrifices including the *Aśvamedha* His example was followed by his son and grandson. Pravarasena I also assumed the title of *samrāt* (emperor), while his successors were content with the modest title of *mahārāja*. We have an instance of a Queen Dowager (Prabhāvatī-guptā) acting as Regent for her minor son

1 See pp 126 ff
2 Pires's statement (*The Maukharis*, 169) that the powers of legislation were deposited in the king is wholly unwarranted and contrary to all that we know of ancient Indian kingship.
3. See above, pp 178 ff.

Among officers of the central government of the Vākāṭakas we find names of the *senāpati* (general) and the *rājyādhikṛita* (Chief Minister?), the former being habitually described as writing the charters of the land-grants. The solicitude of these kings for official precedent is proved by a clause uniformly found in their land-grants, namely that the immunities allowed to the donees were such as had been approved by former kings How much the Vākāṭakas prided themselves on their right of hereditary descent is illustrated by the striking legend on their seals, namely, that their royalty was obtained in course of succession The area of the donated land, given according to 'the royal measure' in one of their records[1], probably hints at the introduction of an official standard of measurement for land-revenue assessment. The strict control the Vākāṭakas maintained over their charitable endowments is illustrated by a clause in the same record by which the king, while granting a village and adjoining lands to a group of one thousand Brāhmaṇas, expressly reserved for himself the right of resuming the grant if the donees were to commit certain serious offences

The administration of the Imperial Chālukyas of Vātāpī, while partaking of the general characteristics of the governments of this period, was marked by some striking features The later kings of this line assumed the imperial titles of *parameśvara* (or *rājādhirāja parameśvara*), *mahārāja*, and sometimes the still more ambitious style of *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka* Among the officers of their central government is mentioned the *mahāsāndhivigrahika*—a title traceable to the simpler *sāndhivigrahika* of the Imperial Guptas The list of informants in the formula of the Chālukya land-grants includes the *vishayapati* (District-Officer), the *grāmakūṭa* (village head-man), and the *mahattarādhikārins* who probably represented the executive body of the assembly of *mahattaras* (leading householders of the village) A sadly mutilated inscription dated A D 725 records the grant of a constitution by the Crown Prince Vikramāditya in favour of the *mahājanas* and the *nagaras* as well as the eighteen *prakṛitis* of a certain town[2] Probably other towns similarly enjoyed charters of liberties granted by the Crown (or the Crown representative) The record just mentioned not only describes the duties of royal officers in detail, but also specifies the taxes and other charges (in cash as well as in kind) payable by every household to the State and to the guild of oilmen The care with which local taxes were assessed at this period is proved by the fact that the charges above-mentioned are prescribed

1 *CII*, III 236f
2 *EI*, XIV 190f Barnett translates *mahājanas nagaras*, and *prakṛitis* respectively as 'Brāhmana house-holders', 'burgesses', and 'classes of subjects'.

on a graduated scale according as the householders *are of the highest*, the intermediate or the lowest degrees.

2. *The Dynasties of the Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa tracts.*

The administrative organisation of the dynasties that rose to power in South India after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas was essentially of the same type as that of their North Indian contemporaries, but it had some distinctive features. While the kings of the Bṛihatphalāyana, Śālaṅkāyana, and Vishnukuṇḍin dynasties[1] were content with the title of *rājā* and *mahārājā*, some Early Pallava kings[2] chose to call themselves *dharmamahārājādhirāja* (or *dharmamahārāja*) indicative of their Brahmanical orthodoxy. Next in importance to the king stood, as in North India, the Crown Prince. Under the Early Pallava kings the Crown Prince (called *yuvamahārāja*) and even his wife had sufficiently high status to make grants of land on their own authority, and issue orders to the State officers to this effect[3] It is probable that in these cases the Crown Prince at the time of the grant was acting as Regent on behalf of the reigning sovereign Among higher officers of State are mentioned by name a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (commander-in-chief) in an inscription of the Śālaṅkāyana Nandi-varman In the list of officials receiving information of the king's land-grants, the records of the Śālankāyanas include *deśādhipatis*, *vishayapatis* and *āyuktakas* besides the indefinite *rājapurushas* while a record of the Vishnukuṇḍin Mādhava-varman I mentions *vishayamahattaras* and *adhikārapurushas* In the same context the inscriptions of the Early Pallavas refer to *adhikritas*, *āyuktas*, *adhyakshas*, *śāsanasañchārins* (messengers) and *naiyogikas* The longest list is preserved in an inscription of the Pallava Śivaskanda-varman[4] The list comprises, besides the *rājakumāras* (princes), the *senāpati* (general), the *rāshṭrikas* (governors of districts?), the *deśādhikṛitas*, the *grāmabhojakas* (village free-holders?) the *amātyas*, the *ārakshādhikṛitas* (guards), the *gaulmikas* (chiefs of military outposts), the *tairthikas* (overseers of fords), the *naiyogikas*, the *bhaṭamanushyas* (soldiers), and the *sañcharantakas* (spies) In the above lists some of the titles like *āyuktas*, *adhyakshas*, *naiyogikas* and *amātyas*, evidently belong to the officers of the central as well as local governments[5] On the other hand, the *deśādhipatis* (or *deśādhikṛitas*) and *vishayapatis* (or *rāshṭrikas*) would seem to represent officers in charge of provinces (*deśas*) and districts respectively Actually the districts are called *āhāras* in the records of the Brihatphalāyanas, *vishayas* in

1 See Ch XI
2 See Ch XIII
3. *EI* VI 86f, VII 145f
4 *EI*, I. 5f.
5. By way of illustration it may be pointed out that a Pallava record (*EI* VIII 143f) refers to *āyuktas* belonging to a village

those of the Śālaṅkāyanas, and *rāshṭras* in those of the Early Pallavas. Again, sometimes a *vyāpṛita* is stated, as in the records of the Sātavāhanas, as holding charge at the provincial headquarters.[1] The *vishayamahattaras*, now mentioned apparently for the first time in the records of South India, would appear to signify the elders of the district, but their precise constitution and functions are unknown. The reference to the *muṭuda* (with variants) in the records of the Śālaṅkāyanas points to the continuity of the village administration under the traditional headman. The administration of the Kadambas[2] was of the usual type known to this period. The kings occasionally adopted the title of *dharmamahārāja* (or the more ambitious *dharmamahārājādhirāja*), no doubt after the example of the Pallava kings just mentioned. Among the officers of the central government are mentioned the *senāpati* (general) and the *rahasyādhikrita*. Reference is also made to *yuktas* who were, as we have seen, members of the central as well as the local government.[3] The provinces were called *vishayas* A measure of fiscal reform, namely the use of the royal measure (*rājamāna*) for land-survey, is suggested by the description of the land granted by some of the records.

1. *EI*, VI. 86f. 2. See Ch. XIII.
3. See *IA*. VII, 37-38; XVI, 264, etc. for references to Kadamba *dharmamahārājas* and *dharmamahārājādhirājas*; *IA*, VI 24; VII. 37-38; *EI*, VI 14 for references to *senāpati* and *rahasyādhikrita* of the Kadambas.

CHAPTER XVII

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS[1]

In the history of Ancient Indian jurisprudence the period extending from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the eighth century after Christ is of high significance. On the one hand it saw in the last metrical *Smritis* the close of that long line of authorities on the Sacred Law which goes back to the Aphorisms of Gautama and Vasishtha, perhaps a thousand years earlier On the other hand it witnessed in Asahāya's commentary on *Nārada-smriti* the dim beginnings of that line of Smriti commentators which was to reach its climax in the following centuries We may describe the change by stating that the constructive phase of Hindu Law was passing away and its critical phase was about to begin

The three great works of this period which form, as has been well observed, "a triumvirate in the realm of Hindu Law and procedure" are the *Smritis* of Brihaspati, Nārada and Kātyāyana Among these Nārada's work alone has come to us in its complete form, while the rest have been compiled by scholars piecing together the quotations in later works To the latter category belong likewise the *Smritis* of Vyāsa, Parāśara and others We may broadly trace the development of Law and Legal institutions in these works under three heads, viz

1 Courts of Justice
2 Judicial procedure
3 Civil and Criminal Law in some select branches

1 *Courts of Justice*

The king's court, which was the highest in the land is called by such names as *sabhā dharmasthāna*, and *dharmādhikarana* ("the Hall of Justice") We have a full account of its constitution in Kātyāyana who requires the king in one place to decide suits in association with learned Brāhmanas elders, and ministers well-versed in statecraft and in another place to do so in the company of the judge, the ministers, the Brahmanas, the Purohita and the assessors. The complete apparatus of the *sabhā* consisting of "ten limbs" is described by Brihaspati In this list are included the king, the chief judge, the assessors the accountant, the scribe and the bailiff "The

1 For an exhaustive description of the system of law and legal institutions in the literature of the *Smritis* with complete references see *KHDS* Vol III, Section *Vyavahāra* (ibid Chapters XI-XXXI) The quotations in this chapter are from the same work

chief judge", it is explained, "declares the law, the king awards the punishment, the assessors examine the dispute, the accountant counts the wealth or subject-matter of the dispute, the scribe writes down the pleadings, depositions and decisions, and the bailiff summons the defendant, the witnesses and the assessors." Vyāsa describes the paraphernalia of the king's court as consisting of the Brāhmaṇas, the ministers, the judge, the accountant, the scribe, the bailiff, the arranger of seats and the assessors. In the above it will be noticed, the king, the judge and the assessors as well as the Brāhmaṇas constitute the king's court, while the rest are the court's assistants and nothing more. The position of the learned Brāhmaṇas, whether they are or are not appointed by the king, is that they are entitled to state their view of the suit. Kātyāyana introduces an additional feature by stating that the court should consist of assessors and learned Brāhmanas as well as a few merchants, these last being entitled (no doubt in mercantile cases) to listen to the cause and take part in the administration of justice. The king, says Nārada, is to abide by the decision of the judge, while Kātyāyana solemnly impresses upon the *sabhyas* the obligation of giving a just decision and even of persuading the king to desist from a wrong decision. In the spirit of their predecessors the late Smṛitis impose moral and spiritual as well as legal sanctions for purity of the administration of justice. The sin for unjust decision, we are told, is shared in equal proportions by the litigant, the witnesses, the assessors and the king. By contrast Kātyāyana assures immunity from sin to the assessors who administer justice in accordance with the law. Of the legal sanctions imposed by our authors on the judge and assessors it will be convenient to speak in another place.

The State courts are divided by Brihaspati into four categories, namely those fixed in one place, those which are peripatetic, the officers appointed by the king and using the king's seal and the king himself. A complete list of courts in an ascending order is given by Nārada. This consists of the *kulas* ('village councils'), the *śrenīs* ('corporations'), the *gaṇas*, a person appointed by the king, and the king himself. In the above list, it will be noticed, the first three are practically arbitration courts, and the last two alone are State Courts.[1]

2. *Judicial Procedure*

From the point of view of judicial procedure this period marks the climax of Hindu jurisprudence. In the first place the transac-

1. Kāt vv 55-59, Vyāsa vv 4-5 (constitution of the king's court) Bri p 9, vv 57-58 (4 kinds of *sabhā*) Bri p 74 v 87—p 75 v 90 (functions of 'limbs' of *sabhā*) Kāt 71-81 (duties of *sabhyas*) The terms in the original are *prādvivāka* ('judge'), *sabhya* ('assessor'), *ganaka* ('accountant'), *lekhaka* ('scribe') and *svapurusha* or *sādhyapāla* (bailiff).

tion of legal business has, according to Nārada, four stages. These are "receiving information from a person, then finding out under what title of law the information falls, the consideration of the pleadings of the parties and the evidence, and lastly the decision." According to the alternative view of Brihaspati the four stages of legal proceedings are the plaint, the reply, adducing of evidence and the decision. Vyāsa mentions the successive stages of a judicial trial as consisting of the plaint, the answer, the arrest before judgment, the evidence and the judgment.[1]

Beginning with the plaint Kātyāyana requires that 'the litigant appearing before the judge should be interrogated about the nature of the dispute or of the injury received· the judge after considering the reply along with the assessors and the Brāhmanas should deliver the sealed order ("seal") to the plaintiff, or else order the bailiffs to summon the defendant, if he thinks that the suit is maintainable in law The plaint is to be written as a draft on the ground or on a board and after amendments, if any, the final plaint is to be written down on leaf or on paper' The plaint, continues the same authority, should have the qualities of precision, consistency and so forth: a plaint which is opposed to public policy or contains a mixture of several titles of law or is indefinite, is to be rejected Wilful disregard of the summons by the defendant is punishable with fines proportionate to the gravity of the offence But, as Nārada observes, various classes of persons (including one who is diseased and a woman of good family or of reduced circumstances) as well as persons in special circumstances (including cowherds at the grazing season, cultivators at the sowing season and artisans engaged at work) are exempted from personal attendance The parties, says Kātyāyana, may be represented by recognized agents or relatives, but no representation is allowed in the case of a number of serious offences The plaintiff, according to Nārada, Brihaspati and Kātyāyana, might keep the defendant under restraint by a process of law called *āsedha* till the arrival of the king's bailiff At the beginning of the suit, according to Kātyāyana, sureties should be taken from each party for the satisfaction of the judgment According to the same authority one carrying on a litigation in the absence of close relationship to or of special appointment by the party is to be punished.[2]

1 Nār Introd I 36 (4 stages of legal proceedings) Bri p 28 vv 1-3 (4 stages) Vyāsa (5 stages) The terms in the original are *āgama vyavahārapada chikitsā* and *nirnaya* (Nār): *bhāshāpāda uttarapāda kriyāpāda* and *pratyākalita* or *nirnaya* (Bri in Aparārka and in G O S edition p 29) *pūrvapaksha uttara pratyākalita* and *kriyā-rāda* (Kāt) *Pratyākalita* is translated by Kane, op cit p 298, as "discussion or consideration among the *sabhyas* about the burden of proof"

2 Bri p 29 v *f*. Kāt 86 *f* (plaint) Kāt. 89-91 (representation by agents or relatives) Bri p 22, 136 *f*. Kāt 104 *f* (*āsedha*)

Unlike the plaintiff who usually gets no time for filing his plaint, the defendant, according to Nārada and Pitāmaha, may be granted an adjournment proportionate to the time of the transaction in dispute, the capacity of the parties to the suit and the gravity of the cause. But in certain serious cases the reply must be given at once. The reply, as Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana observe, may be of four kinds, namely, admission, denial, special plea and plea of former judgment. Kātyāyana adds that defective answers, such as those ununderstandable, self-contradictory and incomplete, would lead to loss of the suit. A strict rule required that litigants who after the cause was started compromised their dispute by a private arrangement, were to pay a double fine.[1]

The burden of proof, according to Nārada and Hārita, was to lie on the plaintiff in a reply of denial and on the defendant in a reply of special plea or of former judgment. The proof, as all the authorities agree, was of two kinds, namely, human and divine. The former comprised witnesses, documents and possession, and the latter consisted of ordeals. Nārada and Kātyāyana, however, convey the warning that ordeals were to be resorted to only when human means of proof were not available. A striking dictum of Kātyāyana is to the effect that if the litigant fails by relying on a weak ground, he cannot raise the question again on other and stronger grounds.[2]

The judgment in a law-suit was given in the form of a written document called *jayapatra* (document of success), which was included by Bṛihaspati in a longer list of State documents (*rājakīya-lekhya*). Kātyāyana, however, limits the term *jayapatra* to judgments given in cases of those whose claims are cast off for various reasons, without a thorough trial. He uses instead a special term *paśchātkāra* (refutation) for judgments given after going through all the four stages of judicial proceeding. A judgment of this last kind was to set forth summary statements of the parties, depositions of witnesses, deliberation of the court and the decision. It was to be written by the king under his own hand and signed by the members of the court.[3]

3. *Civil and Criminal Law*

Coming to the body of civil and criminal law, we have room only for noticing some of its principal heads. As in the older Smṛiti law the

1 Bṛi p 36 v 1 *f* Kāt. 89 *f*. (reply) "The four kinds of reply are called *mithyā* (of denial), *sampratipatti* or *satya* (confession or admission), *karana* or *pratyava-skandana* (of special plea of demurrer), *prāññyāya* or *pūrvanyāya* (of former judgment or *res judicata*)"

2 Nār Introd I 70, Bri p. 45 v. 1 *f*, Kāt. 211 *f*, (adducing of evidence).

3. Nār Introd. II 43, Bṛi p. 64 v 26 *f*, Kāt. 259-65 (judgment). On *rājakīya-lekhyas* see Kane, op. cit p. 310

sacred canon and approved custom were to be regarded as authorities for the law. Kātyāyana adds that the usages which are established in the country with the people's approval and are not in conflict with the Vedas and the Smṛitis should be recorded in writing under the king's seal The eighteen titles of law known to the older Smṛitis are expanded into 132 divisions by Nārada. But both Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana agree that the two springs of a judicial proceeding are injury and non-payment of what is due. This makes a broad approach to the logical division between civil and criminal law.[1]

We may now consider some of the more important topics of the late Smṛiti law. These come under the heads of Succession, *Strīdhana*, Abuse and Assault, Theft and Violence As regards the law of succession, the most notable development in this period took place in respect of the widow's right as heir to her sonless husband It is to be observed that earlier authorities like Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Manu had omitted the widow from the list of heirs of a person dying without male issue This view is repeated by Nārada Śankha however admits the widow's right only after the brothers, and thereafter alternatively with the parents The clear recognition of the widow as the foremost heir of a son-less man is due to Yājñavalkya and Vishnu Following their authority Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana permit the widow to succeed immediately to the estate of her deceased sonless husband, the next in order of succession being the daughters (unmarried daughters getting the preference), the father, the mother, the brother, and the brother's sons[2]

The term *strīdhana* is used in the Smritis not in the etymological sense of all property possessed by a woman, but in the technical sense of "certain kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions or at different stages of her life" The complete development of the Smriti law of *strīdhana* is due to Kātyāyana He first defines the six classes of *strīdhana* mentioned by the older writers namely, what was given to a woman before the nuptial fire (*adhyagni*), what was given at the time of the bridal procession (*adhyāvāhanika*), what was given to a woman through affection (*prītidatta*), and what was received from the brother, the mother or the father To the above Kātyāyana adds other kinds of *strīdhana*, such as the bridal price (*śulka*), what was obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband or of her

1 Kāt 48 (record of conventions with the king's seal) Nāi I 20-25 (132 divisions of law) Bri p 2 v 9 f Kāt 29 (two aspects of *vyavahāra*)
2 Nāi XIII 30 Śankha quoted by Vij on Yāj II 135 (omission or limitation of widow's right) Bṛi p 211 v 92 f, Kāt 921, 926 (widow's right as the foremost heir)

parents (*anvādheya*), and what was obtained by a married woman in her husband's house or by a maiden in the house of her father (*saudāyika*). In the result "all property (whether movable or immovable) obtained by a woman, either as a maiden or at marriage or after marriage from her parents or the family or relatives of the parents or from the husband and his family (except immovable property given by the husband) is included within the scope of *strīdhana*". Kātyāyana, however, limits the amount of *strīdhana* which can be given to a woman by her relations to two thousand *paṇas*, (silver coins), while he disallows gift of immovable property in her favour. Again, he declares wealth obtained by a woman by practising the mechanical arts or by gift of a stranger, to be outside the definition of *strīdhana*, and asserts its ownership to lie with the husband The woman has absolute right of disposal over her *saudāyika* property (including immovables) as also over gifts (except immovables) made out of affection by her husband. Neither the husband nor the son, nor the father nor the mother, has a right to take the *strīdhana*, or give it to others. Should anyone of them forcibly appropriate the *strīdhana*, he would be liable to return it with interest and also pay a fine As regards the law of succession of *strīdhana* Nārada, repeating Yājñavalkya, says that it devolves on the daughters, and in the absence of her issue on her husband or on her parents as the case might be. According to Bṛihaspati *strīdhana* devolves on the woman's progeny, preference being given to the unmarried daughter and the married daughter getting only a trifle. According to Kātyāyana the *strīdhana* of the mother goes to the sisters whose husbands are living along with the brothers, and it devolves on the sons on failure of daughters.[1]

In the penal law of the late as of the early Smṛitis the punishment of crimes occupies a more important place than compensation for wrongs. It is, in other words, a law of crimes in the strict sense of the term, while the law of torts holds a subordinate position.[2]

Under the head of law called Abuse and Defamation (*vākparushya*) we have to mention that both Nārada and Kātyāyana distinguish between its three varieties, namely, *nishṭhura* ("reproachful"), *aślīla* ("obscene") and *tīvra* ("merciles"), while Bṛihaspati similarly mentions its three grades, namely the lowest, the middling and the highest. The fines for these offences depend upon the above distinctions as well as of the castes of the parties. In the case of abuse imputing great sins, the offender is cleared from guilt only if he succeeds in establishing the truth of the imputation. Otherwise

1. Kāt. vv 594-920. Also Nār. XIII 8-9, Bṛi. p 300 v 31 (*strīdhana*)
2. Cf. Priyanath Sen. *General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence*, 335-336

he would be as guilty as the man he vilifies, and if his charge is false, he would be liable to pay the highest fine.[1]

The heading Assault (*daṇḍapārushya*) includes not only the act of striking a person or injuring his limb, but also throwing foul matter upon his body According to Kātyāyana it likewise comprises such acts as making domestic animals carry burdens at an improper time or in a tired or hungry condition, causing sacred animals to bear burdens, and destroying trees Punishments for such offences are proportionate to the part of the body injured, the extent of the injury and the caste of the offender. The idea of compensation to the person injured is reflected in the clause that he who kills an animal must provide another animal of the same type or pay its value to the owner.[2]

Theft (*steya*) according to our authorities is of two kinds, namely, 'patent' and 'clandestine' Nārada and Bṛihaspati following Manu include in the class of patent thieves traders employing false weights and balances, gamblers and quacks, those who counterfeit articles and those who live by magic or palmistry by foretelling good fortune or portents. Kātyāyana adds to this list ignorant priests officiating at a sacrifice and incompetent teachers claiming to propound the *śāstras*. Punishments for theft comprise mutilation, imprisonment, confiscation of property, exile and death The old Smṛiti clause requiring the king to restore stolen property, and failing this to pay its value to its owner is repeated by our authors. What is more, they extend this obligation to various classes of the king's officers and even the public at large for theft committed within their respective jurisdictions.[3]

Crimes of violence (*sāhasa*) are distinguished by our authors from theft on the ground that the former is characterised by deliberate violence unlike the latter of which the essence is concealment Nārada and Bṛihaspati distinguish between three grades of *sāhasa*. "The lowest variety comprises the destruction of agricultural implements, trampling of roots and fruits and so forth, the intermediate variety comprises destruction of clothes, food and drink and household utensils; the highest variety consists in killing with weapons or poison, doing violence to others' wives and so forth". *Sāhasa* includes in Kātyāyana such acts as murder, robbery accompanied with violence, assault on another's wife, causing injury to precious articles, destroying images of gods and causing damage to temples, injuring the city-walls and obstructing the flow of water running in a channel The punishments for *sāhasa*, according to

1 Nār XV-XVI vv 1-3. Bṛi p 169 vv 2-10, Kāt 769-77 (Abuse)
2 Nār XV-XVI vv 4-5. Bṛi p 173. f. Kāt vv 779-93 (Assault).
3 Nār App v 1 f, Bṛi p 178 v 1 f, Kāt. vv 810-25 (Theft)

Nārada, vary according to its grade. The blending of crime and tort is illustrated by Kātyāyana's clause that a person injuring or destroying valuable articles has not only to pay a fine, but also to give a similar article or its value to the owner.[1]

We may notice, in this connection, a class of offences in the late Smṛtis which may be called offences against public justice Witnesses not replying to what is asked, we are told by Kātyāyana, are to be fined: one refusing evidence, though a witness of the transaction, is to pay the debt in dispute and an equal amount of fine. a man citing a false witness is to be banished from the country. A judge and in particular the assessors conversing privately with a party are liable to punishment· an assessor who announces his decision without proper understanding of the course of the trial has to pay a double fine an assessor causing loss to a litigant through his own fault has to make good the loss, though out of regard for the majesty of the law the decision is allowed to stand.[2]

1 Nār XV-XVI Cf. Bṛ p 186 v 3f, Kāt vv 795-809 (violence)
2 Kāt. vv 402-7 (witnesses) ibid vv 70, 79, 81 (judge and assessors)

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. GENERAL REVIEW

The rise and spread of different sectarian religions, notably Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, described in the preceding volume, radically changes the whole religious outlook of India. The Vedic pantheon and the sacrificial form of worship gradually recede into the background, and the lineaments of Vedic gods become dimmer and dimmer. Many of them are lost in oblivion, some are transformed beyond recognition, and the remaining few evoke at best memories of respect and reverence rather than spiritual fervour or even religious enthusiasm Old ideas die hard, and some of these still receive the worship of a gradually dwindling number of orthodox votaries, but they have long ceased to be the centres of religious activity on a mass scale. The religious movement definitely swings forward from the abstract to the concrete The ceremonial worship of the images of Vishnu, Śiva, and other gods, installed in numerous temples, sometimes of magnificent proportions, takes the place of sacrificial offerings to the host of unseen Vedic gods of vague personality. Even the austere and rigid morality of Buddhism and Jainism gives way to devotion to the concrete personalities of Buddha and Mahāvīra. Soon the inevitable takes place, and hosts of lesser divinities gather round these primary figures.

The resulting changes are great indeed in all cases, but the transformation in Brahmanical religion far exceeds that in the two heterodox sects Having absorbed Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, the leaders of the orthodox religion proceed to evolve an altogether new pantheon whose history is told and glories sung in a new literature, the Purānas. These texts, whose number is ever on the increase, now come to the forefront and gradually become the principal religious literature of the people at large, in place of the old Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

The nature and scope of the Purāṇas has been discussed in Chapter XV. Here it will suffice to state that although they contain older material, elaborate additions are made reflecting the new religious ideas which dominate the orthodox section. The great gods Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva now form the official Trinity of major gods who tower over the rest. Although Brahmā is theoretically acknowledged to be the creator of men and even of gods, he never

occupies a prominent place in the actual religious devotion of the people. Vishṇu and Śiva overshadow him from the very beginning, as they form the central figures in the two theistic systems whose origin and development have been already described. As they grow in power, Vishṇu and Śiva establish their unquestioned supremacy over the other gods, most of whom become auxiliary or subsidiary to the one or the other, and shine only in his reflected glory. To impress the imagination and stir the emotion of the people, the Purāṇas recite endless laudatory stories of the great gods, telling among other things how the Vedic gods like Indra often seek their protection against the demons who not infrequently drive the whole host of gods out of heaven and reign supreme till they are killed by Vishṇu or Śiva. They also include stories about the minor gods, describe the sacred places associated with the new gods, lay down the mode of worshipping them with pompous ceremony, and prescribe the lesser, but more popular, religious acts such as vows (*vrata*), pilgrimages, sacred baths, and gifts, specially to the Brāhmaṇas. Even the whole range of social duties and privileges, including ideas of a moral character, are brought within the orbit of this popular religious cult by suitable stories related about the gods with parables and ethical maxims interspersed throughout them. Along with this popular aspect, the Purānas often discuss also the high philosophical ideas sustaining the new religion.

It must be added, however, that the Purāṇas never deny, far less defy, the authority of the Vedas, and the Śruti is still regarded by them as the revelation of God,—the eternal and infallible source of religion. Though in actual life the knowledge and practice of Vedic religion was being gradually restricted to a few, this theoretical admission of its superiority serves to keep up the link between the old and the new. The Vedic texts continue to be studied with meticulous care and reverence, and the Vedic sacrifices never cease to form part of the orthodox Brahmanical religion. As a matter of fact, throughout the period under review, kings of various dynasties, all over India, boast of having performed various Vedic sacrifices. The *Aśvamedha*, in particular, seems to be in high favour, and some kings claim to perform as many as ten of them, or even more

Much of the minor Vedic rituals and practices such as the *saṁskāras*[1] also continue to form an integral part of the new religion It is thus obvious that the foundations of that phase of Brahmanical religion, which we call today Hinduism, were laid during the period under review But though the Purānas form the basis of this new development they do not reflect the whole of it. The purely sectarian

1 Vol I, pp 474 ff

spirit of the Vaishṇavas and Śaivas is reflected in other literature and evolves distinct philosophies of their own, which constitute as integral a part of Hinduism as the Purāṇas. The *Bhagavadgītā*, which contains the earliest and the best exposition of the Bhāgavata cult (which later developed into Vaishṇavism), may be cited as an example. A considerable space has been devoted in Chapter XIX. Vol II, to expound its underlying ideas which are now regarded by common consent as the basis of the highest form of Hindu life and thought. In short, Hinduism has already grown into that mosaic of various patterns, combining the religious and spiritual ideas, both old and new, high and low, losing nothing and eternally adding more and more from new elements introduced into society

The same thing is true, more or less, of Buddhism, and equally strange is its transformation from the pristine simplicity of an austere moral code to the most complex system of Mahāyāna leading to the still later developments of Vajrayāna. Here, again the old forms subsist, but are overshadowed by the later ones, which gradually make a closer and closer approach to the new form of Hinduism, till Buddhism is ultimately absorbed into its wide fold, leaving no trace of its separate existence

Jainism was saved from a similar fate by its conservative character Unlike the other religious systems it underwent little change in ideas and doctrines Its consequent failure to adapt itself to new ideas and environments is no doubt the main reason why it never attained a popularity comparable to that enjoyed by Buddhism in and outside India But to that very characteristic Jainism owes a much longer life, though in a restricted sphere, than its more distinguished rival.

Reference may now be made to some general characteristic features of the religious life of the period The first and foremost is the wide prevalence of the images of gods The current idea on the subject has been summed up as follows in the *Vishṇudharmottara* —"Worship and meditation (of the Supreme Being) are possible (only when he is) endowed with form The form of the Supreme deity, as he manifests himself, should be worshipped according to rites Because the invisible condition is apprehended with great difficulty by the corporeal beings, by the Supreme Lord, through His own will, was shown that (form) and the gods (too) point out (that) form (of Him) in his various manifestations For this reason God is worshipped endowed with form That form is full of significance " The iconographic evolution of the principal and even subsidiary gods forms a distinct trait in the religion of the period

Another characteristic feature is the spirit of toleration among the followers of different religious sects. There are no doubt occasional references to religious persecution by individual monarchs. But, as in the case of Śaśānka,[1] such stories may not always be historically true. Even if we take some cases as genuine, they are very few and can only be regarded as forming exceptions to the general rule. One aspect of this tolerant spirit was the attempt to establish the unity of different gods like Vishṇu and Śiva, and to combine in a single iconographic motif the attributes of different gods. The very idea of the Trinity of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva is an evidence of the same spirit, which is further displayed by regarding Buddha as an incarnation of Vishṇu. There are various royal families whose members follow different religious persuasions, and also many kings who show reverence and respect for all of them. Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj and his predecessors[2] may be cited as the best illustration of this eclectic spirit We find also adherents of different religious sects among the Parivrājaka and Maitraka rulers. Other royal families, such as the Imperial Guptas, though devoted followers of one sect, patronised all others and selected high officials from the members of different religious faiths.

To convey an idea of the religious condition of the period under review is rendered difficult by the complex character and the rapid development of the various religious ideas and sects which flourished side by side and acted and reacted upon one another in a manner not always easy to understand. But if we bear in mind the general elements delineated above, and also that the older features, true of an earlier age, do not altogether vanish even when making way for new developments, we shall be able to glean some idea of the general picture with the help of the following sections into which the whole subject has been divided according to the method adopted in the last volume.

B BUDDHISM

I. *The Hīnayāna*

In a previous section,[3] it has been shown that Hīnayāna Buddhism became sub-divided into several sects. During the Gupta period, three or four of these sects survived and carried on their activities in different parts of India. Many seals, images, inscriptions, and manuscripts written in Gupta characters have been discovered in the course of archaeological excavations, and these fully testify to the continued vigour and energy of the early Hīna-

1. See pp 80 ff. 2. See pp. 115 ff. 3. See Vol II, pp. 379 ff.

-yāna Schools, particularly the Sarvāstivādins, the Sāṁmitīyas or the Vātsīputrīyas, and Thera- or Sthavira-vādins These sects, it seems, while giving less attention to the further propagation of their particular views, exerted their utmost for the development of their monasteries into magnificent academic centres. In this effort they obtained the patronage of rulers as well as of rich devotees. The monks of each sect busied themselves with the elucidation of their particular doctrines or with the elaboration of their ecclesiastical rituals and ceremonies In short, the spirit of the age turned from propagation of doctrines to literary activities, and there appeared during the Gupta period a number of distinguished writers whose contributions to Indian exegetics and philosophy can be regarded as landmarks in the history of Indian literature It is much to be regretted that these valuable writings have not been preserved in original, and we have to rest content with their Tibetan and Chinese translations.

II. *The Mahāyāna*

In spite of the eminence of distinguished Hīnayāna writers and the magnificance of richly endowed Hīnayānic monasteries, the older form of Buddhism was losing its hold upon the people and was giving way to a new movement, the Mahāyāna, which captured the imagination of the people by its ultra-altruistic principles, by the scope it afforded to worship and devotion and above all, by opening its portals to all irrespective of their followers being recluses or householders Unlike Hīnayāna it did not insist on a person becoming a monk or a nun in order to derive the benefits of the religion, and it allowed anyone, even an animal, to commence the career of Bodhisattvahood This new angle of vision swept the Hīnayānists off their feet and made Mahāyāna an all-India rather an all-Asiatic, religious movement. Before we proceed with the history of this new movement, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of its ethical, doctrinal and religious aspects

1 *Ethics of Mahāyāna*

The keynote of Mahāyāna ethics was extreme altruism envisaged in the development of *Bodhi-chitta* and fulfilment of six *pāramitās* (virtue-perfections) Effacement of self was the keynote of all Indian religions, and it was one of the basic teachings of Buddha It was taken up by the Hīnayānists in a very practical manner in their monastic systems of life, the object of which was to make the inmates rise above all cares and anxieties for the well-being of their own selves It was inculcated through the meditational exercises which helped their minds to realise that one's own body

was a store-house of impurities. The exercises made the Hīnayānists oblivious of their own selves and taught them self-abnegation. To the Mahāyānists this procedure for effacement of self appeared wrong and wholly inadequate. They approached the problem from a totally different angle of vision. According to them the effacement of self could only be effected by dedicating one's own life, in his several existences, to the service of others A Mahāyānist must take the vow that he would not seek his own happiness, heavenly life, even Nirvāṇa, unless and until he had been able to do his bit to make all other beings happy, attain heavenly life and ultimately realise Nirvāṇa. This altruistic attitude was the keynote of a Mahāyānist. The self-abnegation for personal benefit practised by a Hīnayāna monk, and his ultimate attainment of Nirvāṇa, according to a Mahāyānist, smacked of selfishness, and hence was hardly commendable.

The first condition that a Mahāyānist had to fulfil was to take the vow of dedicating one's own self to the service of others, described in the texts as the development of *Bodhi-chitta*. When an adept developed *Bodhi-chitta*, he was called a Bodhisattva His next duty was to commence (*Bodhi-prasthāna*) fulfilling the six *pāramitās* (perfections in virtues), *viz. dāna* (liberality), *śīla* (moral precepts), *kshānti* (forbearance), *vīrya* (mental strength), *dhyāna* (mental concentration) and *prajñā* (knowledge of the truth)[1] To acquire fully any one of the above-mentioned six virtue-perfections he was required to make the highest sacrifice, *i e.*, of his life. It was not possible to acquire all the virtue-perfections in one life, so he had to be reborn several times to complete the six *pāramitās*. Gautama Buddha fulfilled the six *pāramitās* in several existences, some of which are narrated in the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* Along with the fulfilment of the *pāramitās*, a Bodhisattva was required to study and meditate, much in the same way as a Hīnayāna monk, with the additional feature that his love for beings, his compassion, his piety, and whatever merit he would acquire was meant not for his own benefit but for the benefit of all beings of the countless worlds. It was this extreme universal altruism that distinguished Mahāyāna ethics from Hīnayāna.

2. *Monastic Life*

In the collection of Mahāyāna texts, there is no *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *i e.* a code of rules governing the life of a Mahāyāna monk. In the later texts like the *Śikshāsamuchchaya*, *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, and *Bodhisattva-prātimoksha-sūtra*, there are some rules of a general nature, but are not intended for rigid observance by the monks

1 These have been explained above in Vol II, p 386.

and nuns. In these texts emphasis has been laid mostly on firm faith in Buddha and his teaching, and on self-abnegation for others' good. The Bodhisattvas are advised to have a spiritual guide (*kalyāṇamitra*) and to study the scriptures. They are asked to practise meditation and particularly the four kinds of mindfulness (*smṛityupasthāna*), as also to repair to the forests and meditate on the different stages of a dead body (*aśubha-bhāvanā*) They are required to eschew all *loka-dharmas* such as gain, fame, and desire for food and clothes, and then they are recommended to exercise love (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), to learn the ways of good conduct (*bhadracharyā*), and to practise worship (*vandanā*) and devotion (*śraddhā*) In the later texts there are certain directions regarding dress, food, conduct, and atonement for offences peculiar to Mahāyāna [1] From these texts it is apparent that the Mahāyānists utilised the disciplinary rules of the Hīnayānists for their monastic life, modifying some of the latter's practices which were not compatible with the Mahāyānic ideals.

Hiuen Tsang records that both the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists resided together in a number of monasteries, and this could not have been possible unless all the resident monks subscribed to a common code of ecclesiastical rules. I-tsing refers to some differences between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks relating to the eating of meat The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* devotes a chapter to the evil effects of meat-eating Perhaps with the exception of one or two such items, the Mahāyānists followed the traditional Vinaya rules as preserved by the old Hīnayāna Schools, and it was probably for this reason that Hiuen Tsang speaks of some monks as Mahāyānists of the Sthavira School His remarks about the monks of Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma (Gayā) are particularly interesting He writes that "in this establishment there were nearly 1000 monks, all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira School, and all perfect in Vinaya observances"[2] Similar statements are made relating to the monks of Kaliṅga, Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and Surāshtra He expressly states that all the monks of Udyāna were Mahāyānists but they followed Hīnayāna Vinaya [3] I-tsing also states that both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists agreed in the observance of the same disciplinary laws The fact that the Tibetans, who were Mahāyānists, have preserved the Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, proves the high esteem in which they held the Hīnayāna Vinaya. The directions given in the *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*[4] relating to the procedure of ordination reveal that the ceremony of ordination of Mahāyāna was done on the same lines and also with the same formulae as those of Hīnayāna

1 N Dutt *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Ch V
2 *HTW*, II, 136 3 *HTW*, I, 227 4 RASB, Ms leaf. 160 a

The only additional feature of Mahāyāna Vinaya was the formalities observed in taking the *Bodhi-chitta*, *viz* (i) worshipping of Buddhas and *chaityas* (shrines), (ii) taking refuge in the *Triratna* and confession of sins, if any (iii) expression of sincere approval of other's merits, (iv) entreating Buddhas to be the guide of all beings, ignorant as they are, and (v) offering up one's merits for *bodhi*.

3. *Mahāyāna Doctrines*

Though the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists accepted a common code of monastic rules, there was a wide divergence regarding the doctrines and ideals of the two schools The former were more or less realists or semi-realists, while the latter were pure negativists or idealists. The difference hinged on the interpretation of *śūnyatā* or *anātmatā*, a term frequently used by Buddha without a clear definition. By the term '*śūnyam*' or '*anātman*,' the Hīnayānists understood the non-existence of any real substance as *ātman* or individuality, *i e*. *pudgala-śūnyatā*, while the Mahāyānists took it to be the non-existence of individuality (*pudgala* or *ātman*) as also of the objective world (*dharma*) The Mahāyānists hold that real knowledge or realisation of the truth cannot be obtained without the comprehension of both the *śūnyatās*, *i e*. of *pudgala* (individuality) and *dharma* (phenomenal existence) The two *śūnyatās*, they assert, can be comprehended only by the removal of the two veils (*āvaranas*), known as *kleśāvarana* (veil of impurities) and *jñeyāvarana* (veil that covers the truth) The Hīnayānic perfects (*arhats*) remove the *kleśāvarana* only by realising *pudgala-śūnyatā*. They rise above the notion of identity and difference between the various objects of the world and regard them as one mass without any distinction To explain it by a simile we may say that the Hīnayānists (Srāvakas) do not distinguish between an earthen jar and an earthen horse and regard the two as one and the same The Mahāyānists (Bodhisattvas) would go a step further and hold that not only the distinction between the jug and the horse does not exist but the substance also, *i e* *dharma* (earth in this case) does not exist It is by the realisation of this *dharma-śūnyatā*, that the veil covering the truth (*jñeya*) is removed and the adept attains perfect knowledge.

This doctrine has been developed in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* *Samādhirāja*, *Saddharmapundarīka*, and other Mahāyāna texts thus A Hīnayānist believes that by becoming a monk and attaining perfection in the several Buddhistic practices, e g , the *Bodhipakshiya-dharmas*, *ashtāṅgikamārga* and so forth, he has reached the goal But the fact, according to the Mahāyānists is otherwise The *Bodhi-pakshiya-dharmas* or the eight *mārgas* are only make-shift arrangements devised by Buddha to attract men of average or mediocre

intellect to religious life, and then, when they are a little advanced spiritually, to make them realise that these practices are as much matters of imagination and non-existent (*śūnyam*) as are the conceptions of a worldly man that he has a son or property. From the standpoint of a Mahāyānist, a monk's attachment to his robes, his meditational practices, and even his desire for Nirvāṇa are as much hindrances to the realisation of the truth as are the desires of a worldly man for sons, wealth or power. These texts teach that a Mahāyānist does take to Hīnayāna practices, bearing however always in mind that these practices are also to be eschewed just as a person eschews the temporary raft that he prepares for fording a stream. The crux of Mahāyāna teaching is that a being of this world, a worldly man, or a recluse, lives and moves in a world of misconceptions, derived through the six imperfect organs of sense, and that his salvation lies in realising that the misconceptions are as much unreal as the mirage or the things seen in a dream. The moment he realises this fact, he breaks through the veil of ignorance which covers the truth (*jñeyāvaraṇa*) and visualises the truth. In order to remove *jñeyāvarana,* he must beforehand remove the *kleśāvaraṇa,* the veil of impurities, like attachment, hatred and delusion.

4. *Conception of Buddha*

The Truth, according to Mahāyāna, is *śūnyatā* (which is attributeless, negation of being and non-being) or *tathatā* (the state of sameness, i e. of noumenon) or *dharmadhātu* (totality of phenomenal manifestations, the universe, or the universal principle) which is identified with Nirvāna or Buddha The Hīnayānists conceived of Buddha at first as an omniscient human being, then, in course of time, attributed to him superhuman, even superdivine powers and qualities, and regarded him as superior to all beings, even the gods of Brahmaloka The Mahāyānists regarded Buddha as eternal without origin and decay, the truth, the end of existence (*bhūtakoṭi*), and as such beyond any description whatsoever In course of time the Mahāyānists indulged in certain speculations regarding Buddha's body, and gave currency to the *Trikāya* (three bodies) conception The real *kāya* of Buddha was (i) the *Dharma-kāya,* the universe or the universal principle, which had no form, infinite and eternal without appearance or disappearance. Occasionally, for the satisfaction of his highly advanced devotees, particularly Bodhisattvas in the higher stages of sanctification, Buddha assumed a refulgent richly adorned form with all the signs of great men. This body is called (ii) *Sambhoga-kāya.* It is so called because it is shown as the special acquisition of Buddha on account of merits accumulated in several lives Generally for the guidance of common worldly

men and beings, he assumes an earthly form which is subject to all human frailties. This is called (iii) the *Rūpa-kāya* (material body) or *Nirmāṇa-kāya* (created body). Gautama Buddha, according to the Mahāyānists, is the *Nirmāṇa-kāya* of the real Buddha. There are such innumerable *Nirmāṇa-kāyas* presiding over the countless worlds that compose the universe, Gautama Buddha being the *Nirmāṇa-kāya* Buddha of Sahā-lokadhātu

The *Trikāya* conceptions gave ample scope to the common folk for worship and devotion, and so in spite of the abstruse teachings of Mahāyāna, it made a strong and wide appeal to the masses, and surpassed in course of time the Hīnayānists in the number of adherents.

With the growth of mythological conceptions, a Mahāyāna pantheon came into being with five Dhyānī Buddhas, *viz.* Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, who are said to have issued out of Ādi-Buddha through contemplation Each of these Buddhas is associated with a Bodhisattva and a goddess, called Tārā.

5. *Conception of Bodhisattva*

According to Mahāyāna teachings, any one who develops *Bodhichitta* is a Bodhisattva, i e a being destined to attain *bodhi* (knowledge) and become a Buddha in the long run. In fact, every Mahāyānist is a Bodhisattva, as distinguished from a Hīnayānist who is called a Śrāvaka. The distinction between a Bodhisattva and a Śrāvaka is that the former aspires for Buddhahood while the latter aims at obtaining Arhathood.

For the spirit of complete self-abnegation the Bodhisattvas began to rise higher and higher in the estimation of the masses till some of them became objects of veneration. The most distinguished of these, who ranked almost as gods, were Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Samantabhadra, Ākāśagarbha, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Bhaishajyarāja, and Maitreya These Bodhisattvas were highly advanced in spiritual perfection and could easily have attained Buddhahood, but they refrained from reaching the goal and preferred to remain as Bodhisattvas, because they held that Buddhas, being absolutely free from all qualities (*nirguṇa*), were unable to render any service to living beings, while they could alleviate the distress of beings and help them attain happiness, heavenly life, Nirvāṇa, or Buddhahood. In course of time, mythological conceptions were woven around some of the Bodhisattvas much on the same lines as around the Brahmanic gods

Avalokiteśvara is the personification of compassion. He is full of mercy and extends his ever helping hand to all those who seek him in distress[1] According to the Chinese pilgrims, the worship of Avalokiteśvara was prevalent in India from the fourth to seventh century A.D The images of Avalokiteśvara are quite common among the archaeological finds Usually the images are richly decorated and show the Buddha Amitābha in the head-dress In some of the images the goddess Tārā appears with this Bodhisattva The goddess Tārā is the personification of knowledge (*prajñā*) She is so called because only with her help could people cross the world of misery She is also known as the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā*, as it is by the fulfilment of this *pāramitā* that a Bodhisattva reaches the goal

The next popular Bodhisattva is the ever young (*Kumārabhūta*) Mañjuśrī He is the personification of wisdom and is sometimes associated with Lakshmī (-Srīmahādevī)[2] or Sarasvatī or both He imparts education to the people, teaches the Buddhist *dharma*, and is the instructor of Maitreya, the future Buddha His worship was prevalent in India at the same period as that of Avalokiteśvara

III *The Forms of Worship*

The Chinese pilgrims furnish us with an account of the forms of worship that were prevalent in India in their times Fa-hien writes that the monks erected *stūpas* dedicated to Sāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda and also to the masters of the Abhidharma, Vinaya and Sūtras The nuns made offerings at the *stūpa* of Ānanda because at his instance the order of nuns was formed, while the novices and the teachers of Abhidharma and Vinaya worshipped at the *stūpa* of Rāhula The Mahāyānists presented offerings to Prajñāpāramitā (*i.e* Tārā), Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara. More details are given by Hiuen Tsang 'At Mathurā,' he says, 'there were three *stūpas* of Aśoka as also *stūpas* erected on the relics of Sārīputra, Mudgalaputra, Pūrna Maitrāyanīputra, Upāli, Ānanda, and Rāhula There were also *stūpas* dedicated to Mañjuśrī and other Bodhisattvas The Abhidharma brethren offered worship to Sārīputra, the Samādhists (meditators) to Mudgalaputra, the masters of Sūtra Pitaka to Pūrna. the masters of Vinaya to Upāli, the nuns to Ananda, the novices (*śrāmaneras*) to Rāhula, and the Mahāyānists to the various Bodhisattvas' From the accounts of the two pilgrims who visited India at an interval of over two centuries, it is appa-

1 *Saddharmapundarīka* Ch XXIV
2 *Suvarnaprabhāsa*, Ch IX Her function is to furnish monks with robes food, and other requisites
3 *Suvarnaprabhāsa* Ch VIII The function of Sarasvatī Devī is to give the power of intonation to Dharma-preachers, teaching dhārani, etymology, and of reviving memory, etc

rent that throughout the Gupta period the worship of Buddhas and Hīnayānic saints was in vogue among the Hīnayānists, and the worship of Bodhisattvas and the Prajñāpāramitā or Tārā, among the Mahāyānists. Hiuen Tsang witnessed also the worship of Maitreya in a few places.

Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang noticed another important Buddhist ceremony, *viz.* procession of images Fa-hien saw the procession at Khotān and Pāṭaliputra His description of the Khotān procession reads as follows —"On a four-wheeled chariot is seated in the centre the image of Buddha with two Bodhisattvas on the two sides The chariot is decorated with seven precious stones, silken streamers and canopies. The Mahāyānic monks of Gomati led the procession The king prostrated himself before the image while the queen and other ladies scattered flowers The ceremony commenced on the first day of the fourth month and ended on the fourteenth." Hiuen Tsang gives a similar account I-tsing does not refer to such processions but gives an elaborate account of the daily ceremony of bathing images He says that it was incumbent upon the monks of a monastery to wash the image of Buddha daily with scented water and other suitable requisites.

IV *Geographical Distribution of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*

Although with the growth of Mahāyānism, Hīnayānism lost its hold upon the people, its adherents did not dwindle very much Some of the Hīnayāna schools, particularly Sarvāstivāda, were still wielding great influence over an extensive area The Sarvāstivādins, later known as the Vaibhāshikas, were spread over the whole of Northern India, including North-West Frontier and Kāshmir, Persia, Central Asia, China, and also Sumatra, Java, and Cochin-China The Sthavira-vādins, including the Mahiśāsakas, were predominant in Ujjayini, Valabhī, Kāñchī, as also in Ceylon, Siam, and Burma In certain areas they were supplanted by the Sāmmitīyas, a sect which attained pre-eminence under the patronage of Harsha-vardhana in the seventh century A D The Mahāsāṅghikas retained their ancient seat in Guntur District, but were dwindling in number, due perhaps to absorption by the Mahāyānists by reason of their common views regarding Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

All Hīnayāna sects and the Mahāyānists were not so bitterly antagonistic as to be compelled to reside separately In many monasteries they resided together, particularly in Magadha in the famous academic centres like Nālandā Vikramaśila and Pātaliputra

Fa-hien, who visited India in the beginning of the fifth century A D., speaks of the existence of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks

He noticed the exclusive popularity of Hīnayāna (probably Sarvāstivāda) in Lob-nor, Darada, Udyāna, Gandhāra, Bannu, Kanauj and Kauśāmbī, and of the Hīnayānic Sthaviravāda in Ceylon, while in places like Afghānistān, Bhida (Punjāb), Mathurā, and Pāṭaliputra, he found adherents of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Only in respect of Khotān he says that the monks were all Mahāyānists. Fa-hien's information about the distribution of Buddhist sects is very scanty but is important in view of its giving us a picture of Buddhism of the fifth century A.D.

The deficiency in Fa-hien's account is made up by Hiuen Tsang (seventh century A.D), who has not only pointed out whether the adherents of a place were Hīnayānists or Mahāyānists, but also mentioned the particular sect to which the adherents belonged His account shows that many of the places, which were the rendezvous of Hīnayānists at the time of Fa-hien, continued to be the seats of Hīnayāna adherents with occasional exceptions. The countries lying beyond the northern borders of India, as also those in the farthest north of India, e g. Tenki, Kuchi, Poh-lu-ka, Balkh, Ka-chi, Bamian, Kāshmir (including Gilgit) Tamasāvana as also Sthāneśvara, Srughna, Prayāga, and Kośāmbī continued to be the exclusive centres of the Hīnayānists, particularly the Sarvāstivādins, except Bamian where the Buddhists were Lokottaravādins (an offshoot of the Mahāsānghikas) He noticed the adherents of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in Kapiśa, Jālandhara, Mathurā, Sāketa, Nepāl, Puṇḍravardhana, Abhayagiri monastery (Ceylon), Konkaṇapura, Mahārāshṭra, Ujayana, Po-fa-to, and Persia. The countries where he came across only Mahāyānic adherents were Lampa, Takshaśilā, Kullu, Magadha, Orissa, and Vidarbha

At the time of Hiuen Tsang the Sāṁmitīya sect (Hīnayāna) appears to have attained great importance He noticed the existence of the adherents of this sect in several places, viz. Viśoka, Ahichchhatrā, Sankāsya, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Vārānasī, Vaiśālī, Karṇasuvarna, Mālava, Valabhī Hayamukha, Ānandapura, Sindh, Kutch, Pi-to-shi-lo, and A-fan-tu (Avanta) These places were mostly the favourite haunts of the early Sthaviravādins, and it is very likely that these Sthaviravādins, by admitting the existence of *pudgala*, became Sāṁmitīyas In Samatata and Dravida (capital Kāñchīpura); he found respectively 30 and 100 monasteries with 2,000 and 10,000 monks of the Sthavira school His statement that he found some Mahāyānist Sthaviras at Bodh-Gayā, Kalinga (Rajamahendry) and even in Ceylon, is somewhat puzzling As stated above, it is very likely that he had in mind some monks who subscribed to Mahāyāna doctrines but observed the Vinaya rules of the Sthaviravādins. He has referred to the Mahāsānghikas as a declining sect and found only

a few adherents at Andarab and Dhanakaṭaka (Amarāvatī), their ancient centre. It will be observed that there is a fair amount of agreement between the accounts of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang relating to the geographical distribution of the sects, only the latter's account is more detailed.[1]

V. *The Four Philosophical Schools*

Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism were divided into four speculative schools, the former into Vaibhāshika and Sautrāntika, and the latter into Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra, and it is to these four schools of thought, and not to the earlier schools, that reference is made in the Brahmanical works on philosophy like *Śānkarabhāshya, Śloka-vārttika*, and *Sarvadarśanasangraha.*

1. *The Vaibhāshikas*

The Sarvāstivādins of Kāshmir and Gandhāra were designated as the Vaibhāshikas on account of their acceptance of the *Vibhāshās* (commentaries) written on Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* (second century B C), the principal Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins, as more authoritative than the original Sūtras The Vibhāshās were compiled about the second century A D. and were said to have been put in literary Sanskrit by Aśvaghosha These were translated into Chinese in A D 383-434 There are two redactions of the Vibhāshā, one large in 200 parts and the other small in 14 parts The larger one, according to Prof Takakusu, must have been the translation of the Kāshmirian Vibhāshā while the shorter one of the Gandhāran

The Vibhāshās were mainly studied and preserved in Kāshmir There were many distinguished teachers of the Vaibhāshika school, *viz.* Dharmottara, Dharmatrāta, Ghoshaka, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva, each of whom held different views regarding the realism of this school[2]

Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D),[3] who was a native of Gandhāra, went to Kāshmir and made a special study of the *Vibhāshās* with Saṁghabhadra He then composed the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāshya*, in which he condensed the topics dealt with in the *Vibhāshās.* The *Kośa*, with its *Bhāshya*, came to be regarded as one of the classic texts of Buddhism, and was studied by monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. It attained so much importance that schools were started in China under this name (Kośa school) and

1 *JRAS*, 1891, pp 418 f Hiuen Tsang's statistics run as follows —
32,000 Mahāyāna monks
96,000 Hīnayāna monks of which Sāmmitīya 44,000
54,500 both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna
2 *Tar*. p 67, N Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism* II 145
3 See Infra, p. 390 as a yogāchāra exponent

it is still being closely studied both in China and Japan. It was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in A D. 563-567 and by Hiuen Tsang in A.D 651-654. The former studied it at Valabhī and the latter at Nālandā.

During the life-time of Vasubandhu, i.e. about the fifth century A D, Vārshaganya expounded the Sānkhya-śāstra to Vindhyāvāsa, who went to Ayodhyā and challenged all disputants to enter into discussion with him King Vikramāditya invited the Buddhist monks to take up the challenge, but unfortunately both Manoratha and Vasubandhu were away from the country. So Buddhamitra, an old teacher of Vasubandhu, had to take up the challenge but he was defeated by Vindhyāvāsa When Vasubandhu came to know of this discomfiture of his revered teacher, he felt humiliated and composed the *Paramārtha-saptati* refuting the Sānkhya views He thereby created such a good impression upon king Vikramāditya that not only did he receive rewards from the king but was also entrusted with the education of the crown prince Bālāditya [1]

Tāranātha has given the biography of only one Vaibhāshika teacher named Gunaprabhā, a disciple of Vasubandhu Gunaprabha came of a Brāhmana family of Mathurā and studied the Vedas and the Brahmanic śāstras He mastered the Tripitaka as also the Mahāyāna texts He seems to have taken special interest in the *Vinaya Pitaka*; and it is said that while residing at Agrapuri-vihāra in Mathurā, he made the resident monks observe the disciplinary rules punctiliously He became the spiritual preceptor of the reigning king Śrī Harsha Hiuen Tsang writes that Gunaprabha who lived in a monastery at Matipur was a monk of great intellectual abilities and a voluminous writer He gave up his Mahāyāna leanings and became a staunch Vaibhāshika and remained so till his death [2]

2 *The Sautrāntikas*

The Sautrāntika school came into being in Gandhāra and Kāshmir as a bitter opponent of the realism of the Vaibhāshikas It derived its name from the Sūtras or Sūtrāntas, which it recognised as the sole authority for its philosophical views, to the exclusion of the Vibhāshās and even the Abhidharmas In the *Kośa*[3] this school is described as the upholder of the *Vinaya Pitaka (vinayavādī)* and also a Dārshtāntika as it admitted examples as proofs for a thesis As against the Vaibhāshikas who held the existence of phenomenal objects on direct perception *(pratyaksha)*, this school asserted that the external objects were appearances *(prajñapti)* and their existence could be proved only by inference *(bāhyārthā-*

1 Cf *ip* 38, 43 above. 2 *HTW*, I 322. 3 viii 32

numeyatva). It contended that as the fatness of a person implied that he had been taking nourishing food, so the existence of intellection implied the existence of the truth (*jñeya*) to be realised. In the *Kośa*[1] it is stated that the *asaṁskṛta*, e.g., *ākāśa* or *nirvāṇa* is not a real object (*dravya*)—it is only absence (*abhāva*) of all objective elements Takakusu writes in his *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*[2] that according to the Sautrāntikas there is "no substance (*anātma*) no duration (*anitya*) and no bliss (*duhkha*) except Nirvāna (*sukha*)" It admitted the transference of the *skandhamātras* (the subtlest form of elements) from one existence to another, but asserted that the *skandhamātras* cease to exist in Nirvāna.

The traditional founder of this school was Kumāralabdha,[3] who was a native of Takshaśilā He was a celebrated teacher and was counted among the four "suns of India", the other three being Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Chronologically Kumāralabdha should be placed somewhere between Āryadeva and Vasubandhu

The other great exponent of the Sautrāntika doctrines was Śrilābha mentioned in Vasubandhu's *Kośa-bhāshya* He was a native of Kāshmir and was a great Śāstra-master Hiuen Tsang noticed at Ayodhyā a monastery where Śrilābha resided for some time He must have preceded Vasubandhu by several years

The Tibetan historians are silent about the career of this school. Prof Takakusu holds the opinion that the Sautrāntikas developed out of the Satyasiddhi School of Harivarman, who lived in India *circa* A D 250-350 There is, however, no reference either to Satyasiddhi school or to Harivarman in any Indian work and so it is doubtful if this school existed at all in India

3 *The Mādhyamikas*

The accredited founder of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy was Nāgārjuna[4] who lived about the first century A D. and wrote the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* In this work he established that the only Reality is *Śūnyatā* and that any positive description of the Reality is out of the question, and the utmost length to which one can go for giving an idea of the Reality is to negate everything conceivable He held that the phenomenal world is a misconceived super-imposition on the Reality, hence, there is absolutely no difference between the phenomenal world (*saṁsāra*) and the Reality (*śūnyatā* or *nirvāṇa*)

1. ii 127 2 Edited by W T Chan and C A Moore Honolulu, 1947, p 74
3. Uttara a contemporary of Āryadeva is also regarded as a founder of the Sautrāntika School See *HTW*, II, p 224.
4 Vol II, p 388 f

The mantle of Nāgārjuna fell on his disciple Āryadeva, who, as stated above, is regarded as one of the four luminaries of India. Āryadeva was the foster-son of a king of Simhala and succeeded Nāgārjuna as the abbot of Nālandā and as the spiritual head of the Mādhyamika School. He achieved fame by successfully refuting the heretical teachers He wrote several treatises, of which only one, viz. *Chatuḥśataka,* has been preserved in original Sanskrit. He lived for a long time at Nālandā, and towards the end of his life he went to Kāñchī where he died about the second century A D.

His disciple Mātricheta came of a Brāhmana family of the north. He became highly proficient in the Vedas and Vedāngas as also in the Tantras and Mantras He worshipped Maheśvara and composed hymns in his praise He made a special study of dialectics His actual name was Kāla, but he was called Mātricheta or Pitṛicheta on account of his great regard for his parents For his uncommon ability and success in disputations he came to be known as Durdharsha Kāla. After his defeat and conversion by Āryadeva, he became an enthusiastic Buddhist preacher, composed a number of treatises and propagated both Hīnayāna and Mahāyana Buddhism. He built at Nālandā, during the abbotship of Rāhulabhadra, fourteen Gandhakutis (shrines) and fourteen monasteries He composed thirteen works, of which the two stotras, *Varnārhavarnastotra*[1] in 400 verses and *Śatapañchāśatkanāmastotra*[2] in 150 verses are well-known These were recited at Nālandā by both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks

Rāhulabhadra, one of the disciples of Āryadeva, succeeded him in the abbotship of Nālandā He belonged to the Śūdra caste and possessed immense wealth He was a devotee of Amitābha Buddha

It is not known who succeeded Rāhulabhadra as the abbot of Nālandā The Mādhyamika teaching as stated by Tāranātha, was handed down by Rāhulabhadra to his disciple Rāhulamitra,[3] who, in turn, handed over the same to his disciple Nāgamitra Nāgamitra's disciple was Samgharakshita, who is said to have been a contemporary of Asanga[4] and probably lived about the beginning of the fifth century A D Between Āryadeva and Samgharakshita about

1 Prof F W Thomas published the first 150 verses of this *Stotra* in Tibetan in the *Indian Antiquary* 1905, pp 145 ff Dr Hoernle published a few fragments of the original text in Sanskrit in his *Manuscript Remains in Eastern Turkestan,* pp 75 ff

2 This *stotra* has been edited and published by Rāhula Sāmkrityāyana in *JBORS*, 1937 and recently by D R Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, 1951

3 *Tar*, p 102 I-tsing (p 64) speaks of a distinguished monk of his time also called Rāhulamitra who was honoured as the head of the priests of Eastern India

4 *Tar* p 104

two centuries elapsed, during which period no contribution of note seems to have been made by the intervening teachers to the Mādhyamika system

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that Kumārajīva, the famous translator of Sanskrit texts into Chinese,[1] became a follower of the Mādhyamika School and propagated this system of thought in China in the fifth century A.D.[2]

The two great exponents of Mādhyamika philosophy, Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka, were the disciples of Samgharakshita. They may be placed towards the end of the fifth century and were senior contemporaries of Sthiramati and Dinnāga of the Yogāchāra School

Buddhapālita was born in a country of the south He resided at Dantapura (capital of Kalinga) and propagated the teaching in that area He wrote a commentary on the *Mūla-madhyamaka-sūtra* of Nāgārjuna. He adopted the *prāsangika* (*reductio ad absurdum*) method of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva for establishing the thesis of *Śūnyatā*

Bhāvaviveka was born in a Kshatriya family of Malayagiri, in the south He came to Madhyadeśa, became a disciple of Samgharakshita, and studied with him the Mahāyāna texts, particularly the teachings of Nāgārjuna. He then went back to the south and took charge of fifty monasteries, and had a large number of disciples. After the death of Buddhapālita, he wrote an expository treatise *Prajñāpradīpa* on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka* He discarded the *prāsangika* method of Buddhapālita, refuted some of his arguments, and established the *Śūnyatā* doctrine of Nāgārjuna by the *svātantrika* (direct reasoning) method. He wrote an independent work entitled *Mādhyamika-hṛidaya* along with a commentary called *Tarkajvālā*, in which he dealt with the *svātantrika* method as also with the functions of a Bodhisattva[3] In this work, Hiuen Tsang says, he refuted not only the non-Mādhyamika doctrines but also the Brahmanic schools of thought. It was at the time of Bhāvaviveka that a sharp cleavage took place between the Mādhyamikas and Yogāchāras, and the two systems became separate independent schools of thought of Mahāyāna. There were controversies between the adherents of the two systems, particularly between Bhāvaviveka and Sthiramati's disciples.

Chandrakīrti is the next great exponent of the Mādhyamika system He followed the *prāsangika* method of Buddhapālita so closely that in some traditions he is described as the re-incarnation

1. Cf Ch XXIII
2. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 99.
3. Tār, p 136

of Buddhapālita. His *Prasannapadā*, the commentary on the *Mūla-madhyamaka*, is a masterpiece and is available in original Sanskrit He was born in Samanta in the south and studied the Mādhyamika philosophy with Kamalabuddhi who was a disciple of Buddhapālita. He became an abbot of Nālandā, and wrote various commentaries and a treatise in verse called the *Samantabhadra* He went to the south, defeated in controversy some teachers of Konkana, converted a large number of Brāhmanas and householders, and established large monasteries He carried on controversies for long with Chandragomin, who was a junior contemporary of his and was an advocate of the Yogāchāra school of philosophy He appreciated Chandragomin's vast and varied erudition and offered him a place of honour in the monastery of Nālandā

Chandrakīrti was succeeded by Dharmapāla (A D 635) who was a Yogāchārin, and then for a short time by Jayadeva [1] Jayadeva's disciple was Śāntideva, the most famous writer on the Mādhyamika system after Chandrakīrti

Śāntideva (originally Śāntivarman) also known as Bhusuku, was the son of king Kalyānavarman of Saurāshtra He studied the different sciences and gave up the throne for the life of a monk He was a devotee of Mañjuśrī He came to Madhyadeśa and became a disciple of Jayadeva of Nālandā He converted a large number of heretics dwelling in the west of Magadha, including a ruling prince, as also some Śiva-devotees of Śrīparvata in the south He composed three works, *Sikshāsamuchchaya*, *Bodhicharyāvatāra* and *Sūtra-samuchchaya* Two of these are extant in original Sanskrit In the *Sikshāsamuchchaya* he compiled the ethical laws which a Bodhisattva should observe, while in the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, he delineated how a Bodhisattva makes gradual spiritual progress and ultimately realises the *prajñāpāramitā* in other words, the Mādhyamika conception of *śūnyatā*

After Śāntideva Sarvajñamitra (eighth century A D), a nephew of the king of Kāshmir, became one of the principal teachers of Nālandā He was a disciple of Ravigupta, who worked in Kāshmir and Magadha, and was a contemporary of Jayadeva He is the author of the *Sragdharāstotra* which is extant in original Sanskrit

4. *The Yogāchārins*

The origin of the Yogāchāra school of thought is usually placed some time after the appearance of the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna, i e about the third century A D , and its first propounder was Maitreyanātha whose history has been made hazy by Tāranātha,

1. *Tar*, p 162

Bu-ston, and others by identifying him with Maitreya, the future Buddha. The earliest treatise dealing with Yogāchāra philosophy, according to Prof. Takakusu,[1] was the *Śraddhotpādasūtra* of Aśvaghosha, composed about the first century A.D. This opinion of Prof Takakusu about the antiquity of the *Sūtra* is not, however, generally accepted. A few scholars regard the *Pañchavimśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*[2] as the earliest treatise on Yogāchāra It was adapted later to Maitreya's *Abhisamayālankārakārikā*. It was followed by the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, *Kāśyapa-parivarta* and *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. After these texts, appeared the *Sandhinirmochana-sūtra*, which served as a link between the nebulous idealism of the canonical texts and the developed Vijñānavāda of Asanga, according to which nothing but ideation exists and the outer world is only a creation of the mind Like the Mādhyamikas, it also establishes that *Śūnyatā* is the only Reality, which is without origin and decay, and is beyond all descriptions Its only difference from the Mādhyamika point of view is that this Reality is pure consciousness (*Vijñaptimātra*), which however goes against the Mādhyamika absolutism which rejects the attribution of any quality (*guna*), even of pure consciousness, to *Śūnyatā*.

Maitreyanātha lived in Ayodhyā about A D 270-350 and composed several works systematising the idealistic thoughts His *Abhisamayālankāra-kārikā*, *Madhyāntavibhaga*, and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are extant in original Sanskrit. The credit of propounding the Vijñānavāda philosophy, therefore, should go to Maitreyanātha and not to Asanga as stated in the various traditions

Asanga was the eldest son of the court-priest of Purushapura (Peshāwar) He joined the Mahīśāsaka sect and was initiated into the Hīnayānic conception of *pudgala-śūnyatā* by a monk called Pindola As it did not give him full satisfaction, he approached Maitreyanātha for being initiated into the truths of Mahāyāna He was inspired by Maitreyanātha and received from him the *Saptadaśabhūmiśāstra* (translated into Chinese in A D 413-421), *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*, *Abhidharmasamuchchaya* and a few other works He developed the cryptic sayings of Maitreyanātha, and detailed the practices to be undertaken by a Yogāchāra adept and the spiritual stages through which he was to pass to attain the goal. Asanga lived in Ayodhyā about A D 310-390, put the system on a firmer footing, and assured its future by persuading his younger brother Vasubandhu, an intellectual genius, to give up his old faith in Sarvāstivāda and espouse the cause of the Yogāchāra school of thought.

1 *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* p 38
2 Edited by N Dutt and published in the Calcutta Oriental Series

Vasubandhu was at first a Sarvāstivādin[1] He was won over by his elder brother Asanga to the Yogāchāra school of thought. After his conversion to the new faith he made valuable contributions to Vijñānavāda, of which the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* is a masterpiece. In twenty and thirty *kārikās*, known as *Viṁśatikā* and *Triṁśikā*, he propounded the Vijñānavāda philosophy, as he understood it. He was not only a commentator and a philosopher but also a logician During his time logic formed part of the science of disputation (*vāda*), and so all the books written by him on logic have the word *vāda* as a part of the title, *viz* *Vādahṛidaya*, *Vādavidhi*, *Vādavidhāna* It is to the credit of Dinnāga, a disciple of Vasubandhu, to have separated the science of logic from that of disputation and replaced the word *vāda* by *nyāya*

Vasubandhu had a long and distinguished career as the abbot of Nālandā, and had quite a large number of disciples, among whom may be mentioned Gunamati, Sthiramati, Dinnāga, Saṁghadāsa, Dharmadāsa, Dharmapāla, and Vimuktasena.

Gunamati was a native of Valabhī and spent the greater part of his life there He came to Nālandā and became one of its distinguished teachers He is often mentioned along with Sthiramati, who was not only his contemporary but also resided with him in the same monastery at Valabhī He wrote a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*[2] and refuted the dualistic teachings of Madhva as also the Mādhyamika views of Bhavya (=Bhāvaviveka) The great scholar Paramārtha, who belonged to Ujjayinī, was a disciple of Gunamati He translated Gunamati's *Lakshanānusāraśāstra* into Chinese.

Sthiramati hailed from Dandakāranya He became a disciple of Vasubandhu and learned the *śāstras* from him He studied both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna philosophy and wrote commentaries on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, *Abhidharmasamuchchaya* and other works He committed to memory the *Ratnakūta-sūtras* and commented on one of its texts the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* He wrote disquisitions on *Madhyāntavibhāga* and Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikā*, both of which have been discovered in original Sanskrit[3]

Dinnāga was another distinguished disciple of Vasubandhu. He came of a Brāhmana family of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram), and became a monk of the Vātsīputrīya (=Sāmmitīya) sect After he became

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1 See above pp 383-4 as a Vaibhāshika teacher

2 Watters (II, p 108) thinks that Gunamati the commentator of the *kośa*, was different from Gunamati the Yogāchārin The *Kośa* being a basic work of Buddhism was studied both by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists and hence the commentator of *Kośa* might well have been a Yogāchārin

3 *JRAS*, 1947, pp 53 ff

a disciple of Vasubandhu he gave up his old faith and became a Vijñānavādin. He specialised in logical science, on which he wrote a number of treatises, the best of which was the *Pramāṇasamuchchaya.* Two of his works, *Nyāyapraveśa* and *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* are extant in original Sanskrit Some of his works were translated into Chinese in A.D. 560. I-tsing furnishes us with the titles of eight of his works which were used by students as textbooks on logic. He spent the best part of his life in intellectual disputations, and his views have been criticised by Brahmanic logicians like Uddyotakara, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, and Pārthasārathi Miśra. He was really the founder of the mediaeval school of logic His predecessors like Nāgārjuna, Asanga, and Vasubandhu utilised the logical science for the exposition of their doctrines, and it was Diṅnāga who first formulated a systematic science of logic He went to Odivisa, and converted the king's treasurer Bhadrapālita who erected sixteen monasteries. He lived probably at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century A.D., for his works were translated into Chinese in the sixth century Dinnāga had a large number of disciples of whom Śankarasvāmin and Dharmapāla deserve mention.

Śaṅkarasvāmin belonged to Southern India and was the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa-tarkaśāstra* which was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in A D 647.

Dharmapāla was a native of Kāñchī. Hiuen Tsang writes that he was the son of a high official of the king, while Tāranātha says that he belonged to a family of chanters and that when quite young he could recite large portions of Buddhist and Brahmanic works He was ordained by Dharmadāsa He came to Madhyadeśa and became a disciple of Dinnāga He could recite from memory one hundred large *sūtras.* He composed many *stotras* and *stavas* For some time he preached the religion at Gayā where Bhāvaviveka wanted to meet him but failed to do so. He defeated many Hīnayāna teachers in controversies at Viśoka (near Kauśāmbī) He became the abbot of Nālandā and composed a few works on Yogāchāra philosophy. He ordained Dharmakīrti, and lived at the beginning of the seventh century Dharmapāla was succeeded in the abbotship of Nālandā by his disciple Śīlabhadra, with whom Hiuen Tsang studied the Buddhist texts.

Śīlabhadra came of a royal family of Samatata He became a disciple of Dharmapāla and acquired great distinction as a disputant. He defeated some teachers of South India in controversies, and was given the revenues of a village as a reward by the ruler of the country. With this revenue, he built monasteries and made provi-

sion for the maintenance of the inmates. Being a friend and teacher of Hiuen Tsang he has been highly spoken of by the Chinese pilgrim, who met him in the middle of the seventh century A.D. He was the last known Vijñānavādin abbot of Nālandā. The next distinguished writer on Vijñānavāda was Haribhadra, who lived during the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla He was a disciple of Vairochanabhadra It cannot be determined how many teachers of the Vijñānavāda school intervened between Śīlabhadra and Haribhadra.

One of the disciples of Dinnāga was Īśvarasena who lived some time after Sīlāditya He expounded Dinnāga's *Pramāṇasamuchchaya* to Dharmakīrti.

Dharmakīrti came of a Brāhmaṇa family of the south and was probably a nephew of the famous Kumārila When he was sixteen or eighteen years old he became proficient in all the *śāstras* of the heretics. Then he realised that his own doctrine was full of shortcomings, and the *śāstras* were incomplete, while the excellent teaching of Buddha was just the opposite He admired the religion and became an *upāsaka* On account of his great devotion for Buddha he was excommunicated by the Brāhmaṇas He came to Madhyadeśa and was ordained by Dharmapāla He studied Dinnāga's *Pramāṇasamuchchaya* with his teacher Īśvarasena, but he differed from his teacher on certain points and composed a fresh commentary on this text He mastered the knotty points of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and defeated the heretical teachers in controversies He is said to have surpassed even Dinnāga in his contribution to the science of logic His *Nyāyabindu* is extant in original Sanskrit Another valuable work of his was *Pramāṇavārttika*, on which a commentary was written by Prajñākaragupta[1] His views have been criticised by Śāntarakshita in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* Since I-tsing mentions him he should be placed in the seventh century A D

One of the most distinguished disciples of Sthiramati was Chandragomin who made a notable contribution to the grammatical literature of India Chandragomin was born in Varendra in the east He studied all the sciences including grammar and dialectics. He learned from Sthiramati the *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma Piṭakas*, and from other teachers Mantras and Tantras He worshipped Tārā and Avalokiteśvara He married the daughter of the king of Varendra whose name was Tārā One day it struck him that his wife Tārā was not different from his deity Tārā and so he left home, became a recluse and retired across the Gaṅgā to a spot which came to be known as Chandradvīpa At this place he erected temples of Tārā and

1 Edited by Rāhula Sāmkritvāvana

Avalokiteśvara. He was a Vijñānavādin and as such he was a rival of Chandrakīrti, who was a follower of Buddhapālita's school of Mādhyamika. These two scholars carried on learned discussions for several years Chandragomin wrote many treatises on medicine, architecture, lexicography, grammar, dialectics, metrics, and poetics His work *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa* was highly appreciated. He took up the study of the *Daśabhūmika*, *Samādhirāja*, *Laṅkāvatāra* and *Prajñāpāramitā*, and compiled abstracts of these texts He is the author of *Pradīpamālā-śāstra*, *Samvara-vimśaka*, *Kāyatrayāvatāra*, *Tārāsādhanaśataka*, *Avalokiteśvarasādhanaśataka* and *Śishyalekha*. He visited the southern countries and went as far as Simhaladvīpa. He spent his last years at Potala in Dhanaśrīdvīpa across the ocean where he erected temples of Tārā and Avalokiteśvara

VI *Historical Survey*

It has been shown above, how the new movement, Mahāyānism, was developing under the care of different teachers, and how Hīnayanism, though claiming comparatively a large number of adherents, was gradually being pushed off to the fringes of India and ultimately to countries outside the land of its origin As it is not possible to present a complete picture of Buddhism during the Gupta period, we shall have to satisfy ourselves with the scrappy information left by the Chinese pilgrims supplemented by Tibetan traditions and scanty archaeological evidence

Fa-hien came to India in the fifth century A D and made a brief survey of the condition of Buddhism He commenced his tour from Central Asian countries where he found the religion flourishing On his way to Mathurā he saw countless monks and monasteries and in most places the kings were staunch believers in the religion and showed due respect to the monks Some of the kings made grants of land for the maintenance of monasteries He admired the monks for their strict observance of the disciplinary rules and the lay-devotees for their great regard for the shrines and for their liberal gifts to the monks He noticed that the householders erected *chaityas* and *stūpas* and worshipped them

From the account of Fa-hien it appears that even in the fifth century A D Hīnayāna Buddhism was still holding its sway all over Northern India, and that Mahāyāna Buddhism was just rearing its head here and there Only at Gayā and Kapilavastu did he find the monasteries empty and desolate

Hiuen Tsang visited India about two centuries after Fa-hien There is no reliable source from which we can fill up this gap of

two centuries. There are a few traditions preserved in the *Mañju-śrīmūlakalpa*, Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* and the records of Hiuen Tsang, but these cannot be regarded as very reliable.

Tāranātha writes that some time after Rāhulabhadra the Buddhist church fell on evil days. A Turushka king overran Magadha and destroyed many monasteries. The monks of Nālandā fled in different directions. The ruler of Magadha became a vassal of the Turushka conqueror and could no longer effectively help the church. A later king, nicknamed Buddhapaksha, was a friend of the Buddhists. He entered into an alliance with the king of China through Buddhist emissaries and, with the treasure received from the Chinese king, slew the Persian invader and regained independence [1] He re-erected the monasteries at Nālandā

In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[2] this tradition appears in a slightly different form The name of the foreign invader is given as "Gomi". He entered from the north through Kāshmir and destroyed many monasteries and killed several monks. Then king Buddhapaksha, who was an ardent devotee of Buddhism, re-erected the *stūpas* and monasteries His son called Gambhīra Yaksha also built several *stūpas* and monasteries and dug tanks and wells As Fa-hien does not allude to this inroad of a foreigner, the time of this persecution should be placed in the sixth century A.D or the end of the fifth century A D The only persecutor that Hiuen Tsang speaks of is Mihirakula, who was imprisoned by Bālāditya [3] The foreign ruler who destroyed the Buddhist monasteries might be Toramāṇa, father of Mihirakula Hiuen Tsang writes that Śakrāditya was the founder of the Nālandā monastery, while his son Budhagupta and king Tathāgatagupta built two other monasteries. This testimony of Hiuen Tsang proves the Buddhist leanings of some of the local kings The names Budha and Tathāgata are also reminiscent of their faith in Buddhism Several Gupta inscriptions testify to the Buddhist leanings of kings and peoples [4]

Hiuen Tsang's account gives us reliable information about the condition of Buddhism in India in the seventh century A D. He travelled in India from A D 630 to 644 In Kāshmir he was received with great honours by the king who gave him twenty paṇḍitas to make copies of Buddhist works, besides a few monks to help him in his mission. After studying there for two years, he went to a place near Sākala (Sialkot) and studied the *Abhidharma Pitaka* for two years with the bhikshu Vinītaprabha who was the son of a

1 *Tar*, p 95, Buston, II, 119   2 T S S No 84, Part III, p 620
3 See pp 36-38
4 For other evidences of the royal patronage of Buddhism during the Gupta period, cf pp 43, 63, 139 f, 142 f above

prince. He resided for some time at Śrughna with the monk Jayagupta and at Matipur with Mitrasena, a disciple of Guṇaprabha, studying the *Vibhāshās* and Guṇaprabha's *Tattvasandeśaśāstra*. He remained for three months at Kanauj with Āchārya Vīryasena and studied the treatise on *Vibhāshā* written by Āchārya Buddhadāsa at Hayamukha Lastly he became a student of Śīlabhadra, the abbot of Nālandā He gives the number of monks and monasteries in the different states visited by him and sometimes adds interesting details and anecdotes concerning Buddhism He carried back to China 657 *pu* (parts) of the Buddhist literature composed of Hīnayāna sūtras commentaries and disciplinary rules, Mahāyāna texts and commentaries, and a few treatises on logic and etymology.

Hiuen Tsang gives a detailed account of Emperor Harshavardhana and his zeal for Buddhism [1] But, in all probability, he exaggerated a great deal Harsha's widowed sister Rājyaśrī became a nun of the Sāṁmitīya school, and due to the king's patronage the Sāṁmitīya school spread widely in Western India and in a few places in Eastern India Harsha-vardhana's faith in Hīnayāna is indicated by the fact that at Mālwā he erected a temple of great architectural merit and installed in it images of seven Buddhas recognised by the Hīnayānists

Though Hiuen Tsang endeavoured to give a bright picture of Buddhism in India, it appears from his record that the progress of the religion had been arrested, and in many places it had lost its hold upon the people and was, in fact, on the verge of disappearance. In the north-western parts of India, particularly in Nagarkot, Gandhāra, Udyāna and Takshaśilā, he found the monasteries mostly in ruins and almost deserted, and the people were mostly non-Buddhists. At Simhapura near Takshaśilā he noticed a spot sacred to the Śvetāmbara Jains. Likewise in Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī the religion was on the wane, the monasteries untenanted and uncared for, while in Vaiśālī the Digambara Jains prospered Similar was the condition in the eastern parts of India, in Champā and Puṇḍravardhana. There were many Digambaras in Puṇḍravardhana Samatata and Kalinga In the south at Dhanakataka, Chola countries and Malakūta a few Buddhist monks resided in the several monasteries while there were many Digambaras and other non-Buddhists. Of the kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, only Harsha and Dhruvabhata (of Valabhī) were true lay-devotees and actively worked for the welfare of the religion; all the other kings were Brahmanic in their faith, though they were tolerant of the religion which had been existing in their dominions and occasionally showed

1 See above, pp 117 ff

their sympathy for its well-being. From the above account it is apparent that the sphere of Buddhism had already contracted in Hiuen Tsang's time, and that the non-Buddhists, particularly the devotees of Siva and the followers of the Digambara sect, were growing in number and influence. But Hiuen Tsang's records distinctly prove that Buddhism though declining, was still prevalent in important places all over India from Kāshmir and Gandhāra to Draviḍa, and from Ganjām and Samatata to Sindh and Valabhī.

In conclusion a few words may be said about the monastic life. Long before the Gupta period Buddhist as well as Jain monks and nuns had developed into important and powerful communities bound together by the strict rules of their respective orders. From the accounts of the contemporary Chinese travellers we learn how zealously the Buddhist fraternity in the seventh century sought to maintain the high intellectual and moral standards enforced by their canon. "The Brethren", says Hiuen Tsang in his general account of India, "are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominent distinction, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent." While "those who bring out subtle points in Philosophy couched in ornate diction" continues the account, "are given very high distinction, "those who are defeated in discussion are covered with ignominy and expelled." The Brethren, again, had different grades of penalties for different offences. I-tsing, who was driven to visit India by the laxity of monks in his native land, describes in great detail and with high praise the rules followed by Indian monks about food and drink, clothing and medicaments, personal hygiene and general conduct.[1] Nevertheless it is probable that there were at times not only individual but even general lapses of the Brethren from the older standards. This is proved, not so much by occasional hints in the Brahmanical literature, as by the pointed and direct reference in a Buddhist work of this period.[2] Literary evidence again shows that

1 *HTW*, I 162. As an instance of the strictness of the monastic discipline in his time, I-tsing mentions (Takakusu 63) the stringent rules observed by monks and nuns when visiting one another at a monastery in Tāmralipti. In the same monastery lived a much esteemed monk who had not spoken to a woman face to face since his ordination though this was not forbidden by the law (*ibid* 64).

2 In Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* (Act IV, p 74) the saucy Brāhmana Maitreya uses the simile of a Buddhist monk kept awake at night by thinking of his assignation with a servant girl. In *Mṛi* however this scandalous reference is left out in the corresponding passage. What is more, a Buddhist monk, who was till recently a shampooer and a gambler, is mentioned quite naturally as shrinking from touching the body of the heroine to enable her to walk to a place of safety. Not much stress again is to be laid upon the character of the disreputable Buddhist monk portrayed in the *Mattavilāsa* drama which belongs to a dramatic type (*prahasana*) characterised by its license. On the other hand it is significant that the *Rāshṭrapālaparipṛichchhā* contains (Finot's ed pp 28-33) a remarkable prophecy about the decadence of the church making the monks

the Buddhist and Jain nuns in particular were often employed from early times in the unworthy rôle of go-betweens between lovers The Gupta Age seems to show no improvement on this state of affairs.[1]

The dramas and romances of the Gupta Age have preserved for us strong traces of the repugnance felt by orthodox Brahmaṇas towards Buddhist as well as Jain monks whom they could not but look upon as impious revilers of the Vedas and sacrificial performances.[2] Nevertheless, as pointed out above, mutual toleration of the prevailing faiths was the general rule in the country during the Gupta period.

VII. *Iconography*

Numerous images of Buddha of all the varieties mentioned above prove the great popularity of the icon worship The colossal recumbent Buddha figure of Kasia, made by Dinna of Mathurā in the early Gupta period, is of unique interest, for few such figures of this or later period are known The seated Buddha image at Mankuwār (Allāhābād District), dated in A D 448-9, partially preserves the conventional treatment of hair which we find in early Mathurā images,[3] the spiral coil being left out The Buddha type of the Gupta period numerous specimens of which have been discovered at Sārnāth and its environs, is a fully developed one 'characterised by its refinement by a clear delineation and definition of features by curly hair absence of *urnā*, greater variety of *mudrās*, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders and extremely diaphanous clearly revealing the figure, and by a lotus or lion pedestal usually with figures of donors Scarcely any trace of Hellenistic plasticity is apparent'[4] This classical type, sublimated out of the "animal" type of Mathurā, became the chief source of all later Buddhas both in and outside India

The Sārnāth Museum also contains a number of Bodhisattvas of the Gupta period these can be identified on the basis of their

appear in the rôle of unattached worldlings and hypocrites as well as teachers of false doctrines This work was translated into Chinese between A.D. 585 and 592 and was probably composed not much earlier than that time

1 *Dasa* pp 85 168 (NSP 1951 pp 112 232) Kāmandakī in *Mālatī*

2 Cf *Mri* Act IX (meeting a Buddhist monk in a public garden regarded as inauspicious even by the virtuous Chārudatta) *Ha* V *Mud* IV (sight of a naked Jain monk taken to be an evil omen) The grounds for the Brāhmanas' antipathy towards Jain monks are well expressed in a remarkable anecdote in *Daśa* p 75 (NSP, 1951 p 94) There we are told that a rich merchant of the Brahmana caste reduced to poverty by the wiles of *gaṇikā* allows himself in sheer disgust to become a Jain monk Afterwards he repents of adopting a life "where the dress to be worn is condemnable, which is the abode of excessive suffering, the fruit whereof is Hell even after one's death owing to one's having constantly to listen to the blasphemy against the gods Vishnu, Śiva, Brahmā and others."

3 Vol II, pp 391 ff

4 Vol II, p 394

special iconographic features as Avalokiteśvara Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, the images of the first being more numerous than those of the other two. An interesting re-orientation in the representation of these Gupta Bodhisattvas is now clearly discernible, almost all of them bear on their crown the miniature figures of their respective spiritual fathers—the Dhyānī-Buddhas Amitābha, Amoghasiddha and Akshobhya—a peculiarity which is so common in the case of their mediaeval counterparts This speciality is not found in Mathurā and Gandhāra, though one or two comparatively late reliefs from the latter place contain it. Another iconographic change is noticeable in the treatment of Maitreya of the Gupta period; for now we see him holding a bunch of Nāgakeśara flowers in his hand in place of the nectar flask

The iconographic innovations just noticed indicate that changes of an extremely far-reaching character were being introduced in the Mahāyāna doctrine in the early Gupta period—changes which were destined to transform it at no distant date into Vajrayāna which supplied mediaeval Buddhism with its bewildering iconography Some of the earlier motifs like those depicting the predecessors of Gautama Buddha were now falling into comparative disuse, and Dhyānī-Buddhas and Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas were coming into prominence in all their varied complexity of forms These and a host of new entrants into the pantheon came to be most commonly represented in mediaeval Buddhist art, and many of these iconographic types were only next in order of importance to the principal cult picture But it must be noted that the Dhyānī-Buddha figures were mainly used as accessories, inasmuch as they usually appeared either in the crown or on the top part of the *prabhā* of not only the Dhyānī-Bodhisattvas and their various forms but also of numerous other Bodhisattvas, both male and female, belonging to the elaborate pantheon A much later addition to the list of the five Dhyānī-Buddhas is Vajrasattva whose Bodhisattva is Ghaṇṭāpāṇi [1] Another late introduction into the elaborate hierarchy of Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna divinities was the Ādi-Buddha from whom the other Dhyānī-Buddhas were later supposed to have originated All these images of the Mahāyāna pantheon will be discussed more fully in the next volume.

VIII *Non-canonical Pāli Literature*

The period following the closing of the canon is characterised by exegetic literature which was necessitated by the difficulties felt in understanding the canonical texts Most of the works during the

1 B T Bhattacharaya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp xxiv-xxix, 2; A Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*

period under review are the products of the learned *theras* (monks) from Ceylon, the contribution from the mainland of India being meagre. The period may rightly be regarded as a brilliant epoch in the history of Pāli literature of Ceylon.

The beginnings of exegetical activity may be traced in the Suttas, and the canon itself contains a few commentaries. The Buddhist monks in India and Ceylon carefully studied the canonical texts and explained them According to the orthodox Buddhists of Ceylon the *Aṭṭhakathās* (explanations of the meanings, or commentaries) have been handed down since the days of the First Council The canonical texts were explained both grammatically and lexically They were illustrated by narratives and legends, and augmented by the addition and insertion of old material and composition of much fresh material in imitation of old models These works also included legends connected with the origin and history of the monastic order, which were helpful in tracing the early history of monasteries in Ceylon

1 *Nidāna Kathā*

We get the record of the actual life of the Master and the earliest beginnings of a Buddha legend and a Buddha epic in the canonical texts But the first connected account of the life of the Master reconstructed from these scattered notices is found in the *Nidāna Kathā* (narrative of the beginnings) which preceded the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* and formed part of it. The *Nidāna Kathā* consists of three sections, *Dūre Nidāna* (beginnings in the remote past), *Avidūre Nidāna* (not very remote), and *Santike Nidāna* (in the present). In the *Dūre Nidāna,* which gives an account of the previous lives of the Buddha, the prose is continually interrupted by verses from the *Buddhavaṁsa* and *Chariyāpiṭaka* with which it is directly connected The *Avidūre Nidāna* relates how the Tusita gods importune Bodhisattva to be born again on earth, and gives the legends of Bodhisattva from his conception to the attainment of Bodhi, interwoven with numerous miraculous phenomena The *Santike Nidāna* deals mainly with the first conversions These three parts contain the story of the Buddha from the time of Dipaṁkara Buddha to whom the future Buddha as Sumedha pays homage, up to the grant of Jetavana to the monastic order by the merchant Anātha-piṇḍika The *Nidāna Kathā*, which forms an essential part of the Jātaka commentary, represents an earlier phase in the development of the Buddha legend than the *Lalitavistara* and similar Sanskrit works.

2. *Commentaries*

(i) *Buddhaghosha*

According to the account of the life of Buddhaghosha in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[1] he was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in the neighbourhood of Bodh-Gayā He was converted to Buddhism by a monk (*mahāmātra*) named Revata, who induced him to go to Ceylon in order to study the authoritative and orthodox commentaries which were not available in India So Buddhaghosha reached Ceylon in the reign of king Mahānāman (A D 409-31), and heard the Singhalese commentary and the Theravāda tradition from Sanghapāla at the Mahāpadhāna hall of the Mahavihāra There he composed the *Visuddhimagga* and was acclaimed a veritable Metteyya Bodhisattva He then translated the *Atthakathās* from the Singhalese into Māgadhī, and his work was honoured by the teachers of the Theravāda as a sacred text After finishing his task Buddhaghosha returned to the land of his birth to pay homage to the great Bodhi tree

This account was hitherto accepted as correct by almost all writers on Pali literature[2] Dharmānanda Kosambi however, does not accept the view that Buddhaghosha was a native of Bodh-Gayā or that he was a Brāhmaṇa and believes him to be a Telanga from the Telugu country of Southern India, and not a Burmese Telaing as recorded in the Burmese traditions [3]

There is a wide difference of opinion with regard to the works of Buddhaghosha He himself mentions *Visuddhimagga*, *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumangalavilāsinī* *Papañchasūdanī*, *Sāratthappakāsinī*, and *Manorathapūraṇī* as his works Besides these the *Gandhavaṃsa* ascribes to him *Kankhāvitaraṇī*, *Paramatthakathā*, and commentaries on *Jātaka*, *Dhammapada* *Khuddakapātha*, *Suttanipāta*, and *Apadāna* Winternitz has scarcely any doubt about Buddhaghosha's authorship of *Atthasālinī* *Sammohavinodanī* and the commentary on *Patthānappakaraṇa* He believes that the *Kankhāvitaraṇī* and *Paramatthajotikā* also most probably belong to Buddhaghosha The commentaries on *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada* ascribed to Buddhaghosha by *Gandhavaṃsa* are so distinct in language and style from his other works that it is difficult to ascribe them to his authorship [4]

The *Visuddhimagga* so called because it explains the ways (*magga*) to attain to purity (*visuddhi*) is the first outstanding work

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1 *Mahāvaṃsa* Ch XXXVII   2 *HIL* II 190-91

3 *Visuddhimagga*, Bombay 1940 Intr pp xiii ff Law identifies Mayūrasuttapattana the birth-place of Buddhaghosha with Mayavaram (*Buddhaghosa* p 34) Kosambi could not locate it (*op cit* p xv)

4 cf Winternitz *HIL*, II 192 Law however, ascribes the last two works respectively to a later namesake of Buddhaghosha and Chulla Buddhaghosha (*Buddhaghosa*, pp 71 ff, 63 ff)

of Buddhaghosha, and is a systematic presentation of the entire doctrine of Buddha If Buddhaghosha had written nothing else, *Visuddhimagga* alone would have secured for him undying fame[1] It is divided into three parts, conduct, concentration (or mental training), and wisdom Its style is clear and lucid, and many a dry doctrinal discussion is enlivened by occasional parables and legends. Compared to the archaic simplicity of the Pitakas, the vocabulary of the *Visuddhimagga* is surprisingly rich Numerous miracles are told showing how meditation enables saints to acquire supernatural and magical powers.

The greatest service of Buddhaghosha to the progress of Buddhist knowledge was his series of masterly commentaries on practically all the texts of the Tipitaka *Samantapāsādikā*, dealing with the Vinaya texts is a voluminous work, containing, besides commentary, vast material for portraying the social, political, religious, and philosophical life of ancient India Dr Law, however, ascribes this book and *Kankhāvitaranī* (a commentary on the *Pātimokkha*), to another Buddhaghosha, distinct from the author of the *Visuddhimagga*, on the ground that the *Samantapāsādikā* not only exhibits a greater maturity of judgment and a better intellectual equipment, but also represents a later development of the views advocated in the *Visuddhimagga* But the arguments are not convincing enough to justify the postulation of a different author. Of the commentaries on the four Nikāyas, *viz.* the *Sumangalavilāsinī* on the *Dīgha-*, *Papañchasūdanī* on the *Majjhima-*, *Sāratthappakāsinī* on the *Samyutta-*, and *Manorathapūranī* on the *Anguttara-*, the first shows Buddhaghosha's encyclopaedic learning at its best It contains a variety of information—social, political, economic, geographical, religious, and philosophical,—and presents a vivid picture of the sports and pastimes of the day It also gives some particulars about the daily life of a Bhikkhu The account of the First Buddhist Council shows a blending of the accounts in the *Chullavagga* and the Pāli Chronicles Buddhaghosha mentions in the *Papañchasūdanī* that the Vedic teachers expounded the three Vedas in the Damila (Tamil) Andhaka (Telugu) or other local dialects in order to facilitate easy understanding The *Sāratthappakāsinī* sheds a flood of light on the everyday life in India and Ceylon Of the *Khuddaka* we have from Buddhaghosha *Paramatthajotikā* (on *Khuddakapātha* and *Suttanipāta*) *Atthasālinī* (on *Dhammasangani*), *Sammohavinodanī* (on *Vibhanga*), and *Paramatthadīpanī* or *Pañchappakaranattha-katha*[2] (on the five texts of the *Khuddaka-*, *viz. Dhātukathā*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Kathāvatthu* *Yamaka* and *Patthāna*) Besides explaining technical terms of Buddhist psychology the *Atthasālinī* contains

1 Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Intr p 31   2 *Buddhaghosa*, p 75

some historical and geographical information. The introduction gives the contents of the Abhidhamma texts, and discusses various textual problems. The *Atthasālinī* exhibits more freshness and originality in treatment, though it is less scholastic in style as compared to *Visuddhimagga*.[1]

Buddhaghosha's authorship of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* (Jātaka commentary) has been disputed practically by all scholars, such as Rhys Davids,[2] Law[3] and Malalasekera.[4] The Jātaka commentary, as occurring in Fausboll's edition, contains 547 stories, each of which has (i) the canonical *gāthā*, (ii) *atītavatthūni* or stories of the past, i.e. prose narratives (iii) *pachchuppannavatthūnī*, stories of the present, stating the occasion when the particular Jātaka was told, along with *samodhānāni*, mentioning the characters assumed at present by the persons in the Jātaka, and (iv) *veyyākaraṇāni*, commentaries, explaining the verses word by word. Though both *gāthās* and stories were based on the old *Atthakathā*, they were transmitted in different manners, whereas the *gāthās* remained fixed and unchangeable, the prose portion was left to the discretion of the rhapsodist, somewhat in the nature of the Vedic Ākhyānas.[5] The difference in the scenes of action between the stories of the past and present is striking, the former refer mostly to Western and Northern India (Gandhāraraṭṭha, etc.), while the latter to the East (Magadharaṭṭha, Kosalaraṭṭha, etc.)

Though Winternitz, Burlingame, Geiger and others question Buddhaghosha's authorship of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (Dhammapada Commentary), Law sees no reason to disbelieve the colophon which ascribes it to Buddhaghosha.[6] Malalasekera ascribes it to Chulla Buddhaghosha, though he suggests the possibility of its emanating from the great commentator, on the strength of the Sinhalese *Pūjāvalīya*.[7] The Dhammapada Commentary is a voluminous work explaining the stanzas of the *Dhammapada*, and like the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, contains many ancient popular stories, short edifying legends, and interesting fairy tales. Profuse references to Jātaka stories, many quotations from the Jātaka stanzas, and a large number of stories bearing close parallelism with the Jātaka stories indicate the priority of the Jātaka commentary.[8] Each story in the Dhammapada commentary contains the following eight sub-divisions (i) *gāthā* (stanza) to which the story refers, (ii) person or persons to whom the story is told, (iii) *pachchuppannavatthu*, the story of

1 Kosambi however, doubts Buddhaghosha's authorship of *Atthasālinī* "from the style, content and the introduction" (*op cit*, p xiv)
2 *Buddhist Birth-stories*, Intr p lx
3 *Buddhaghosa*, pp 69 ff
4 *PLC* p 126
5 See above, Vol I, p 340.
6 *HPL*, II, p 450
7 *PLC*, p 96
8 *Buddhist Legends*, Part I, pp 57 f

the present, ending with (iv) a stanza, or stanzas, (v) word for word commentary on the stanza, (vi) spiritual benefits which accrued to the hearer or hearers, (vii) *atītavatthu*, story of the past and (viii) identification of the persons of *atītavatthu* with those of *pachchuppannavatthu*.[1] It will be seen that in general character and structure of parts there is no difference between the Jātaka commentary and the Dhammapada commentary.

Visuddhimagga and the commentaries proclaim Buddhaghosha to have been a man of remarkable erudition and extensive reading. It cannot be said that Buddhaghosha was a philosopher who cut out new paths and made an original contribution to Buddhist philosophy.[2] That he was a critical scholar appears from his consulting manuscripts of several schools and faithfully recording variant readings. His notes on rare words are valuable, and his preservation of ancient traditions entitles him to our deep gratitude. Buddhaghosha's service to the development of Pāli language was singular. "In place of the archaic, stilted, sometimes halting Sutta speech Buddhaghosha left behind him in his many works a language rich in its vocabulary, flexible in its use, elegant in structure, often intricate in the verbiage of its constructions, and capable of expressing all the ideas that the human mind had then conceived."[3]

(ii) *Buddhadatta*

Chronologically, the first among the successors of Buddhaghosha appears to be Buddhadatta. Many scholars regard him as a senior contemporary of Buddhaghosha,[4] but Winternitz takes him to be a much later writer.[5] All his works were written in the famous monastery erected by Kanhadāsa on the banks of the Kāverī. He is reputed to be the author of *Vinaya-vinichchaya*, *Uttara-vinichchaya*, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, *Rūpārūpa-vibhanga*, *Madhuratthavilāsinī* and *Jinālamkāra*, but according to Geiger the ascription to him of the above works except *Madhuratthavilāsinī* is problematical.[6]

The first four are mostly summaries of Buddhaghosha's commentaries. *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (or *Madhuratthappakāsinī*) is a commentary on the *Buddhavamsa*. *Jinālamkāra* is a poem of 250 stanzas containing vignettes of Buddha's life in brilliant rhythmical cadences and elegant language. There are stanzas with internal rhymes, alliterations and other rhetorical devices exhibiting the bombastic Kāvya style and artificiality in construction. There is a

1 cf Law, *HPL*, II, pp 449-50, also, Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends* Part I pp 28-9
2 cf Law, *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa* pp 135 ff Winternitz, *HIL* II, p 204
3 Malalasekera *PLC*, p 103
4 *Vinaya-vinichchaya* *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Ed by Gray, pp 49-51 cf Malalasekera *PLC*, pp 105 ff, Law, *HPL*, II p 384 ff
5 *HIL*, II, p 220
6 *Pali Literature and Language*, p 33

sharp difference of opinion among scholars as to the authorship and date of *Jinālamkāra* [1]

Buddhadatta's scheme of expounding the *Abhidhamma* with the four-fold division of the compendium, *viz.* mind mental properties, material qualities, and *nibbāna,* appears to be better than that of Buddhaghosha in terms of the five *khandhas* (divisions). Buddhadatta obviously profited by the labours of his great predecessor His style is less discursive and more graphic, his diction often less involved and ambiguous, and his vocabulary considerably richer than that of Buddhaghosha.

(iii) *Ānanda*

Ānanda, also from the mainland of India like Buddhadatta appears to have been a contemporary of Buddhaghosha because he wrote his commentary at the instance of Buddhamitta who was instrumental in persuading Buddhaghosha to write *Papañchasūdanī.* Ānanda's *Mūlaṭīkā* or *Abhidhamma-mūlaṭīkā* is the oldest commentary on the *Aṭṭhakathās* of Abhidhamma

(iv) *Dhammapāla*

Dhammapāla, who hailed from Padaratittha on the south coast of India, is credited with having written fourteen commentaries The similarity of conceptions and the identical method indicate that he was not much later than Buddhaghosha *Paramatthadīpanī* (Elucidation of the True Meaning) is a commentary on the seven texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* which Buddhaghosha had left unexplained Dhammapāla's other commentaries are (8) on the *Netti,* with a *Ṭīkā* on it, (9) *Paramatthamañjūshā* on *Visuddhimagga* (10-13) *Līnatthavannanā* or *Līnatthappakāsinī Ṭīkā* on Buddhaghosha's commentary on the four Nikāyas and (14) another commentary of the same name (*Līnatthappakāsinī*) on the *Jātakatthakathā* Dhammapāla follows a regular scheme in his commentaries The introduction at the beginning gives the traditional account of how the particular collection of poems came to be put together After describing how, when, and by whom each poem originated, individual clauses are quoted and explained philologically and exegetically

Much of Dhammapāla's work is but a recast in scholastic Pāli of the earlier Singhalese or Tamil commentarial literature It is doubtful if Dhammapāla, the junior contemporary of Buddhaghosha was the author of all these works Probably works of later namesakes have been fathered on the earlier Dhammapāla as he had made it his life's task to supplement the commentaries of Buddhaghosha

1 *Gandhavamsa* pp 69, 72, Gray, *Jinālamkāra*, Intr pp 7 ff, *HIL*, II, pp 223 f, *PLC*, pp. 111-2.

If he is to be identified with the Dhammapāla of the Nālandā Monastery, the teacher's teacher of Hiuen Tsang, his date would be a century later; but Hardy and Geiger consider the identity yet unproved.[1]

Dhammapāla's works show great learning, much exegetical skill, and sound judgment In comparison with Buddhaghosha his style is simpler and less diffuse Though Dhammapāla was well read and well informed, Buddhaghosha's knowledge was more widely diffused and more encyclopaedic; the former shows more of the grammarian and academician than of the exegetical compiler and fanciful etymologist.

(v) *Upasena*

To this period also belongs, according to Wickremasinghe, Upasena, author of a commentary on the *Mahā-niddesa* (called *Saddhammappajotikā*) which is a mere translation into Pāli of what the author found in the Ceylon commentaries[2] There is no attempt at originality, and the work is inferior to the writings of Buddhaghosha or Dhammapāla A Bodh-Gayā inscription[3] mentions one Upasena preceding and another following Mahānāma among the succession of Ceylon teachers Mahānāma may well refer to the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, and his predecessor to our Upasena, in which case his date would be c fifth century A D Any way, even if he be identified with the second Upasena, he belongs to the period under review

(vi) *Kassapa*

The *Anāgatavaṁsa* (history of the future one, i e future Buddha), a poem of about 150 stanzas, forms a sequel to the *Buddhavaṁsa* so far as its contents are concerned It gives a detailed account of the future Buddha Metteyya and his contemporary Chakravartin Śankha The *Gandhavaṁsa* ascribes the work to Kassapa, the author of ***Buddhavaṁsa***, and its *Tīkā* (*Anāgatavaṁsa-aṭṭhakathā*) to Upatissa There have been several Kassapas and Upatissas during various periods· so the date of this work cannot be fixed with certainty Winternitz states that it "perhaps belongs to an earlier period," though many regard *Anāgatavaṁsa* as a spurious work[4] Malalasekera believes Upatissa's *Tīkā* to have been based on a much earlier work[5] It is not certain whether Kassapa, the author of the *Anāgatavaṁsa*, is identical with the author

1 *ZDMG* 51 pp 103 ff *Pali Literature and Language* p 34
2 *Catalogue*, p xii referred to in *PLC*, pp 116 f
3 *CII* III 244
4 *HIL*, II, p 120; De Zoysa, *Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese and Sanskrit MSS in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon*, p 5
5 *PLC*, p 161

of *Mohavichchhedanī*, *Vimatichchhedanī* (or *-vinodinī*), and *Bodhivamsa*, though the *Gandhavaṁsa*[1] ascribes these works to a single author. The *Mohavichchhedanī* is a treatise on the *Abhidhamma*, and the *Vimatichchhedanī* is a commentary on the *Vinaya*.

(*vii*) *Dhammasiri and Mahāsāmi*

The *Khuddasikkhā* written by Dhammasiri, and *Mūlasikkhā* by Mahāsāmi contain a short summary of the Vinaya rules. They are mostly in verse with but a few passages in prose Their language is simple and free from artificiality. Tradition places the works prior to the advent of Buddhaghosha; Rhys Davids supports the tradition, but scholars differ widely on this point [2]

3. *Pāli Chronicles*

While Buddhaghosha and his successors were busy with the collection of legends and explanation and elucidation of canonical texts, another type of literary activity in the form of Chronicles recording the chief events in the history of Ceylon and of the Buddhist monastic order was slowly evolving In Ceylon the earliest attempt at historiography is found in the Singhalese *Aṭṭhakathās*, which had sections on ecclesiastical history containing the story of the introduction of Buddhism on the island, based on the legendary tales in the *Buddhavaṁsa*, *Chariyāpitaka*, and Jātakas These sections are a conglomeration of myths, legends, tales and history, and connect Buddhism in Ceylon with the Buddha himself Traces of sober history are found in them as we reach the historical period Besides ecclesiastical traditions, these *Aṭṭhakathās* incorporated also popular narratives and anecdotes so that they have become a storehouse of information

(*i*) *Dīpavaṁsa*

The *Dīpavaṁsa* (History of the Island, i e Ceylon) represents the first attempt to put together the traditions from the Singhalese *Aṭṭhakathās* in an epic form. The name of the author is unknown He has only an imperfect knowledge of Pāli, and from the literary point of view, the *Dīpavaṁsa* is a very poor performance The verses are interspersed with prose passages, and there are numerous grammatical and metrical lapses The work suffers from repetition and omissions, and is fragmentary The author abruptly jumps from one subject to another, leaves many gaps in presentation, and frequently interceding narrative verses are lost between speeches The *Dīpa-*

1 *JPTS*, 1886, p. 61
2 *JPTS*. 1883, pp xiii f, 86-87, *Pali Literature and Language* pp 35-36; HIL, II p 221.

vaṁsa was composed later than the middle of the fourth century A.D., the date of king Mahāsena with whose reign it brings its account to a close, and is prior to Buddhaghosha who copiously quotes from it in his commentary of *Kathāvatthu.*

(ii) *Mahāvaṁsa*

Compared to the *Dīpavaṁsa* which is but a feeble attempt at composing an epic, the *Mahāvaṁsa* is a perfect epic. It attempts a conscious and intentional re-arrangement of "the historical work which the ancients composed," which "is in some places too verbose, and in others too brief, and also contains many repetitions", after avoiding these defects.[1] It is ascribed to Mahānāma who may be placed in the fifth century A D. The author aims at an ornate poem, and handles his material, language, and metre with great dexterity. He has filled in the gaps in the *Dīpavaṁsa* account, and also introduced considerable new material. The *Mahāvaṁsa* has added to the story of Vijaya and his immediate successors and has developed the story of Dutthagāmanī into an independent epic The account of the *Mahāvaṁsa* comes to an end, like the *Dīpavaṁsa*, with the death of Mahāsena (c A.D. 362) in the 37th canto. The continuation of the *Mahāvamsa* is called the *Chūlavamsa*, which is not a homogeneous work, being written by various authors at different times Thera Dhammakitti (thirteenth century) was the first to continue the tradition in the *Chūlavaṁsa*

According to Indian notions, the *Mahāvaṁsa* is a commentary on the *Dīpavaṁsa*. Oldenberg considers the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* as two versions of the same story. Both show great similarity in material and arrangement, and have a number of common verses The account in both commences with the story of Gautama, and both are based on a common source, the *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṁsa* of Mahāvihāra Despite their love for the miraculous, credulity, superstition and exaggeration, as also lack of the historical sense and critical faculty, we cannot altogether deny historical value to these works as maintained by some scholars. That the information supplied by these authors was not quite imaginary is proved by its frequent agreement with Indian traditions These chronicles are also supported by external sources, and their chronology is found to be fairly accurate The authors recorded what they believed to be authentic history, and their account of historical times and of the period immediately preceding their own deserves credence

1. cf Winternitz, *HIL*, II, pp 211-2 Geiger takes this work to be *Dīpavaṁsa*, which Winternitz (*loc cit*) doubts Fleet (*JRAS* 1909, p 5) designates *Mahāvaṁsa* as a "commentary" on *Dīpavamsa*, and Geiger (*Mahāvamsa*, tr, p xi f; *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, p. 24) supports him

4. *Grammar*

Kachchāyana Vyākaraṇa or *Kachchāyanagandha* by Kachchāyana is considered to be the oldest Pāli grammar. That Buddhaghosha did not follow the grammatical terminology of this author of the classical Pāli grammar clearly shows the priority of the celebrated commentator. Franke has indicated that Buddhaghosha and Dhammapāla followed a different grammatical system based perhaps on the grammar of Bodhisattva.[1]

Kāśikā-vṛitti (seventh century A.D.), which has been utilised by Kachchāyana along with other commentaries on Pāṇini and the *Kātantra* of Śarvavarman indicates the upper limit for the date of Kachchāyana. Two other grammatical works, *Mahāniruttigandha* and *Chullaniruttigandha* are ascribed to him. The chief defect in Kachchāyana's grammar is that it ignores the historical relation of Pāli to Sanskrit, and gives an exposition of Pāli wholly by itself. The linguistic material is not exhaustively treated.

5. *General Review*

The Augustan period of Pāli literature may be said to have begun with the commentaries described above, and closed with the completion of the early chronicles—the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*. The commentaries indicate Kāñchīpura, Kāveripaṭṭana, Madurā, Uragapura, and Anurādhapura as well-known centres of Pāli Buddhism. Subsequent to the period of the Pāli chronicles there is hardly any literary activity. Occasionally there have appeared some compilations of useful manuals and poetic compositions mainly in imitation of Sanskrit works. The Pāli literature described so far is deficient in many branches of secular interest. Fiction for instance is conspicuously absent and so is drama. Nor are there any works on astronomy, astrology, medicine, mathematics, logic and polity. Whatever works are found on some of these subjects belong to a quite recent date.

C. JAINISM

I. *Spread of Jainism*

1. *North India*

By the end of the third century A.D. Jainism had taken firm roots throughout India. Starting from its original home in Magadha, it had slowly spread to different countries like Kaliṅga to the south-east, Mathurā and Malwā to the west, and Deccan and the Tamil lands to the south. At the same time it appears to have lost its hold

1 *Gesch. und Krit. der einheim. Pali-Grammatik*, pp. 2, 3

over Magadha, the land of its origin, and grown powerful in the west and the south. After some initial success in winning over royal patronage, which was, in part, the cause of its rapid growth and expansion, it soon lost it in the North, but retained the support of the middle classes, like merchants and bankers, for a long time. This loss of kingly support in the north, was, however, made good by the favour shown to this religion by many ruling families of the Deccan, and during the period under review, the country to the south of the Vindhyas may be regarded as forming the chief stronghold of Jainism.

But along with its spread and a shift in its centre of gravity, there also occurred changes in the organisation of its church. The division of the community into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras had become finally settled, and it effected a separation not only among the monks but also in the ranks of the laity. Some schools of a compromising attitude and views like the Yāpanīyas[1] were yet alive in this period, but they never attained the importance of these two sects. These major sects themselves were further sub-divided into smaller groups like the Saṃghas and the Gaṇas in the south, and into Kulas, Śākhās and, later on, into Gachchhas in the north. This was but the natural result of the spread of the religion over a wide area and the wandering habit of the monk-community. The lay followers were also affected to some extent by this division in the ecclesiastical organisation, and there may have been further sub-divisions among them besides the two main groups.

The age of the Gupta imperialism, which marked a revival of Hinduism and of classical literature in Sanskrit, proved a period of decline for both Jainism and Buddhism. The paucity of epigraphic records about Jainism in this period, and lack of literary evidence from the side of Jain writers, clearly indicate that Jainism was not very prosperous in those days, and this is partly confirmed by the absence of any reference to it in the description of the Chinese traveller Fa-hien. This decline is primarily due to the lack of royal patronage. But there are indications that it continued to be popular, as before, among the middle classes and this is indicated by a couple of inscriptions of the Gupta period.

There are two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kumāra-gupta, one at Mathurā (A.D. 432) speaking of the dedication of a Jain image by a lady, and the other at Udayagiri in Mālwā (A.D. 426) recording the erection of a statue of Pārśva by a private individual. The Kahaum inscription of the time of Skanda-gupta (A.D. 461) also refers to the setting up of five images of the Jain prophets in

1 Upadhye, *JUB*, I Part vi pp. 224-231

that village These records show that Jainism was practised by the people of the empire, living in such distant places as Mathurā, Udayagiri and Kakubha They also suggest that the religion was popular more in the west than in the east. Further, we see that the erection of the images of the Jain prophets was the usual mode of worship, and that the organisation of the community of monks continued to be the same as before, with its divisions into Ganas and Śākhās

In Bihār, the country of its origin, and in Bengal to the east, the Jain religion had lost much of its influence A little later, the Pāhārpur copper-plates[1] of A D 478 record the donation of some land by a private individual and his wife, for the maintenance of worship at the Jain Vihāra at Vata Gohālī, which was presided over by the pupils of the Nirgrantha teacher Guhanandin of the Pañchastūpanikāya of Banaras This *vihāra* of the fourth or fifth century, probably occupied the site of the great temple unearthed at Pāhārpur (Rājshāhi District) It is worth noting that the founder of the *vihāra* was a monk, who migrated from Banaras to the East.

In the period following the disintegration of the Gupta empire, we have the testimony of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century who observes that monks of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects were to be found near Taxila to the west and Vipula to the east and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous in Pundravardhana and Samatata in the east The low estimate in which the Jain monks were held by the Brahmin writers at the time may be seen in the reference to the naked Kshapanaka by Bāna in his *Harsha-charita* and in the fun Dandin makes of the conversion of a poor wretch to Jainism in his *Daśakumāra-charita*

Some welcome light on the activities of the Jain monks and literary men of the seventh and eighth centuries is thrown by the few facts recorded by Uddyotana at the beginning of his romance *Kuvalayamālākahā*,[2] composed in A D 779 In the northern part of India he tells us there was a town called Pavvaiyā close to the river Chandrabhāgā, which was the capital of the Yavana king Toramāna The spiritual preceptor of this king was one Harigupta of the Gupta family One of his pupils was Devagupta a royal scion of the Gupta dynasty who, in turn, had a pupil called Śivachandra bearing the title Mahattara In the course of his wanderings, Śivachandra took up his residence at Bhinnamāla, otherwise known as Śrīmāla One of his pupils was the far-famed Yakshadatta, while a band of his other pupils are represented as converting the whole of Gujarāt to Jainism by their wanderings and preachings One of his pupils was Vateśvara, who caused a magnificent temple of the

1 *EI*, XX 61 foll   2 *ABORI*, XVI pp 34-35

Jina to be constructed in the town of Ākāśavapra. He had a pupil Tatvāchārya, who was the teacher of Uddyotana, the author of this work. Uddyotana imbibed the knowledge of the scriptures from Vīrabhadra while he learnt logic and other sciences from the famous scholar Haribhadra Though history does not help us in ascertaining who these Gupta kings were, and how far the Hūna king Toramāna was a regular convert to Jainism, we may readily believe that men of standing and petty chieftains of those times patronised the Jain faith, and bands of wandering monks formed the chief agency of spreading the religion in different parts of Western India.

The presence of Jains in Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt in the early medieval period is indicated by literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence But in contrast to the splendour it attained in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, due to the patronage of kings, it remained the religion of the merchant classes undistinguished by any pronounced favour from the rulers of the early dynasties of these countries Much of the work of preaching and preserving the faith was done by the monks, and there was a good deal of literary activity, which proved of great importance to the Jain church

In the seventh century, two Gurjara kings, Jayabhata I and Dadda II, are given the epithets '*Vītarāga*' and '*Praśāntarāga*' in their grants—words which indicate that they probably patronised Jainism, though they themselves may not have been actual converts In northern Gujarāt, Vanarāja, the founder of the Chāpotkata dynasty at Anahillapura, is regarded by Jain tradition as a follower and a patron of this faith

2 *Deccan*

If Jainism lacked good royal support in northern India there was greater help coming from the various ruling dynasties of the Deccan during the period under review, and consequently Jainism flourished in the Kannada-speaking territories Many royal families of the Deccan their ministers, and small chieftains showed decided inclination towards Jainism, and although in many cases it is difficult to prove that the rulers were actual converts to this faith there is ample evidence to show that they were quite liberal in their help and patronage which accounts for much of the prosperity of Jainism in this part of the country

The Ganga kings of Mysore[1] were intimately associated with Jainism [2] A later tradition, which appears to have grown in detail with the lapse of time, makes the founder of the Ganga family a disciple of a Jain teacher called Simhanandin and suggests that all

1 See pp 268-70 2 Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, p 7 foll

his successors were followers of the faith. A later ruler, Avinīta, is said to have been brought up by a Jain sage called Vijayakīrti, and the famous Digambara author Pūjyapāda is associated with another king of this family, called Durvinīta. Whatever value we may attach to all such traditional accounts, the inscriptions of such Gaṅga kings as Avinīta, Śivamāra and Śrīpurusha record gifts to Jain monks and building of Jain temples, along with others giving donations to Brahmanic temples Whatever the personal religion of these rulers, their patronage of Jainism is quite apparent.

The Kadamba rulers of Vaijayantī or Banavāsi[1] are often regarded as of Jain persuasion But the tradition about Mayūra-śarman the founder of the dynasty, their numerous records alluding to the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and their donations to Hindu gods make it more probable that the Kadamba kings were followers of the orthodox faith[2] At the same time they showed unusual favour towards Jainism, probably the religion of a large section of their subjects In any case, we have many records of several kings giving donations to Jain monks, erecting Jain temples and giving other help to the different sections of the Jain community All these records of the Kadamba rulers show that the Jain community was flourishing under their benevolent patronage, and that many high officials and rich landlords of the country were devout followers of this religion There were different sects among them like the Nirgranthas, the Digambara community of the south the Yāpanīyas a sect which later on disappears the less known Kūrchakas and even the Svetapatas Building temples, feeding groups of monks, worship of the Jina images, and celebration of festivals formed the time-honoured mode of showing religious zeal

There is no reliable evidence that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi showed any particular leaning towards Jainism A couple of apocryphal grants purport to record donations by Pulakeśin I and Kīrtivarman and mention a few Jain teachers But no reliance can be placed on them We have, however, the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the greatest of the Chālukya rulers, whose protégé Ravikīrti constructed a temple of the Jinendra in that village, called the Meguti temple There are also a number of spurious grants at Lakshmeśvara professing to be from Chālukya kings like Vinayāditya Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya giving gifts to Jain teachers and for the building of temples As Dr Altekar[3] has pointed out even to make these spurious grants possible in later days, there must have been some tradition current about these kings as showing favour to Jainism A Jain cave at Bādāmi and another

1 See pp 270-73 2 Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, p 9 foll.
3 *The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times* p 310

at Aihole, containing figures of Tīrthakaras, belong to the early Chālukya period.

3. *South India*

It is difficult to know precisely the condition of Jainism in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era. The statement of *Mahāvamsa* that there were Nirgranthas in Ceylon at the time of Paṇḍukābhaya, or the obscure Brāhmī records found in caves in the districts of Rāmnād and Tinnevelly, is of no importance in tracing the history of Jainism in Tamil lands.[1] But the evidence of early Tamil works leaves no doubt about the flourishing state of Jainism in South India. Although there is no unanimity among scholars about the date to which this literature is to be assigned, there is no doubt that a considerable part of it is due to the activities of Jain writers, and this naturally indicates a large following of Jain religion for whom it was meant. Like other religions Jainism also claims the writers of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Kural* among its adherents. More valuable is the evidence of the Buddhist epic *Manimēkhalai* which refers to Jain monks, mostly Digambaras and their doctrines in a fairly accurate manner. Other famous works like the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, *Silappadikāram*, *Nīlakēsi*, *Yaśodhara-kāvya* and others are obviously Jain in origin and contents, but the dates to which they can be assigned are uncertain. On the whole, they belong to a period when Jainism was flourishing in the Tamil country, and this must be anterior to the seventh century A.D. when it suffered serious reverses in South India.

Jain tradition also lends support to the prosperous state of Jainism in the south. The famous Jain author Samantabhadra is associated with the town of Kāñchī. The earliest Prakrit writer of the south, Kundakunda, a famous name in Digambara literature, is brought in relation with a ruler called Śivakumāramahārāja whom tradition makes his disciple, and it is suggested that he is one of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit charters. From a later Sanskrit translation, we came to know that Sarvanandin, a Jain scholar, wrote his Prakrit work *Lokavibhāga* in A.D. 458 at the time of Siṁhavarman, the ruler of Kāñchī. According to some, the foreigners who invaded the south and are known as Kalabhras[2] came from Karnāṭaka and were followers of the Jain religion.

A more precise and intimate picture of Jainism in the South can be obtained from a few facts of its ecclesiastical history.[3] The Jain community of the south formed what is known as the Mūla-

1. Ayyangar and Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 32 foll.
2. See pp. 265-67.
3. Guérinot *Répertoire d' Épigraphie Jaina* p. 4 foll.

saṅgha (the original group). Devasena tells us that one Vajranandi, a pupil of Pūjyapāda, founded in A.D. 470 at Madurā, the Drāviḍa-saṅgha, which allowed greater scope and freedom in the observance of the rule of Ahiṁsā. According to a later tradition four pupils of Arhadbali, a pupil of Bhadrabāhu II, called Māghanandin, Jinasena, Siṁha, and Deva, founded the four Gaṇas of the Mūlasaṅgha, known respectively by the names of Nandigaṇa, Senagaṇa, Siṁhagaṇa, and Devagaṇa. The evidence of inscriptions is not quite in agreement with this tradition, and further divisions and designations like Anvaya and Gachchha, which are given along with Gaṇas and Saṁghas, are not easy to arrange in a hierarchical series. In any case, the community of the Jain monks in the south was elaborately organised and showed distinctions based on locality and practices, suggesting a wide expanse. A welcome confirmation of the same is furnished by Hiuen Tsang, who speaks of a large number of the Nirgranthas in the country of the Pāndyas

As a result of vigorous preaching of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints, called the Nāyanārs and Ālvārs, Jainism lost royal support and began to decline in the seventh century According to tradition, the famous Pallava king, Mahendra-varman, originally a Jain by faith, was converted to Śaivism by the preaching of the saint called Appar, whose hymns reveal a fierce spirit of religious hatred against the Jains. Similarly another famous preacher Tirujñānasambandar succeeded in converting the Pāṇḍya king Arikesarī Māravarman, known to tradition variously as Neḍumaran, Sundara Pāṇḍya, and Kūṇ Pāṇḍya, to Śaivism, and thenceforth Jainism naturally lost the support of this royal family

The picture of Jainism as a religion, which we get in this period, does not differ materially from what we know of it in later days The community was divided into the monastic order and the lay following, with further sub-divisions, particularly among the former. The building of temples, the establishment of monasteries, the worship of the prophets, and celebration of great public festivals were the normal features of the religious life of the people Circumstances probably led to a change of habits of some of the monks, which produced the distinction between Chaityavāsa (residence in the monastery) and Vanavāsa (residence in the forest) The former developed a more compact organisation which led to the establishment of a spiritual head of the community of a given locality, called the Bhaṭṭārakas, whose lists of succession called the Paṭṭāvalis, often cover long periods of time Many religious records of these days speak of the observance of the vow of Sallekhanā, the peculiarly Jain practice of observing fast unto death, as performed both by

monks and laity, and we observe a steady growth of holy places to which monks and pious householders retired towards the end of their life.

II. *Jain Canon*

More important than this external history of the Jain religion is the internal history of its church, which underwent momentous changes in this period. We have seen how a Council of Elders, held in Pāṭaliputra two centuries after the death of Mahāvīra, had succeeded in redacting the canon of the sacred writings, though the work of the council did not get the recognition of the whole community. Even after this event, the canon did not remain closed, and new additions, in the form of works of great Jain teachers of later days, were made now and then,—a process which went on along with the loss of older material But the ninth century after Vīra-nirvāṇa (*i.e.* fourth-fifth century A.D.) appears to be of greater peril to the sacred books than usual. Tradition tells repeatedly of severe famines of long duration, making the preservation of the knowledge of sacred books more and more difficult. The difficulty was further increased by the loss of great teachers who had memorised these writings in full In spite of the constant use of the same two motifs, both appear quite likely and must be held responsible for the great changes in the history of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon The early part of the ninth century after Vīra-nirvāṇa saw, according to tradition, two attempts at the restitution of the canon, one by Sthaṇḍila at Mathurā and the other by Nāgārjuna at Valabhī in Kāthiāwār. Though not much of their work is left to us, we have some variant readings recorded by later commentators, especially attributed to Nāgārjuna, which preserve something of his attempt at settling the canon.

More fruitful in results, than these earlier attempts at settling the text of the sacred books, was another in what is generally called the Second Council at Valabhī. It was held under the able guidance of Devardhigaṇi in either 980 A.V. or 993 A.V. (A.D. 512 or 525) It has been suggested[1] that this Council was held in the reign of king Dhruvasena I of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī and probably under his patronage. This king is also extolled as a Jain convert in later tradition. But the association of the Council with this king is doubtful. The numerous records of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, who were undoubtedly ruling there at the time, make no mention of it, nor do they betray any inclination towards Jainism. The Jain tradition itself does not assign this event to the time of any particular king or dynasty. All these facts would naturally lead to the

1. Charpentier, Introduction to *Uttarādhyayana.*

supposition that the community did not enjoy any special patronage of the Valabhi kings, and that the whole of the Second Council was mainly the work of the Jain church That this locality was a famous centre of Jain literary activity from early times is clearly proved by Jain tradition. The recently discovered Digambara works of the ninth century embody in them older works of Dharasena, who taught the sacred books to his pupils Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali, who lived in Girinagara (Junāgarh) In later days Jinabhadra-kshamāśramana wrote his famous *Viśeshāvaśyakabhāshya* at Valabhī in A D 609.

It was in this Second Council at Valabhī, that the Jain canon took its present shape Though much of its contents and the majority of its books existed before that time and had already formed part of the sacred writings, the peculiar arrangement and the classification of these books is the work of this Council According to the arrangement now prevailing, the canonical books are divided into six groups called the Angas, Upāngas, Prakīrṇakas, Chheda-sūtras, Mūlasūtras and an unnamed group Many of the books of the canon do not recognise some of these titles and do not incorporate them in their introductory portions This means that they are of later origin than the books themselves and must have been added to them as an extraneous mark

Only one of these names, *viz.* Anga, is old This part of the canon occupies an equally important position even in the older classification: at least the names of the Anga-works are common to both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility of drastic changes in the form and contents of these books In one glaring instance, that of Paṇhāvā-garaṇāi even the later tradition of the commentators admits a complete change of contents, in fact, a totally new work has taken the place of an older work, which was lost

Older than the other remaining names is the title Upānga, subsidiary Angas' It occurs in the introduction of the last five books of this group (8 to 12) collectively called *Nirayāvaliyāo*, and from this it appears that there was a time when this group consisted only of these and were associated with corresponding works of the Anga group. From these and other works, all of which are to be found in the older Anga-bāhira section a new class was formed, modelled after the Anga works, and was made to consist of 12 books in agreement with them In both these groups the same plan is followed First come works dealing with points of doctrine, and then of narrative contents The identical number later gave rise to the fiction that each Upānga is related to the corresponding Anga.

In contrast to these two groups, which have a settled list of texts, the next group of the Prakīrṇakas is of indefinite extent. This is also implied by the name "miscellaneous" texts. From the different lists of these works, however, it is possible to take hold of a fixed and stable core, which is formed by those Prakīrṇakas which have a disciplinary character. To these older ones were added others to conform to the traditional list of ten. Most of them are metrical in form, and the late Āryā metre and the modern form of language suggests for them a late origin.

Older in date than the Prakīrṇakas, is the group of the Chheda-sūtras. They represent the oldest form of the rules dealing with the discipline of the Jain monks, particularly in their corporate life in the monasteries. The older among them are written in prose and deal with various punishments for violating the rules of monastic life. The name of this group is known to the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[1] in the form of Chheyaggantha, and it certainly refers to the kind of punishment called *chheda*, which consists in reducing the *paryāya* of the monks for various sins.

A more severe punishment, consisting of the complete annulling of the monkhood, is called Mūla. Works which dealt with the basic principles of Jainism and which formed the beginning of the canonical study were put together and given the name of Mūlasūtras. They are usually reckoned as four in number. Finally two more works, Nandī and Anuyogadvāra, were added to the canon. They form a kind of methodological introduction for the study of the sacred writings and are left without a group name.

Along with the process of redacting and shaping of the canon, vigorous literary activity went on among the Jain monks, which resulted in the production of a vast and rich literature of considerable merit. The earlier metrical commentaries, called the Niryuktis, were recast and greatly amplified in the form of Bhāshyas by scholars like Saṁghadāsa, Jinadāsa, and Siddhasena; while Prakrit commentaries in prose called chūrṇis were composed on many important canonical books. We also observe a general tendency among Jain scholars to prefer Sanskrit more and more to Prakrit, as being of greater value in their discussions with other schools of thought and of greater prestige. The older commentaries in Prakrit soon gave place to Sanskrit Ṭīkās, and nearly at the end of this period, we find the famous Jain scholar Haribhadra composing works and Ṭīkās in Sanskrit, thus giving an impetus to a tendency which bore ample fruit in later days. The Jain philosophy received in these days greater emphasis on its logical side, and we know

1. VIII. 55.

of such keen intellects as Siddhasena, Akalaṅka, Pūjyapāda and others formulating Jain dogmatics in a more logical form, defending it against the views of rival philosophical schools and developing the doctrines of Syādvāda and Nayavāda with admirable skill and wonderful subtlety.

In the South the Digambara Jains cultivated both Prakrit and Sanskrit with energy and zeal. The Prakrit dialect used by their early writers is generally given the name Jain Śaurasenī, a dialect of the Śaurasenī Prakrit with some peculiarities of its own which are also met with in other Jain Prakrits. With the loss of their canonical books, the Digambaras keenly felt the need of some authoritative works taking the place of the canon, and this was met by the composition of independent treatises on Jain religion and philosophy. Kundakunda, the most celebrated of the Digambara authors, who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era, has several books to his credit, among which *Pañchāstikāya*, *Pravachanasāra*, *Samayasāra* and the *Shaṭprābhṛitas* may be mentioned. All these works are written in the usual Gāthā metre. Other Digambara writers, who wrote in Prakrit and who mostly belong to this period, are Vaṭṭakera, the author of *Mūlāchāra* dealing with the rules of conduct of the Jain monks, Svāmī Kārtikeya, author of the *Dvādaśānuprekshā*, which treats of the twelve reflections on the glaring shortcomings of the worldly life, Yativṛishabha, who wrote his comprehensive survey of Jain cosmography in his *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, and famous Jain patriarchs like Pushpadanta, Bhūtabali and Guṇadhara, to whom we owe the Siddhānta granthas. Of Digambara scholars who wrote in Sanskrit we may mention Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Mānatuṅga and others. It is worthy of note that among the Digambaras also we find the same preference for Sanskrit over Prakrit, particularly in the philosophical works, though the latter continued to be used for a short time more in dealing with dogmatic topics like the Karma-doctrine.

III. *Iconography*

The Khaṇḍagiri caves at Bhuvaneśvara contain some standing and seated Jina images of the later Gupta and early mediaeval periods, which are interesting from the iconographic point of view. The northernmost cave known as Sātgharā or Sātbakhrā contains on its rear wall two rows of carvings; the upper one representing the first seven of the Tīrthakaras, all in *samādhi-mudrā* distinguished by their individual symbols beneath their lotus seats, and the lower consisting of seven female figures guarded by Ganeśa, a Jain version of the Brahmanical *Saptamātṛikā* with the elephant-headed deity

as the guardian angel.[1] Another section of the same cave contains two rows of figures, the upper showing the 24 Tīrthakaras, the lower, 24 female figures, most probably the corresponding Śāsanadevatās of the former. The Jinas are distinguishable by their symbols most of which conform to the texts; but the iconography of the Yakshiṇīs is extremely varied, some of them endowed with eight, ten, twelve and even twenty arms, their corresponding textual descriptions being hardly available. These and a few other mediaeval reliefs of the Khaṇḍagiri caves fully prove that the iconographic art had developed to a great extent among the Jains by the later Gupta and early mediaeval periods.

D. VAISHṆAVISM

The Gupta Emperor Chandra-gupta II was a devout follower of the Bhāgavata religion, one of the many names by which Vaishnavism was known.[2] He assumed the title *parama-Bhāgavata*, a usage followed by his successors. Although the title is not found in association with Samudra-gupta, this king is known to have adopted the emblem of Garuḍadhvaja and claimed to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being, probably indicating Vishnu These facts show that Samudra-gupta was also a Vaishnava, although there seems to have been a doctrinal difference between his faith and that of his *parama-Bhāgavata* successors.[3] The patronage of the religion by the Imperial Guptas might have been the cause rather than the effect of the growing importance of the new religious creed in the Gupta age. There is no doubt that from the end of the fourth century it gradually grew in popularity all over India, and we find many other royal families assuming the titles *parama-Bhāgavata* and in some cases also *parama-Vaishṇava*.

1 *The Avatāras of Vishṇu*

An important feature of the Bhāgavata religion in the Gupta age was the popular worship of the *Avatāras*, *i e.* Descents or

1 These female figures are variously depicted, ten-armed, four-armed, and two-armed They have for their cognizances the following:—(1) Garuda and swan, (2) elephant, (3) bull, (4) indistinct, (5) peacock. (6) vase and lotus, (7) lion The first five on the basis of the emblems in their hands have some affinity with Brahmāṇī, Vaishnavī, Indrāṇī, Maheśvari, Vaishnavī and Kumārī; the sixth and the seventh stand for the important goddesses, Padmāvatī and Ambikā, the Jain counterparts of the snake-goddess Manasā and Durgā A few of them (4th, 5th and 7th) carry a small child in their arms, all of them, with the exception of number one seated on lotus-seats, sit in the *ardhaparyaṅka* or *lalitāsana*. B C Bhattacharya describes the first second third, fifth, sixth, and seventh as Chakreśvarī, Ajitādevī Duritāri or Prajñapti, Gaurī or Mānavā, Padmāvatī and Ambikā; the fifth he is unable to identify

2 See above, p 367

3 *BV*, VIII 109 ff.

Incarnations, of Vishṇu. Epigraphic and literary records of the period throw light on the evolution of the theory of *Avatāra*, the germ of which is however to be traced in the later Vedic literature. The conception of the Vāmana (Dwarf) *avatāra* associated with Vishṇu, and that of the Varāha (Boar), Matsya (Fish) and Kūrma (Tortoise) *avatāras* not yet connected with that god, are to be found in the *Śatapatha* and other *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* tells a story about the contest between gods and Asuras for a place of sacrifice, in which the Asuras agreed to concede as much land as was equal to the size of the dwarf. Vishṇu, the dwarf, was made to lie down, but he grew so large as to encompass the whole earth which, therefore, passed to the gods. According to the same source, "having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring" and "in the form of a boar he (Prajāpati) raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean." In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* the earth is said to have been raised from the waters by a black boar with a hundred arms. This work also alludes to the Nṛisiṁha or Man-Lion In the story of the Great Deluge in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Fish that towed Manu's vessel into safety was the incarnation of Prajāpati Brahman, and this is sometimes supported by the epic and Puranic literature. Later mythology, however, has transferred the functions of the Boar, Fish, and Tortoise from Prajāpati Brahman to Vishṇu, the most benevolent of the gods The *Gītā* and some other sections of the *Mahābhārata* represent Vishṇu as an ideal divinity and an almighty saviour, working for the salvation of mankind and delighting in both moral goodness and ritualistic purity, and as incarnating himself from time to time in human or animal form in order to maintain the standard of righteousness in the world. But the theory of *avatāra* presents only a stage of development in the *Mahābhārata*, the earlier sections of the epic not containing any list of the incarnations. Traditions regarding the number of *avatāras* varied, and the later lists of the ten *avatāras*, sometimes adhered to, very often give different names. The *avatāra* theory, which apparently underwent several stages of evolution, seems to be based on old tales of strange animals with mysterious powers of assistance; but many of them had originally nothing to do with Vishṇu. The Buddhist conception of the Pratyeka-Buddhas might have influenced the development of the theory.

In a passage of the late Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* mention is made only of four *avatāras*, *viz*. Boar, Dwarf, Man-Lion and Man (Vāsudeva-Kṛishna). In another passage of the same section, the deified beings Rāma Bhārgava and Rāma Dāśarathi are added to the list making a total of six *avatāras*, while a third passage gives the list of ten incarnations, by adding Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya

and Kalki (Kalkin) to the above six. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which also gives a list of ten incarnations, there were three divine *avatāras, viz.* Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṁha, and Vāmana, as well as seven human *avatāras, viz.* Dattātreya, Māndhātṛi, Rāma son of Jamadagni, Rāma son of Daśaratha, Vedavyasa, Buddha, and Kalki. The same section occurs in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* with the substitution of Kṛishṇa for Buddha. The *Harivaṁśa* gives a list of ten incarnations which omits Matsya, Kūrma, one of the Rāmas, and Buddha, but adds Lotus, Datta (Dattātreya), Keśava, and Vyāsa. There are three lists of the *avatāras* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa;* but they do not agree with one another. One of these lists, according to which the incarnations are really innumerable (cf the *avatāra* theory of the *Gītā*), mentions no less than 24 *avatāras.* The *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, probably assignable to a date earlier than the eighth century, speaks of 39 *vibhavas* (manifestations) of the Supreme Being. Other Pāñcharātra works like the *Vishvaksena-saṁhitā* mention Buddha, Arjuna and others in the list of secondary *avatāras.* Buddha is recognised as an *avatāra* in the *Daśāvatāra-charita* of the Kāshmirian author Kshemendra (c A D 1050), and in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva (c A.D 1200) of eastern India Jayadeva sings in praise of Krishna who is Vishnu himself, and of his ten *avatāras, viz* Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-Lion, Dwarf, Rāma Bhārgava, Rāma Dāśarathi, Rāma Haladhara, Buddha and Kalki. The same names are found in a well-known Puranic verse enumerating the ten *avatāras*, which is quoted in a Māmallapuram (near Madras) inscription[1] of about the eighth century A D The Belāva Grant (c A D. 1125) refers to Krishna as a "partial incarnation" of Hari.[2]

The worship of some of the *avatāras* is amply attested to by the Indian epigraphic records of the period between the fourth and the eighth century A.D The early worship of Paraśurāma in Western India is indicated by an inscription of the second century A D although his conception as an *avatāra* of Vishnu might not have been so early The Nāsik inscription of Śaka Rishabhadatta (A D. 119 24) speaks of the Rāmatīrtha, which was known to the *Mahābhārata* as the holy abode of Rāma, son of Jamadagni and was situated in the suburbs of Śūrpāraka not far to the north of modern Bombay The usual belief[3] that the worship of Dāśarathi Rāma

1 *MASI*, No 26, p 5 The beginning of Buddha's inclusion in the list of the ten *avatāras* must be assigned to a date earlier than the eighth century The popularity of the Fish god in the early centuries of the Christian era is not only indicated by the name of the *Matsya Purāna* (one of the oldest Purānas) but also by that of the chief Matsya-gupta (literally, 'protected by the Fish') mentioned in a Mathurā inscription of year 23 of the Kanishka era, probably corresponding to A D 101 (cf *EI*, XXVIII, p 43)

2. *EI*, XII 37-43 Krishna is also said to have sported with one hundred milkmaids as the leading figure in the *Mahābhārata*

3 *VS*, 46-7; *EHVS*, 174

was not popular in the Gupta Age seems to be wrong. It has to be remembered in connection with the *Avatāra* theory that the deification and worship of the incarnations are earlier than their identification with Vishṇu. The poet Kālidāsa (c. A.D. 400) describes in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto X, how Vishṇu, lying on the great serpent in the ocean of milk, with Lakshmi rubbing his feet, was born as Daśaratha's son for Rāvaṇa's destruction, while the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-guptā (fifth century), the *atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā* daughter of Chandra-gupta II, was a worshipper of Bhagavat Rāmagirisvāmin (literally, the lord at Rāmagiri, i e modern Rāmtek near Nāgpur), who seems to be no other than Rāma, son of Daśaratha The suggestion is supported by the reference in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* to the foot-prints of Raghupati (Rāma Dāśarathi) on the Rāmagiri and by the worship of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, and Sītā in the temples at Rāmtek at the present time. The worship of the Ikshvāku king is indicated in the sixth century by Varāhamihira who formulated rules for the making of Rāma's image. The South Indian saint Kulaśekhara, king of Kerala in the Malabar coast, was a devotee of Rāma. The worship of the third Rāma, i e. Balarāma-Saṅkarshana, is not however well attested by epigraphic records of the Gupta age. The Dwarf incarnation is implied by Vishṇu's epithets *Indr-ānuja* (Indra's younger brother) and *Upendra* (the lesser Indra) found in epigraphs like the Bihār pillar inscription of the fifth century, and also by the Junāgarh inscription of Skanda-gupta referring to Vishnu "who, for the sake of the lord of the gods, seized back from Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour " Krishna's identification with Vishnu is alluded to in the name Vishṇugopa[1] popular in the family of the early Pallavas from the fourth century, and also in the epigraphic passages referring to Vishnu as "the mighty bee on the water-lily which is the face of Jāmbavatī" (Tusham inscription) and as "Mādhava whose feet are graced by the attentions of Śrī (Lakshmī) and who is born from Vasudeva" (Aphsad inscription) An image of Krishna was installed in a cave in the Barābar hills by the Maukhari chief Anantavarman in the fifth century The Narasiṁha incarnation is referred to in records like the Alina grant of A D 766 But the most important *avatāra* whose worship was very popular in different parts of India in the Gupta age seems to have been Varāha or the Boar whose legend may have been originally associated with that of the Great Deluge referred to in the later Vedic literature. A stone image of Varāha, with an inscription of the time of the Hūna king Toramāṇa (c. A.D. 500) recording the erection of a stone temple of "Nārāyana who has the form of a boar." was found at Eran. A Dāmodarpur inscription of the time of Budha-gupta

1. Cf Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, St 15

refers to the gods Śvetavarāhasvāmin and Kokāmukhasvāmin, both representing the Varāha *avatāra*, whose temples stood on the *Himavach-chhikhara* (peak of the Himālayas), apparently at the present Varāhachhatra (Varāhakshetra) at the junction of the rivers Kauśikī and Kokā in Nepāl. An inhabitant of North Bengal, who seems to have visited the Kokāmukha tīrtha or Varāhakshetra in the Himālayas on pilgrimage, constructed temples for the installation of two gods of the same names in the forest region near Dāmodarpur in the Dinājpur District of Bengal[1] The popularity of the Boar incarnation in the far South of India is indicated by an early Kadamba record from Tagare belonging to the sixth century. The Early Chālukyas had the Boar as their family emblem, said to have been received through the grace of Nārāyana. Most of the records of the Chālukyas and their feudatories begin with an adoration to the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu.

The inscriptions of the Gupta age do not refer to the independent worship of the Vyūhas, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, although the Vyūha doctrine finds a prominent place in the Pāñcharātra literature of this period, some of the *Saṁhitās* being composed in Kāshmir between the fourth and the eighth century, according to Schrader The *Amarakośa*, composed much earlier than the eighth century, mentions all the Vyūhas. But the doctrine was not popular with the ordinary Vishṇu worshippers of the Gupta period A modified form of the Vyūha-vāda is noticed in the joint worship of Baladeva, Kṛishna, and Subhadrā, or Ekānaṁśā, who is sometimes identified with Subhadrā but sometimes with the Devī born as the daughter of Nandagopa Varāhamihira speaks of the combined image of Baladeva and Krishṇa with Ekānaṁśā standing between them A later inscription from Bhuvaneśvara refers to the adoration of Bala, Kṛishṇa, and Subhadrā In Kāshmir, which was a great centre of the Vyūha cult, there developed the worship of the Vaikuṇtha-chaturmūrti form of Vishnu wherein the four Vyūhas were comprised. The Khajurāho inscription (A.D. 954) gives the interesting history of one such image which was originally found in the Kailāsa (in the upper Himālayas) and was later worshipped in the Kīra country near Kāshmir These facts, as well as the celebrated Śvetadvīpa and Nara-Nārāyaṇa traditions, point to the popularity of the Pāñcharātra doctrine in the Himālayan countries.

According to some scholars, Bhāgavatism and Pāñcharātra, which were possibly related at the beginning, became completely different in the Gupta period.[2] It is further suggested that the Vyūha-vāda, exclusively associated with Pāñcharātra, was quite

1 *IHQ*, XXI. 56 ff.

2 *HBR* 402, *JRASBL*, IX 232 ff

different from the Avatāra-vāda in the ideological basis. The first suggestion cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge, while the second seems to be disproved by the evidence of Pāñcharātra works like the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* and the *Vishvaksena Saṁhitā*, noticed above. There is no doubt that the Vyūha-vādins were very much influenced by the *avatāra* theory as early as the age of the early Pāñcharātra Samhitās, while Kṛishṇa and Balarāma are regarded as *avatāras* in the Vaishṇava literature from practically the same age. It must, however, be admitted that there are some indications regarding the existence of doctrinal differences amongst the Vaishṇavas of the Gupta Age, to which reference has already been made. This difference, the exact nature of which can hardly be determined with certainty, seems to be illustrated by the *Harshacharita* making separate mention of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcharātrikas, explained by a commentator respectively as *Vishnu-bhaktas* (devotees of Vishnu) and *Vaishnava-bheda* (a sect of Vishnu worshippers), although Pāñcharātra works like the *Padma Tantra* would use the names Sūri (cf the Ṛigveda using the word in the sense of a class favoured by Vishnu), Suhrit, Bhāgavata, Sātvata, Pañchakālavit, Ekāntika, Tanmaya and Pāñcharātrika. As already pointed out, it seems that originally the Pāñcharātrikas were devotees of the deified sage Nārāyana, and the Bhāgavatas of the deified Vrishni hero Vāsudeva, the two sects being later amalgamated in an attempt to identify Nārāyana and Vāsudeva, but the names Bhāgavata and Vaishnava were sometimes used to indicate Vishnu worshippers in general The Gupta Age witnessed the evolution of neo-Vaishnavism from the tribal form of Bhāgavatism practised originally by the members of Vāsudeva's family.

2 *Śrī or Lakshmī, Wife of Vishnu*

Another feature of Vaishṇavism in the Gupta period is the conception of Lakshmī or Śrī as Vishṇu's wife The early history of Lakshmī has been discussed above,[1] but her being regarded as the wife of Vishnu is much later Vishnu is mentioned in the Junāgarh inscription of Skanda-gupta as the perpetual resort of Lakshmī who is represented in the Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya as the wife of Vāsudeva The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena refers to Dāmodara, the slayer of demons, and to Vasudeva's son Mādhava whose feet are graced by the attentions of Śrī The Gaja-Lakshmī device, found on some early coins and sculptures, was adopted as emblem by certain royal families as those of Śarabhapura and Samatata A Kadamba record of c. A.D 500 begins with an adoration of Bhagavat with Śrī on his breast and Brahman on

1 Vol II, pp 469-71

the lotus sprung from his navel. A second wife of Vishṇu was supposed to be the Earth, called *Vaishṇavī* in some epigraphs, *e.g.* those of the Śarabhapura kings. Vishṇu is described in his *dhyāna* as *indirā-vasumatī-saṁśobhi-pārśvadvaya* and the early Chālukya emperors and their successors, who called themselves *parama-Bhāgavata* as well as *śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha* (lord of Śrī and Pṛithivī), apparently claimed to be incarnations of Vishṇu.

The cult of Śrī-Lakshmī had probably something to do with the worship of the Greek Goddesses, especially Pallas Athene, introduced in the country by the Indo-Greek kings, as indicated by their coins from the beginning of the second century B.C. It is probable that the Sānkhya doctrine of Purusha and Prakriti influenced greatly the conception not only of Lakshmī as the consort of Vishṇu but also of the Devī as that of Śiva.

3 *Vishnu Mythology in Epigraphic Records*

In a large number of epigraphs, including the Gadhwa inscription of Kumāra-gupta I, Vishnu is mentioned only as the Bhagavat without reference to his name. In the Eran inscription of A D. 484 the god is called Janārdana and described as "the four-armed lord whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans, who is the cause of the continuance, production and destruction of the universe and whose ensign is Garuda " There is reference to Hari as *jagat-pravritti-saṁhāra-srishti-māyādhara* in a Kadamba inscription of the sixth century. The god Chāngu-Nārāyana, i e. Nārāyana on Chāngu or Garuḍa, in a temple on the Dolaparvata in Nepāl, existed before king Mānadeva's inscription of A D 464. In different records the god is represented as the troubler of the demons called Punya-jana, as the supporting pillar of the three worlds (in the boar or tortoise form), as the slayer of Madhu and Mura, and as the bearer of the discus, of the club, of the bow of horn, of the sword called Nandaka, of the jewel known as the Kaustubha, and of the garland of lotuses. There is an allusion to the slumber of Madhusūdana during the four months of the rainy season in the Gangdhar inscription of A.D 423 The Alina grant of A.D. 766 probably refers to the *pārijāta-harana* episode. The Bhitari inscription of Skanda-gupta refers to Krishna approaching his mother Devakī after having slain his enemies In an inscription from Mandasor, dated A D 404. there is probably a reference to the Śakra festival described as dear to Krishna. In this record, Vāsudeva is called the lord who is *śaranya*, *jagadvāsa*, *aprameya* and *aja* (cf. *ātmabhū* of the Jaunpur inscription of the Maukharis), and is represented as a great tree having the gods as its fruits, the celestial damsels as its fine shoots, the heavenly palaces as its many branches, and the showers of rain as

its flow of honey. We probably get here an imperfect allusion to the Viśvarūpa conception of Vishṇu.

The influence of the Vishṇu mythology can also be traced in the archaeological remains in different parts of India. The bas-reliefs at Bādāmi, belonging to the age of early kings of the Chālukya family, some of whom are styled *parama-Bhāgavata*, depict Vishṇu lying on a serpent with Lakshmī massaging his feet, the Boar and Man-Lion incarnations, and also Hari-Hara. The Varāha, Narasiṁha, and Vāmana *avatāras* are also found in the sculptures of the rock-cut caves at Udayagiri and Māmallapuram. A temple at Deogarh in the Jhānsi District, U.P., probably belonging to the sixth century, has the representation of Vishnu the Eternal reclining on Ananta with the gods watching from above, and also that of Nara and Nārāyana A sculpture at Pathari in Central India, probably of the same century, is supposed to represent the new born Krishṇa lying by his mother's side and watched by five attendants. Krishṇa upholding the Govardhana hill is illustrated in the sculptures of Mathurā and Sārnāth The Daśāvatāra and Kailāsanātha temples at Ellora, ascribed to the eighth century, also contain representations of the *avatāras* and other deities of the Vishnu pantheon.

4. *Vaishṇavism and Other Creeds*

According to some writers, the Khoh inscription of A.D. 441, which records a grant of land actually in favour of Bhagavat and Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, points to the solar association of Vaishṇavism in the fifth century. The suggestion is, however, unwarranted The language of the record seems to suggest that a person named Vishnunandin built a temple of Bhagavat and received on behalf of the god half of a village from the king, while three merchants named Śaktināga, Kumāranāga, and Skandanāga, who had built a temple of the Sun-god, received for their deity the other half of the village. There seems to be no evidence that the same person worshipped Vishnu and the Sun-god. That the Sun was not adored by the Vaishṇavas in the fifth century is suggested by the degradation of Sāmba, a champion of the solar cult and often identified with the Sun-god, in the estimation of the Vaishnavas, as well as by verses 21-22 of the Gangdhar inscription of A D 423. This record, however, speaks of a worshipper of Vishṇu building a temple, full of the Ḍākinīs, in honour of the Divine Mothers "who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy and stir up the oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion." This no doubt points to the influences of the Tāntric cult of the mother-goddess on the Vaishnavas. In this connection it may be noted that, in the fifth century, the Maukhari chief Anantavarman installed an image

of Kṛishṇa in one of the caves in the Nāgārjuni hill and also the images (or probably a joint image known as the *ardha-nārīśvara*) of Bhūtapati (Śiva) and the Devī (Durgā) in another cave in the same hill. This no doubt points to an early approach between Vaishṇavism on the one hand and Śaiva and Śākta worship on the other. The early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, whose family god was Vishṇu, also worshipped the god Kārttikeya (associated with Śiva) and the Seven Mothers. Mention may also be made in this connection of the cult of Hari-Hara (a combination of Vishṇu and Śiva), the Devī's rôle as the daughter of Nandagopa (cf. the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Bāla-charita* attributed to Bhāsa), and the *tri-mūrti* conception of the gods Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva. The representation of Hari-Hara is found in a Chālukya cave-temple of the sixth century. Several early Kadamba inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries contain adoration to Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha or Hara-Nārāyaṇa-Brahman.

5. *Vishṇu Worship in the Far South*

Mention has already been made of the adoration to Vāsudeva in the Chinna (Kṛishṇā District) inscription which belongs to the close of the second century A.D., and of a Nārāyana temple in Guntur District, as well as the name of Pallava Vishnu-gopa in the records of the fourth century. In the inscriptions of the Gupta Age there are references to temples or flag-staffs of the god Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva throughout the length and breadth of India, in Nepāl and the upper regions of the Beās in the north, in Bengal in the east, in Kāthiāwār in the west and the trans-Krishṇā region in the south where some of the Early Pallava and Early Gaṅga rulers were devout Bhāgavatas Vishṇu worship was also prevalent in the Early Kadamba kingdom; but the most popular religion there appears to have been Jainism. Some of the Early Kadamba kings, who call themselves *parama-brahmanya*, may have been Vaishnavas. Several southern rulers, who claim to have been *Kaliyuga-doshāvasanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha*, possibly attempted to suppress heretical creeds such as Buddhism and Jainism, to revive the Brahmanical religion and also possibly to represent themselves, like king Samudra-gupta of the north, as incarnations of Vishṇu, emulating the god's doings in the Varāha form. Another indication of the influence of Vaishnavite Brahmanism in the Far South is the importance attached in some Pallava and Kadamba records to the *go-brāhmaṇa* (the cow and the Brāhmana) exactly as in the Vaishṇava inscriptions from Eran In the later part of the *Mahābhārata*, Vishṇu is represented as the benefactor of the cow and the Brāhmaṇa (cf. *go-brāhmaṇa-hita*). This points not only to the association of the Brāhmaṇas with Vishnu worship, but also to the

important position to which they rose in social estimation in the period in question.

The association of the name of the Pāṇḍya capital Madurā, which is the same as Mathurā, the home of the early Bhāgavata sect, may have something to do with the Tamil country soon becoming the greatest stronghold of the Bhāgavata religion and giving birth to the Āḻvārs and their celebrated songs in Tamil on Bhakti and Kṛishṇa worship. The worship of Kṛishna and Baladeva in the Tamil land about the age of the Guptas is attested to by Tamil literature The *Śilappadikāram* refers to temples of the two gods at Madurā, Kāviripaḍḍinam and other cities, while the poet Kari-Kannam of Kāviripaḍḍinam describes them as the dark-complexioned god bearing the wheel and the white-complexioned god with the flag of the palmyra.

The best evidence of the influence of Vaishnavism in the Far South, specially in the Tamil country, is furnished by the devotional songs of the Ālvārs of whom a short account has been given above [1] They sang in praise of Nārāyana and the Krishna, Rāma and Vāmana *avatāras* They were also familiar with Krishna's dalliance with the *gopīs* (cowherd maidens) One of them, a lady, regarded herself as a *gopī* and approached the God, her beloved, in that spirit They revered the Vedic literature and knew the principal Purānas, but inculcated the recitation of the God's name, meditation on his different forms, and their worship at the temples such as those at Śrīrangam, Tirupati and Alagarkoil. It is apparently because of the Ālvārs and their successors, the Vaishnava *āchāryas*, that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* speaks of the existence of large numbers of the worshippers of Vāsudeva-Nārāyana in the Drāvida country in the Kali age when they were rare elsewhere in India

6. *Iconography*

The images of worship grew in number and variety They may be divided into three broad classes, such as the principal Vishnu icons (*Dhruva-beras*), the *Vyūhas* (emanatory forms) and the *Vibhavas* (incarnatory forms). These were constructed and placed either in the main sanctum of the shrine or in subsidiary shrines and niches adjoining the former The first of these, *viz.* the Dhruva-beras, can be broadly classed under three heads, *viz.* the *sthānaka* (standing), *āsana* (seated) and *śayana* (recumbent), specimens of each of which have been discovered.[2] The commonest types of such

1 See pp 332 ff

2 The detailed *Vaikhānasāgama* classification of the Dhruva-beras of Vishnu is not clearly applicable to the Gupta images, though there is every reason to believe that by the later Gupta period some of these image-groups were constructed.

figures are those which are attended by Śrī and Pushṭi in Northern or Śrī and Bhūmi in Southern India as the main accessories, and carry the four attributes, *viz.* lotus (rarely, usually a lotus mark), club, wheel, and conchshell in their four hands. According to the disposition of the different attributes in different hands, twenty-four different forms of Vishṇu were distinguished. Among these the Trivikrama was the most popular mode of his representation in which the four attributes were held respectively in the lower right, upper right, upper left and lower left hands. One of the earliest *sthānaka* Vishṇu images is found carved on the façade of the cave-temple at Udayagiri in Bhopal State, and though the relief is very much mutilated, enough remains to show that some of the attributes of Vishṇu, *viz. Śankha* and *Chakra* are personified, and Vishnu's back hands are placed on the top of these *Āyudha-purushas,* which take the place of the usual attendants Śrī and Pushṭi

The *āsana* types of extant Vishnu images are not so numerous as the *sthānaka* ones described above, and very few of the extant specimens of this variety go back to a period earlier than the Gupta One of the earliest of such types is found engraved on the central part of the principal architrave in the main sanctum of the Deogarh temple. Vishnu is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* attitude on the coils of Ādiśesha attended by his two consorts one of whom is shampooing his leg. The god wears a square *Kirīṭa* and the seven hoods of the snake are spread canopy-wise over his head; the host of the garland-bearing Vidyādharas, singly or in couples, are shown above flying towards him in a row from either side. The whole composition is elegant and shows the characteristic excellence of the Gupta art.[1] This form of the god seems to have been the prototype of the variety of Vishnu images described as Ādimūrti in the *Vaikhānasāgama* text [2] One of the earliest of the Garuḍāsana Vishnu images is the unique sculpture in greyish black stone, about 6.4″ in height, found near Lakshmankāṭi (Backerganj District) in Bengal. The peculiarities of this very interesting type cannot be explained with the help of any known iconographic text; some of these undoubtedly show Mahāyāna influence, and in view of this peculiarity and other features, the image can be ascribed to the eighth century A D.[3] The sculpture No. D 37 of buff coloured sandstone in the collection of the Curzon Museum at Mathurā[4] illustrates an interesting variety of

1. *ASC*, X. pl XXXVI; Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (MASI, No. 70), p 14 and pl X (b).
2. T A G Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol I, pp 261-3, Pl LXXVIII
3. For a detailed description of this image and remarks, cf *HBR*, I, p 431, Pl LXI-149
4. Vogel, *Cat M M*, pp. 102-3 He is wrong in describing it as 'Vishnu as Buddha'. Agarwala's description is more to the point.

the Yogāsana-Vishṇu. The whole relief is crowded with accessory figures, such as those of the triad in three miniature shrines, the personified representations of *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and *gadā*, the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Garuḍa, etc. on the different sections of the *prabhāvalī*; the central figure is seated in *baddhapadmāsana* with his front hands in the *yogamudrā*, his back right and left hands holding *gadā* and *chakra* respectively. The whole composition is exceedingly well-carved, and the careful and methodical grouping of the accessories in relation to the principal deity is praiseworthy.

The Śayanamūrti of Vishnu, comparatively rare in Northern India, is one of the types of Vishṇu images usually enshrined in the main sanctum of the South Indian Vaishṇava temples and known by the name of Raṅgasvāmī or Raṅganātha. The god is generally depicted as lying on the folds of Ādiśesha, with one or two of his consorts attending him, and Brahmā, the creator, seated on a lotus flower, the stalk of which issues out of his navel; there are various other accessory figures of gods and demons clustering round him. The ideology underlying this image-type can be traced back to the tenth maṇḍala of the *Ṛigveda*, and is the same which is found in the developed concept of the cosmic god Nārāyana in the epic and Puranic texts; the type visualises the state of *pralaya* (dissolution) in which the nucleus of creation lies latent in the One alone, from whom again creation takes place. A relief in one of the side niches in the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (Jhānsi, Central India) very characteristically portrays the iconographic motif and is one of the oft-reproduced Vishnu figures of the Gupta period. V. A. Smith is hardly justified in tracing in it marked influence of the Greek Endymion a copy of which is now housed in the Stockholm Museum.[1]

Another class of Vaishnava images depict the *avatāras* of Vishnu which are found all over India. Their images are usually carved in a row on stone slabs originally decorating some part of Vaishṇava shrines, and are sometimes shown on the reverse sides of the square stone or metal plaques (Vishnu-paṭṭas) found in Eastern India. The elegantly carved Nara-Nārāyana relief in one of the side niches of the Gupta temple at Deogarh is of special interest, for it is one of the rarest iconographic motifs of ancient and mediaeval India. The four-armed figure stands for Nārāyana, the two-armed one being that of Nara, and both are shown in a tranquil attitude.[2] Some very fine sculptures depicting the Boar, Man-Lion and Dwarf incarnations of Vishnu are found carved in different parts of the rock-cut temples at Udayagiri (Bhopal State), Bādāmi, and Māmallapuram belonging to the Gupta, early Chālukya, and Pallava periods

1. Banerjee, *DHI*, pp 302-3
2. *AO*, XII, pp 116-125, *IHQ* XXVII, pp. 191-6, pl I, Vats, *op cit*, p 14 and pl. XI

respectively.[1] Varāha is often depicted in his animal form. Narasiṁha, as his name indicates, was always represented in his hybrid form, Vāmana incarnation was represented in the dwarf and the giant (Vāmana and Virāṭa or Trivikrama) forms. Matsya and Kūrma *avatāras* are usually shown in their animal forms, though hybrid ones are also not unknown. The past human incarnations of Vishṇu, *viz.* Paraśurāma, Rāma Dāśarathi, Balarāma, and Buddha were seldom supernaturalised, their images endowed with more than two hands being rare; their varieties are also fewer in number. Kalki, the future *avatāra*, depicted as a horseman brandishing a sword, is always found as the last figure in the Daśāvatāra relief.[2] There are many sculptures illustrating the stories of Kṛishṇa, and the Mathurā and Sārnāth figures of Kṛishṇa holding Govardhana hill are cases in point. The former carved in red spotted sandstone, the usual medium of the artists of Mathurā, shows the two-armed god standing in the *dvibhaṅga* attitude with his left hand in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose and the right hand uplifting the mountain Govardhana below whose shelter are shown the people and the cattle of Vraja. The Sārnāth sculptures, its lower portion much damaged, is one of the most beautiful examples of Gupta art, and the serene and calm expression on the face of the god lays stress on the effortless ease with which he had performed the superhuman task. The four principal Vyūha forms of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, *viz.* Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, are sometimes represented in curious composite figures with four faces and four or eight hands with usual Vaishṇava attributes; the central face is a placid human one, and the face just opposite—if the image is fully in the round—is that of an ugly demon, the side faces being those of a lion and a boar. Such images, found in large numbers in the ruins of mediaeval Vaishṇava temples in Kāshmir, fall under the Vishṇu-Chaturmūrti group, and portray in a striking manner one of the cardinal doctrines of the Pāñcharātra system.

E. ŚAIVISM

1. *North India and the Deccan*

The coming into power of the Guptas in A.D. 320 gave a fillip to Hinduism. Though most of the Gupta emperors were worshippers of Vishṇu, they were not sectarians, and under their rule, Śaivism flourished along with other forms of Hinduism. Kumāra-gupta I (A.D. 415-455), for instance, seems to have favoured the Skanda

1 For a detailed description of the above reliefs, see T. A G Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pp. 128-80 and plates XXXVI-LIII.

2 For detailed descriptions of the different Avatāra figures, see T. A. G. Rao, *op. cit*, I, pp. 119 ff. and corresponding plates

cult, in spite of his Vaishnavism, as is evidenced by his peacock coins and by the name 'Skanda' he gave to his son. Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and playwright, was a devotee of Śiva; and he has immortalised the *paurāṇika* episode of the birth of Skanda in one of his epics, the *Kumārasambhava*. Bhāravi, another poet of great merit who lived in the sixth century, wrote a *mahākāvya* called *Kirātārjunīya*, whose theme is the conflict of Arjuna with Śiva in the guise of a hunter, leading to the bestowal of blessings by the god on the Pāṇḍu prince. Two of the Purānas which are devoted to Śiva, *viz.* the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya*, are assigned to the Gupta age. The numerous temples and images of Śiva during this period have been referred to elsewhere.

If the religious beliefs of the kings and royal families may be regarded as a fair index of the popularity of a religious cult, Śaivism must have made great headway during this period Its popularity with foreign rulers continued, and the Hūna king Mihirakula, like some early Kushāṇa kings, was a great devotee of Śiva Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal, and some members of the Pushpabhūti family of Kanauj and the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī were also Śaivas

In the Deccan the Brihatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, and the Vishnukuṇḍins were followers of Śaivism, and many Vākātaka. Śālankāyana, Kadamba and Western Gaṅga rulers were ardent devotees of Śiva.

2 *South India*

In South India Śaivism became a great rival of both Jainism and Buddhism As the fortunes of a faith depended largely on the persuasion of the ruler, the exponents of different creeds vied with one another in their efforts to convert the ruler to their faith Thus Mahendra-varman I (c. 600-630), the Pallava king, was a Jain to start with, and it is said that as Jain he persecuted the followers of other faiths But when he came under the influence of Saint Appar and adopted Śaivism, he seems to have viewed with disfavour the Jain doctrine, as a consequence of which its leading exponents fell from grace. In a Sanskrit burlesque called *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, which is ascribed to Mahendra, Buddhist monks are caricatured and mention is made of Śaiva sects like the Kāpālika and the Pāśupata After Mahendra became a convert to Śaivism, Kāñchī became a stronghold of this faith He caused great temples to be built all over his kingdom, and the images of Śiva as well as of the other deities of the Trinity were installed therein. His successors continued the work in connection with the renaissance of Śaivism.

The great upsurge in favour of Śaivism was mainly due to the enormous devotional poetry that flowed from the lips of the leading.

Śaiva saints who lived in this age. Many of the sixty-three *nāyanmārs* or *aḍiyārs* (canonical saints of Śaivism) flourished during this period. The most famous among them and their literary works have been discussed above.[1] We shall give here a few further details regarding these saints, and indicate briefly the contribution they made to the progress of Śaivism in South India

Tirumūlar's *Tirumandiram* (or-*mantiram*) is a highly abstruse work expounding the Śaiva doctrine in the light of the author's own mystic experience. The purpose of Tirumūlar's work would seem to have been to reconcile the Āgamas with the Vedas For he says, "The Āgama, as much as the Veda, is truly the word of God; one is general and the other is special; though some hold these words of the Lord, the two *antas*, to be different." Tirumūlar uses the term *Vedānta-siddhānta* several times to mean that the *end* of both the Veda and Śaiva doctrine is the same. In one place he declares: "Becoming Śiva is the *Vedānta-siddhānta*. The remaining four (*antas*, *viz*. Nādānta, Bodhānta, Yogānta and Kalānta) are vain (teachings). If Sadāśiva that becomes Śiva attains oneness, the Vedānta-knowledge verily becomes Siddhānta." Tirumūlar speaks of four forms of Śaivism· *śuddha*, *aśuddha*, *mārga*, and *kadum-śuddha*. The *aśuddha* or impure variety of Śaivism is that in which there is not the Vedānta-knowledge. And by contrast, Vedānta is *śuddha-śaiva-siddhānta*. While the former is lost largely in the externals, the latter penetrates into the core of Śaivism. The *mārga* Śaivas are those who follow the *sanmārga*. Though they wear the external marks of Śaivism, they do not stop there. For them the true path is the path of knowledge *Caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, and *jñāna* are the four stages in the *sādhana*. When the aspirant has reached the last stage, the grace of God descends upon him; and by that he is released The descent of grace is called *Śakti-nipāta* by Tirumūlar—a conception which plays an important part in the later Śaiva-siddhānta doctrine The last class of Śaivas who are termed *kadum-śuddha* Śaivas are those who do not stand in need of the external marks of Śaivas, and who have no outward show. They go straight to Śiva, and ridding themselves of the bondage of desires, obtain the knowledge of Śiva. Their method is analogous to the *sadyo-mārga* of Advaita-Vedānta. Naturally those who are adepts in this path must be rare. The goal, according to Tirumūlar, is becoming one with God whom he designates *Nandin* or *Śiva*. As helps in the attainment of this goal, he recognises some of the current methods like *yoga* and *mantropāsanā* But he places the *sanmārga* of the Siddhānta above all of them. While some are outer creeds (*purachchamayas*), according to Tirumūlar, others are inner

1. See pp 328 ff

(uṭchamayas). He does not, however, specify them. Probably the inner creeds are the various forms of Śaivism; and among them the Vedānta-siddhānta (in the sense in which Tirumūlar uses the term) is the highest. Thus it will be readily seen how the foundations of the system of Śaivism prevalent in South India were laid by Tirumūlar in his *Tirumandiram*.

Appar, Tiru-jñāna-sambandhar (or Sambandar), Sundaramūrti (or Sundarar), and Māṇikkavāchakar are the four great teachers of the Śaiva creed *(samayāchāryas)*, and are the exemplars respectively of the four main paths of devotion, *viz* *dāsa-mārga* or the path of the servant, *satputra-mārga* or the path of the good son, *sakhā-mārga* or the path of the friend, and *san-mārga* or the true path. All the four were inspired saints or godmen who flooded the country with a great wave of devotional poetry and thus created in the minds of men a disposition favourable for the pursuit of spirituality.

Māṇikkavāchakar was born of Brāhmaṇa parents in the township of Vādavūr near Madurā. After the name of his native town, he is known also as Tiru-vādavūrar He was a prodigy and mastered all the śāstras while still in his teens. His fame as a great scholar and a youth of unblemished character reached the ears of the Pāṇḍya king who sent for him, and, after satisfying himself about the youth's intelligence and worth, appointed him as his prime minister. Māṇikkavāchakar served his master and the people of the Pāṇḍya kingdom faithfully and wisely; and in return he was trusted and honoured, and had at his command all the luxuries and comforts of a royal court But his mind was not in such things, as it intensely longed to pursue the Śaiva path. Like the Śākya prince of old, Māṇikkavāchakar realised the vanity of earthly splendour; and he was yearning for the help of a *guru* "who would teach him the mystery of the 'five letters' (*śivāya-namaḥ*) and the 'way of release.'" According to a widely current legend, this desire of his was fulfilled at Tirupperunturai whither he had gone to buy horses for his king On the outskirts of the town, he came across a guru who, according to the legend, was no other than Lord Śiva himself come down from his heavenly abode for the purpose of saving his beloved devotee; and he was transported in an instant into the ecstasy of God-love Instead of buying horses, Māṇikkavāchakar placed the treasures he had brought at the disposal of his *guru*, and at the latter's command returned to Madurā and told his king that the horses would arrive in a few days. On the appointed day the horses came, led by Śiva himself disguised as a horse-dealer. But the horses were not real; they were jackals transmuted for the time being by the magic power

of the divine Magician (Māyin). And so, when the transaction had been completed, the jackals assumed their true form overnight and fled to the jungles. Seeing deceit in all this, the king got infuriated and ordered the torture of his prime minister. But the ordeals were as nothing to the saint. The unfailing hand of God saved him from the torments. The king now realised his folly and set free the song-bird to go whithersoever it liked. Allusions to these incidents are to be found in Mānikkavāchakar's songs themselves. Having divested himself of temporal associations Māṇikkavāchakar devoted the rest of his life to spiritual ministry and the service of God He first went to Tirupperunturai, the place of his illumination, and lived with his master till the latter left for his heavenly abode. Thereafter he visited the important shrines of South India singing at each place the praise of the Lord, and finally made Chidambaram his head-quarters. It was here that he met some Bauddha teachers from Ceylon and defeated them in argument And when his earthly mission was completed, it is reported, he was received back by the Lord of Chidambaram unto Himself.

The *Tiruvāchakam* of Mānikkavāchakar occupies a place in Tamil sacred literature analogous to that of the Upanishads in Sanskrit scriptures. The various stages in the soul's progress from the darkness of ignorance to the light of divine illumination are all portrayed in the *Tiruvāchakam* in the most moving terms. To Māṇikkavāchakar the Supreme Deity is Śiva, the king of kings, the lord of all beings. The saint describes Śiva by the use of such terms as 'brilliance,' 'nectar,' 'river of mercy,' and 'inner light' Śiva is not in the temples alone, he is everywhere; he has his dwelling in the heart of every being. He also comes in the form of the guru to save the souls that pine to reach His state. Mānikkavāchakar says: "O, Highest Truth, you came to the earth and revealed your feet to me, and became the embodiment of grace." As a poet and mystic Māṇikkavāchakar has his place among the immortals. The name by which he is known is most appropriate to him, meaning, as it does, 'he whose utterances are gems.'

Appar was a contemporary of the great Pallava king Mahendra I (c A D. 600-630) He was born in a rich Vellāla family in a South Arcot village and was named Tirunāvukkaraśu. A miraculous story is told to explain his reconversion from Jainism to Śaiva faith After this Appar toured the Tamil land, visiting every shrine, with a hoe in hand to remove the scrub from the precincts of the temples, and discoursed on the greatness of Śiva to large audiences. Alarmed at his increasing popularity, the Jain preceptors induced the Pallava king (Mahendra I) to bring him to book; and the king, who was

himself a Jain, put the saint to the severest of tests. With his simple and unshakable faith in Śiva, Appar passed through all the ordeals unscathed. The king was so impressed by the lofty spirituality of the saint that he became a convert to Śaivism. Then Appar continued his peripatetic tours; and while at Chidambaram, he heard about the miraculous way in which the grace of God had descended upon the boy-saint Sambandhar Some time later, at this very spot there was a meeting between the two saints at which Sambandhar greeted his elder lovingly as "appā" (meaning 'father'). From that time onwards the term 'Appar' stuck on to Tirunāvukkaraśu. The two saints travelled together several times, worshipping God wherever they went through songs charged with intense devotion and sharing with each other their rich spiritual experiences. The last years of his life Appar spent at Tiruppugalur; and, according to tradition, he was eighty-one when he passed away from this earth.

Appar's hymns are full of wisdom and devotion, and reflect the maturity of the author's mind as well as his deep piety. He had a thorough knowledge of the Siddhānta and had mastered the other systems of thought as well. In one of the songs, he says that Śiva is beyond the twenty-five *tattvas* (of the Sāṅkhyas); and in another he speaks of the ninety-six categories of the Śaiva doctrine. Śiva, according to him, is the immanent and transcendent Reality. He seems to recognise three forms of Śiva: (1) The lowest is Śiva, who is a member of the Trinity in charge of the destruction of the universe. (2) The second he calls *Parāpara*, a combination of Śiva and Śakti, also referred to as *Parañjoti*. (3) The third and the last is *Stambha* or the pillar of light, Consciousness-absolute. It is, in fact, beyond all conceptions, indescribable and ineffable. It is the final goal of spiritual life. The way to its attainment lies through steady concentration and unflinching devotion. "The feet of the Sire (Śiva) of the *Kadamba* youth (*viz.* Subrahmanya) can be seen," says Appar, "if He is sought with the help of the light of wisdom issuing forth from the wick of life, fed with the ghee of contemplation in the lamp of the mind placed within the house which is the body." In the strain of the Upanishad, the saint sings: "We have shown the way of worshipping the Īśa thus· let the body be the temple and mind the worshipping slave; let truth be the sanctity (required for worship), and the jewel of the heart be the *Liṅga*; and let love itself be the ghee, milk and water (which are accessories of worship)." Appar was never tired of stressing the need for taking the name of the Lord. "The rare jewel of the Brahmin is the Veda with its six auxiliary studies; but for *us* the rare jewel is the *pañchākshara*." While he regarded the Śiva-mārga as the

highest, he was not so narrow-minded as to think that there was no other path. Śiva's feet, he says, are capable of giving solace to everyone of the followers of the six *samayas*.

Sambandhar was a contemporary of Appar. He was born in Śīrkāḷi (Shiyāḷi) of Brāhmaṇa parents in answer, it is said, to the latters' fervent prayers to Śiva for the gift of a son. As a child of three years, he accompanied his father one day to the local tank. While the parent was bathing, so goes the legend, the child cried out, whereupon Śiva and Pārvatī appeared and, out of a golden cup, the latter fed him with the milk of wisdom. Henceforth he became 'Jñāna-sambandha,' one who is related to God through wisdom. And, overcome by ecstasy, he began to sing the praise of the universal Father and Mother. When the orthodox father realised that his child had been blessed by Pārvatī herself, he was overjoyed and carried his darling on his own shoulders from one sacred place to another. Sambandhar visited the various temples singing the glories of Śiva. When he was camping on the outskirts of Madurā, he was informed by the queen-consort Mangaiyarkkaraśi and the minister Kulachchirai that the Jains had gained great influence over the king, and the saint re-converted the Pāṇḍya ruler to Śaivism. Completing his ministry at Madurā, the saint returned to his Chola land, and from there went on a tour to the north. The performance of several miracles by Sambandhar is recorded in the *Purāna* Even the last episode in the life of the saint was of the nature of a miracle. He was now sixteen years old, and it was proposed that he should marry. He consented to the proposal, and a bride was chosen. But before the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, the saint took his bride to the temple at Nallūr-perumanam, and was merged along with her and his following in a divine effulgence that blazed forth from the deity at his request. Thus ended in glory the brief but brilliant life of the boy saint of Śīrkāḷi.

Sambandhar's *padigams* are given the first place in the *Tevāram* collection; and this shows the importance that Śaiva piety attaches to his songs. The one feature that stands out prominently in the hymns is the saint's abhorrence of the Jains. He seems to have believed sincerely that they were misguiding the common people. In one stanza he says: "O, you who get disturbed by listening to the foolish teachings of the Jains and the Bauddhas, come; by adoring the feet of the Lord of Nallūr-perumaṇam, *moksha* will become easy of attainment." Sambandhar came with a mission, like the other teachers of Śaivism; and that was to spread the gospel of Śaiva-theism as against the atheistic faiths. He is regarded as one of the

prime instruments that brought about the downfall of Jainism in the Tamil country.

Sambandhar considers Śiva to be the highest God, the beginning, middle, and end of all beings. As a member of the Trinity, He is the 'first form' (*mudal-uru*). But. in truth, he is formless, and so neither Brahmā nor Vishṇu could see him. Śiva is consciousness, light. Sambandhar says: "You became the end of *jyotis*; the *jyotis* within *jyotis*." Attainment of the state of Śiva is release or *moksha*. The soul should free itself from *mala* or impurity. For this Śiva's grace is necessary. The *pañchākshara* is the potent means to invoke his grace, and thereby to attain *Śiva-mukti*. Says Sambandhar: "The five letters are the final *mantra* through which one must reach Śiva." The quintessence of the saint's teachings is: 'Worship Śiva with all thy heart; and thou wilt be saved.'

Sundaramūrti, the last of the saints discussed here, was born in a family of Śaiva temple-priests in South Arcot District. It is said that on the eve of his marriage Śiva appeared in the guise of an old Brahmin and claimed him as his bond-slave. He prevented him from marrying at that stage, took him along with him, and revealed his identity as Śiva, the Supreme Master of the universe. Sundarar thus attained sainthood and went from place to place singing the praise of Śiva, his saviour. He married twice, lost his eyesight and also the grace of Śiva. After some time, these were restored and he gained the friendship of Cheramān Perumāḷ, the Kerala king. It was during his stay with the king at Tiruvañjikkaḷam that he passed away into the presence of God. Sundarar's songs reveal the path of the *sakhā* or friend. But his familiarity with God did in no way diminish his fervent devotion and longing to live in the presence of Śiva. Along with the other saints of the age, he shares the honour of having stirred the deep religious emotions of his people, and of having ushered in an era of Śaiva renaissance.

3. *Iconography*

Śivaliṅgas of the Gupta period show how the emphasis on their real character was being gradually subdued, and the inscribed Karamdāṇḍā Liṅga of the time of Kumāra-gupta I indicates this conscious effort at conventionalisation. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that all realism was eschewed in the Gupta Śivaliṅgas, for several seals of the period have been found at Bhiṭā, which depict them in their older aspect.[1]

Reference has been made above[2] to the evolution of particular types of Śaiva icons, *viz*. Liṅgodbhava-mūrtis and Mukhaliṅgas. The

1. Banerjea, *DHI*, pl. X, fig. 4. 2. Vol. II, pp. 460-61.

former are a class of icons which portray a definite sectarian bias. The mythology connected with them relates how Brahmā and Vishṇu once quarrelled about their individual claims for the creatorship of the universe; how Śiva appeared before them in the form of a blazing column of fire; and how they failed in their attempts to find its top and bottom. Brahmā falsely asserted that he had found its top for which he was cursed by Śiva that he would never have a cult of his own; but Vishṇu confessed his failure to discover the ground of the column for which he was blessed by the god to have a cult which would be only next in importance to his own. The essentials of this story are depicted in one of the earliest Liṅgodbhava-mūrtis found in the Daśāvatāra cave, Ellora. This shows a column with flames issuing from its side, with a three-quarter figure of Śiva Chandraśekhara inset in its front; Brahmā is shown soaring upwards on the top left hand corner and Vishṇu as Varāha burrowing in the ground on the bottom right; they are repeated in their usual forms on the left and right with their natural hands in the *añjali* pose. The Indian method of depicting a continuous narrative by the repetition of figures in the same panel is very strikingly illustrated in this piece of sculpture, and various mediaeval reliefs belonging to different regions of India are known, which illustrate the theme in a similar manner, sometimes with modification. The columnar form of Śiva is interesting to note, for many of the mediaeval Śivaliṅgas are definitely of this shape.

The anthropomorphic figures of Śiva show a bewildering diversity. One early specimen, now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was originally found at Kosam; it bears an inscription of the time of Skanda-gupta. Śiva and Umā stand side by side, 'each with the right hand raised and the open palm turned to the front. In his left hand Śiva holds a water-vessel, while Pārvatī carries a *triśūla*(?). The head dress of Pārvatī is a most elaborate construction.' Bloch remarks about this sculpture: 'It is instructive to compare the stiff and conventional manner of treatment in this older image with the suggestive posture of the divine couple in the later statues.' The rock-cut shrines of Ellora, collectively dated in the eighth century A.D., contain some very interesting reliefs which illustrate different varieties of the anthropomorphic forms of Śiva. One or two panels there depict the god and goddess seated together in the company of a host of attendants on either side, with Nandī below surrounded by a number of *gaṇas*. Just one step removed from these sculptures are the Umā-Maheśvara-mūrtis where Pārvatī is shown seated on the left thigh of her consort who is caressing her with his hands. This is the sugges-

tive pose alluded to by Bloch, and the greater frequency of such sculptures in Eastern India is undoubtedly associated with the prevalence of Śakti cult in this region. The Tāntric worshippers of Tripurasundarī, another name of Umā and Pārvatī, are required to meditate on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavana[1] and these images were used as aids for their particular *dhyānayoga*. In the above types, the god and goddess are separately shown, but in the Ardhanārīśvara one they are shown blended together. The right half of this composite figure possesses all the iconographic features of Śiva, while the left half, those of Umā. The present writer recognised this interesting type in a Gupta seal impression found at Bhitā. A number of sculptures depicting this theme, to be dated from the Gupta to the mediaeval period, have been found in different parts of India, showing its popularity among the sectaries. The Bādāmi Ardhanārīśvara stone panel is a fairly representative one of such figures, with some additional peculiarities like the natural hands of the androgynous god holding *vīṇā*, Nandī as bull, and emaciated Bhṛiṅgī standing by the side of the male half and a female attendant by the female one; a number of *gaṇas* in dancing and other poses are shown below. Hari-Hara or Haryardhamūrtis of Śiva are not so common as the group just described, but there are some such reliefs still extant. One of the earliest and finest ones is that which is carved in a panel in the lower cave temple at Bādāmi; in the right or Hara half of the central figure are shown Śivite attributes and emblems while in the other or Hari half, the Vaishṇava ones. The god is attended by Pārvatī and Lakshmī on his right and left, as well as by the bull-faced human figure of Nandī and Garuḍa; below him, as usual in Bādāmi Śaiva reliefs, is a group of *gaṇas* dancing and playing on musical instruments.

F. MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS

1. *Brahmā*

Reference has been made above[2] to the great transformation of the Brahmanical religion in course of which most of the gods other than Vishṇu and Śiva were relegated to an inferior position and made subordinate to them. The first major god to suffer in this way was Brahmā. The exploits with which he was credited in the subsidiary Vedic literature were gradually appropriated by Vishṇu. Though called Svayambhū (self-created), he was now conceived to have sprung out of the mundane egg or of the lotus grown in the navel of Vishṇu, and saved by the latter from destruction at the hands of the demon Madhu. A vague incest-myth of the *Ṛigveda* was foisted on

1. *Saundarya-lahari*, v 40 ff
2. See pp. 365-6.

him, and Śiva was the chastising agent for his moral lapse. These legends probably indicate a general transfer of allegiance from Brahmā to the two other gods of the Trinity. Nevertheless Brahmā had a small following, and a belated attempt is made in the *Padma Purāṇa* to revive his glory as a supreme god. That he enjoyed considerable importance during the period under review may be inferred from the fact that both the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and the *Vishṇu-dharmottara* prescribe the mode of making his images, and even the late *Padma Purāṇa* lays down the mode of his worship.

Even when Brahmā began to lose ground, his right to be worshipped as a subsidiary deity was admitted, and a niche found for him in the temples of Vishṇu and Śiva He also figured in the image of the Trinity, though never accorded the central position, which was reserved for one of the other two. Some sacred places like Prayāga and Pushkara were specially associated with him. Though the special sect bearing the name of Brahmā disappeared in course of time, his worship did not die out altogether. This is proved by the wide-spread distribution of his images from Sindh to Bengal, even though the extant images are not very large in number, and show fewer varieties. These depict him three-faced (most of them being relievo-sculptures, the fourth face is not shown; it is present only in those which are fully in the round), pot-bellied, four-armed—the hands carrying *sruk, sruva, akshamālā* and *pustaka,*—and either standing or seated on his mount, a swan. One of the earliest brass or bronze images of this god, fully in the round, found at Mirpur Khās in Sindh and now in the Karāchi Museum, is thus of great iconographic interest, because it does not at all correspond to the usual mode of representation of the deity. The god is four-faced, but two-armed, the right hand being bent with the palm turned inwards as if holding a book (this hand-pose is not described in known texts), the left hand holding either an *akshamālā* or a water-vessel which has disappeared (its handle only is now preserved), having matted locks of hair on his heads, clad in diaphanously treated garments, and perhaps wearing a deer-skin on his torso in the *upavītī* fashion. This is a fine specimen of the Indian metallurgist's art of the early mediaeval period.[1]

It was not till the Smārtas formulated their divine pentad (*pañchāyatana*) that Brahmā finally lost his position as a sectarian deity, and was reduced to the position of a super-annuated god. To-day in the whole of India there are only about half-a-dozen independent temples dedicated to Brahmā. He has been thrust out of the inner sanctuary and placed outside as *parivāra-devatā* in the

1. T. A. G Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, pp. 509-10, pl. CXLVIII.

temples of Vishṇu, Śiva, and even of Kārttikeya. Even when he is included in the Trinity, he comes into the group as a matter of form, or receives worship as Sūrya, as in South India, showing that the solar cult also made an inroad into the cult of Brahmā in certain localities.

2. *Sūrya*

Unlike Brahmā, Sūrya not only retained, but even extended his domain. The *locus classicus* for our knowledge of the solar cult of the northern variety is the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* which gives an account of the origin of the cult, the solar deity and his associates, the mode of worship, the solar priests (Bhojakas, Magas, Somakas, etc.), and the solar festivals. Similar accounts are to be found in *Sāmba, Varāha* and some other Purāṇas. It is no wonder that most of the Sun temples of the period should belong to Western India, in particular south of the present Rājasthān, where Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas settled in some strength.[1] Apart from the Mūlasthāna or Multān (originally Sāmbapura named after Sāmba) temple, where the golden image excited wonder and admiration, epigraphic records testify to the existence of other temples of note. Reference may be made to the Mandasor inscription of the time of Kumāra-gupta recording the construction of a temple by a guild of weavers in A.D. 436 and its repair in A.D. 473, the Indor (in U.P.) copper-plate recording the endowment of Devavishṇu in A.D. 465 for the regular lighting of a lamp in a sun-temple, a third grant dated A.D. 511 to another temple, and the Gwālior inscription of the 15th year of Mihirakula recording the erection of yet another temple. Royal favour was also not lacking and some of the princely houses were devoted to the Sun Three ancestors of Harsha are called *paramādityabhakta* in Harsha's inscriptions, and though Harsha himself was a Śaiva and later inclined definitely towards Buddhism, he did not forsake his ancestral deity altogether, for in the quinquennial assembly, attended by Hiuen Tsang, the image of the Sun was installed along with those of Buddha and Śiva. One of the tutelary deities of the Śālaṅkāyanas of the Andhra country was the Sun (Chitraratha), and at least one Valabhī ruler (the fifth one) was a follower of the Sun. Reference may also be made to the Shahpur image-inscription of Ādityasena (A.D. 672) and the Deo Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvita-gupta II both of which refer to solar worship. The Mārtaṇḍa temple of Kāshmir built by Muktāpīḍa or Lalitāditya belongs to the close of this period. That the cult, which had at one time embraced only the western half of Northern India, soon spread to the other half also, is borne out by the large number of solar images discovered in Bengal.

1 Vol. II, pp. 465-6.

There is no doubt that the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas considerably influenced the solar cult in Northern India. This is best illustrated by the two types of solar images prevalent in the north and the south. The standing Sūrya figures of the Gupta period, discovered in several parts of Northern India, show the alien features in a very prominent manner as the seated ones of Mathurā do. The stone relief of Sūrya, carved inside a *chaitya*-window of the Bhumara Śiva-temple, depicts the god as wearing a tall cylindrical head-dress, dressed in a long coat with a scarf tied at the waist, with his legs covered in long boots of soft leather, holding two lotus-buds in his hands, and accompanied by two male figures clad almost in the same manner; the chariot and horses are absent here, perhaps on account of the exigencies of space. The dress of the god and of his attendants, in these comparatively early reliefs, distinctly reminds us of that of the inscribed statue of Kanishka and the effigies of the Kushāṇa monarchs on the obverse of their coins. In other more elaborate representations of the same deity of the Gupta period, the horses, the arrow-shooting goddesses, the legless charioteer Aruṇa driving the horses, etc. are almost invariably present.

The South Indian figures of Sūrya have the legs and feet always left bare, and instead of the long coat of Northern India we find invariably the *Udarabandha*. There are other minor differences too which grew and brought the differences into still sharper relief in the medieval age as will be described in the next volume. The Purāṇas are not all influenced by the Iranian tradition and some of them like the *Kūrma* limit themselves to a description of the function of the Sun as a heavenly body in punctuating the time and seasons, in maintaining the planets in their position, and fostering the life of plants and animals, and make only a passing reference to the solar family. Some like the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* also make an excursion into the history of the domestic life of the deity, while others like the *Matsya Purāṇa*, while prescribing the mode of constructing the solar image, direct that the feet should be made invisible. In this way greater details are given till we get the full description of the Northern variety and even reference to Zarathushtra and Iranian beliefs and practices. But the orthodox tradition developed on the lines of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* prescription of a golden disc to represent the solar orb and the Upanishadic doctrine of the golden Purusha in the Sun, and the philosophically inclined thought less of the "all-red" deity and more of Brahman as the Ultimate Being with which the Sun was identified. The *Kūrma Purāṇa*, therefore, lays down that while Vishṇu and Indra are to be worshipped by kings, Brāhmaṇas should particularly worship Agni, Āditya, Brahmā and

Śiva. In it is also to be found the Sūrya-hṛidaya hymn in which Sūrya is eulogised as the supreme deity who includes all other deities within himself. For some time, it appears, Sūrya formed with Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, a kind of quadrumvirate, for in many ceremonial gifts these four go together. A lithic representation of their fusion finds a place in later sculpture, *e.g.* in the Chidambaram temple and the Limboji Mātā temple at Delmal (N. Gujarāt). As Brahmā is gradually ousted from the field, a trinity of the other three is left; but not for long, for a powerful rival in the shape of Śakti soon makes her appearance and becomes an important cult object.

3. *Śakti*

The cult next in importance to the two major Brahmanical ones, Vaishṇava and Śaiva, was that of Śakti, the energic female principle. The origin of this goddess, known by various names such as Umā, Pārvatī, Durga, etc. has been discussed above.[1] By what process this goddess came to occupy a prominent position during this period it is difficult to say, and also, why she should have been ultimately allied with Siva. But several important factors may be noted Perhaps following the identification of Rudra and Agni, she was identified with the tongues of fire and similarly named. The destructive aspect gave her such names as Kālī (the Destruction), Karālī (the Terrible), Bhīmā (the Frightful), Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍikā or Chāmuṇḍā (the Wrathful), etc. Another factor is her identification with Sarasvatī. As Sarasvatī and Vāk (speech) were identified, and speech is depicted in the Brāhmaṇa literature as a source of strength, naturally the Devī or goddess *par excellence* became a source of power But Sarasvatī is also the goddess of learning, the revealer of divine wisdom. When Devī was identified with Sarasvatī she was not only called by this name but she also got the other epithets of Sarasvatī as well—Vedamātā, Sarvavarṇā and Chhandasām mātā. It is not impossible that those who ascribed the Nigama literature to the Devī at a later time had in mind this tradition of her wisdom as recorded, for instance, in the *Kena Upanishad*, or else wished to assert her equality with Śiva in all matters, revelation not excluded Association with some abstract qualities and virtues personified also enhanced her prestige.

Another important factor that invested the Devī with power came probably from philosophy. The Sāṅkhya philosophy had familiarised the idea that Purusha is by nature inactive and it is Prakriti who is active (though in the proximity of Purusha). Even the Vedānta system in its Advaita form could claim an Upanishadic origin for its conception that Brahman becomes the creator only

1. Vol. II, pp. 466-67.

when associated with Māyā, which was subsequently called the eternal capacity or function (*nityā śakti*) of Brahman Lest this power should be looked upon as functioning without the active effort of the Supreme Soul, a theistic sect hastened to add that Māyā was none other than Prakṛiti while the Māyin was Maheśvara. Now Māyā in its alternative meanings signified both Prajñā (Insight) and Svapna (Dream or Illusion) and Devī became both Sarasvatī and Moharātri. Hence Power, Wisdom and Stupefying capacity were added to Creative Agency to make up the composite picture of a goddess who as Mahālakshmī (called Śakti in later Tāntric literature) created even the gods, as Durgā killed the Asuras, as Devī revealed the Śākta literature, and as Yoganidrā sent all creation to sleep.

The *Harivaṁśa* refers to her worship by hill and jungle tribes and also calls her the sister of Vishṇu and of Indra (as Kaushikī). While the *Rāmāyaṇa* remains content with calling Umā the daughter of Himavat and the sister of Gaṅgā, and later writers make them co-wives of Śiva, the *Harivaṁśa* gives a description of how one of the three daughters of Himavat (Aparṇā by name) got the name of Umā from her mother Menā because of her severe austerities to get Mahādeva as husband. While in the *Mahābhārata* Durgā appears indifferently as the wife of Nārāyaṇa and of Śiva, the later associations became increasingly Śaivite, though, as not absolutely unexpected, in the *Vishnu Purāṇa* the Primal Energy (Ādyā Śakti) appears not as Mahādevī but as Mahālakshmī. But the hill association gains the upper hand and Umā Haimavatī (and later on, Pārvatī, Śailaputrī, Girijā, etc.) becomes the wedded wife of Giriśa (Śiva), who is therefore called Umāpati, and she is called Maheśvarī, Īśānī, Śarvāṇī, Mahādevī, Mahākālī, Śivā or Śivānī, etc. Gaurī, who is originally the wife of Varuna, and is also a companion of Pārvatī, becomes identified with Umā, and thus Giriśa also becomes Gauriśa. Even in the *Mahābhārata* reference is made to the Bhūtas who accompany Śiva, and the ghosts, demons and goblins who form the retinue of Rudra or Śiva are matched by their feminine counterparts in the retinue of his wife; or possibly the possession of a wild and ghoulish retinue facilitated the establishment of the relationship between the two. It is difficult to say to what extent the pre-Vedic culture of India, now discovered in the Sindhu Valley, contributed to the conception of a mother goddess of the type now familiar to us as Śakti, but that the cult of the Mother Goddess was fed by indigenous and aboriginal beliefs is almost certain, judging by the qualities with which she was invested at a later time. Possibly the many Furies associated with her have left their surrogates in the many village goddesses of South India and the euphemistic designation of Mothers (*mātaraḥ*) was meant to cover up their diabolical nature

which their association with Vināyaka and Vīrabhadra in Saptamātṛikā slabs tends to confirm. A formidable list of such Furies created by Śiva to lick up the falling drops of Andhakāsura's blood (whence new Andhaka-like demons sprouted forth) and a smaller list of those emanating from Narasiṁha to keep these in check are to be found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

What raised the goddess to the supreme position were the exploits with which she was credited in folk-lore as recorded in the Chaṇḍī chapters of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. As the destroyer of the demons Mahishāsura, Raktavīja, Śumbha and Niśumbha, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, she literally fought her way into the orthodox pantheon just as Rudra had done by disturbing Daksha's sacrifice; and her promise to come again and again to destroy the giants reminds one forcibly of a similar promise of Kṛishṇa to Arjuna.

Suffice it to say that when once a relationship was established between Śaivism and Śaktism, assimilation of the two creeds to each other was rapid. We have stories of the resurrection of the first wife of Śiva (Satī, the daughter of Daksha) as Umā, her austerities to win her husband again, the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, their idyllic domestic life on the Kailāsa mount, and the dire calamities that befell those who tried to pry into the secrets of their conjugal life as represented in art by Umāmaheśvara, Umāliṅgana and Ardhanārīśvara figures. Into the vortex of the Śiva-Śakti cult were drawn not only the cults of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya who began to figure as the sons of the couple, but also the cult of Tārā which probably came from Buddhism. Later Śaktism became very much complicated and many lower forms of belief and practice found an entry into it.

The one noticeable thing about the Śiva-Śakti cult is that both Śiva and Śakti were worshipped in benign as well as terrible forms, and this helped an easy alliance between the two. If of the eight forms of Śiva some are *ghora* (terrifying) and others *aghora, saumya* or *dakshiṇa* (benign), so also are Devī's forms like Umā, Gaurī, Pārvatī, Bhavānī, Annapūrṇā, Lalitā, etc. of gentle mien, while other forms like Chāmuṇḍā, Durgā (in most of the nine kinds of later times), names ending with Kālī and Rātri and including Chaṇḍā, as also Kātyāyanī, Bhairavī, etc. are of an opposite nature. As usual, the serpent cult managed to effect an entry here also, for we are told that the breast-band of the goddess Durgā is a serpent and the noose with which she binds the Buffalo Demon is also a snake. There is no doubt that whereas probably the earlier conception of her was that of a composite deity constituted by the energies (the Saptamātṛikās) of the earlier gods or contemporaneously worshipped major

deities—Brahmā (Brahmāṇī), Maheśvara (Māheśvarī), Kumāra (Kaumārī), Vishṇu (Vaishṇavī), Varāha (Vārāhī), Indra (Indrāṇī) and Yama (Yamī or Chāmuṇḍā), and also sometimes Śiva (Yogeśvarī), the later belief was just the reverse, for she was regarded as capable of absorbing all these forms and resuming her unitary character as the Supreme Goddess from whom all creation, preservation, and destruction proceeded. This led to the development of the Tantra cult which will be discussed in the next volume.

Once installed as Supreme Deity, Devī or Durgā gradually outgrew the terrifying character,—which was perhaps the primary material of her composition,—through her feminine nature. A Mother Goddess (*ambā*) is approached with greater confidence by devotees because of her kindly nature and the patent provision of maintenance that proceeds from all mothers. So when the benign nature began to grow in importance, and the deity ceased to be a colourless goddess with the feminine suffix simply added to the male counterpart, she began to be clothed with more flesh and blood and was promptly allied to a male deity as his bride Once conceived as married, her motherhood came almost as a natural corollary, and Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa came to be regarded as her children.

The images of the different aspects of this goddess have been discovered in various parts of India Bengal, or rather Eastern India in general, was the homeland of the Śākta cult and it is thus natural that many varieties of the Devī icons should be found there. From the mythological point of view these are principally associated with Śiva, but types are not wanting which show some Vishṇuite features. Durgā, known by various names as Umā, Haimavatī, Pārvatī, Ambikā, etc. was primarily the consort of Śiva, but she was also regarded in some of her aspects such as Ekānaṁśā or Bhadrā as the sister of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa. The Devī was also manifest as the motivating energy behind many Hindu god-concepts like Brahmā, Maheśvara (Śiva), Vishṇu, etc., and was known collectively as the 'Divine Mothers', the Saptamātṛikās, whose individual names Brahmāṇī, etc. have been given above. Her images, like those of Śiva, can also be roughly grouped under two heads, *ugra* and *saumya*, and in the former aspect she is principally the destroyer of the buffalo-demon, Mahishāsuramardinī. An elaborate mythology developed round this theme and most of her images of terriffic form summarily illustrate the story as recounted in the Purāṇas. Extant Mahishāsuramardinī images, however, can hardly be dated before the Gupta period, and some miniature stone figurines unearthed at Bhitā are a few of the earliest summary representation of this aspect of the goddess. They depict her with either two or four arms,

engaged in combat with the demon in the shape of a buffalo, with no other attendant and accessory figures. These, including a lion beneath her about to maul Mahishāsura coming out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo, were not late in making their appearance, and the number of her hands holding various weapons (*praharaṇas*) was multiplied. But this multiplicity of arms is also of a fairly early date, and one of the earliest figures of this aspect of the goddess is found carved on the façade of the cave shrine at **Udayagiri,** where she is twelve-armed. That the number of arms in many such cult images of a later date was not uniformly increased is shown by the fine bronze figure described as Lakshaṇā in the pedestal inscription, found by Vogel in Chambā, one of the hill states of northern India. The Devī is depicted as driving the trident into the neck of the buffalo who is being pressed down by one of her legs with the tail being held in one of her hands; this pose, partly to be found in one of the Bhitā reliefs mentioned above, exactly corresponds to the description of the '*Chaṇḍī*' (*Durgā-saptaśatī*—seven hundred verses of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describing this episode) which runs thus: *Samutpatya sārūḍhā taṁ mahāsuram pādenākramya kaṇṭhe cha śūlenainaṁ atāḍayat* '(the goddess) briskly jumped on to the body of the great demon and, kicking him in the neck with her foot, struck him with her spear (or, pressing him down with one leg thrust her spear into his neck)'.[1] Several reliefs in Māmallapuram illustrate in a very interesting manner the different phases of the struggle between the Devī and Asura. In one of them the eight-armed goddess, accompanied by several attendants (these are exact replicas of Śivagaṇas, dwarfish and pot-bellied in appearance), is shown engaged in actual combat with the buffalo-headed demon and his attendants. In others, she is shown standing on the severed head of the Asura, either accompanied by attendants or not, holding in her eight hands various weapons of war as well as *chakra* and *śaṅkha* which indicate her Vishṇuite features.

Unlike those of her consort Śiva, the *ugra* forms of the Devī are fewer in number, but she has a variety of *saumya* types of images, some of which require brief notice. One of her earliest placid figures can be seen in the Māmallapuram panel which shows her standing under an umbrella as four-armed,—her back hands carrying *śaṅkha* and *chakra* and the front ones being in the *abhaya* and *kaṭihasta* poses,—surrounded by *gaṇas* and two seated human figures; one of the latter seated on her proper right is shown in the attitude of cutting off his own head for offering it to her as a sacrifice. This particular feature of the relief is very interesting,

1. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 83 37

inasmuch as it introduces a novel Tāntric element in such a comparatively early piece of sculpture.[1]

The popularity of the goddess Durgā was shared to some extent by her two sons Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. An inscription, dated A.D. 414, mentions the addition of a gallery (*pratoli*) to a temple of Kārttikeya called Svāmi Mahāsena. The Kadamba kings were devoted worshippers of this god while the Yaudheyas assigned to him *Kalaśa* and conch symbols reminiscent of Lakshmī. It is also noteworthy that the Gupta emperor Kumāra-gupta substituted for Garuḍa the peacock symbol associated with his divine namesake. Subrahmanya, under which name the god was worshipped in South India, was evidently derived from the earlier form Brahmaṇyadeva. The wide popularity of the god in the Deccan was specially due to his association with Śiva like whom he had malformed troublesome followers, the Kumārakas, who plagued children. His temples were generally placed on hill-tops and different types of figures were prescribed for cities of various dimensions. In the extant late Gupta and mediaeval images of Kārttikeya in northern India, we do not find much variety; he is usually shown there as two-armed, riding on his mount the peacock (Śikhi Paravāṇī), and holding in his hands a citron (*mātulunga*) and a spear (*śakti*).[2] Sometimes he is attended by his two consorts, *viz* Devasenā and Vallī, and is shown as four-armed

Unlike Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa had a sect of his own, known by the name of Gāṇapatya, in later times. His importance grew during this period. Though the authenticity of the Gaṇapatiprakarana of the *Yājñavalkya Samhitā* has sometimes been questioned, there is no doubt that the cult of Gaṇeśa as both *ganesvara* and *vināyaka* was adumbrated in the *Mānava-Gṛihya-sūtra* where his four names appear as Usmita, Devayajana, Sālakaṭankaṭa and Kūshmāṇḍarājaputra and the appeasement of the trouble-creating god is prescribed. In the *Yājñavalkya Saṁhitā* Mita and Sammita replace the first two names while the third and the fourth are each divided into two, namely Śāla and Kaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūshmāṇḍa and Rājaputra. The *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* still knows of the troublesome *gaṇas* and *vināyakas*. Latterly Gaṇeśa became a single personality and the leader of the turbulent followers of Rudra (*ganas*). But the multiplicity of his forms remained—we have later reference to about fifty such forms, which shows the vigour of the creed. Śaṅkarāchārya, the great expounder of Advaitavāda, is said to have vanquished in dispute the exponents of the tenets of its six sub-divisions, *viz.* the worship-

1. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pl. C
2. The figure of Kārttikeya shown in a 'Chaitya window' of the Bhūmarā Śiva temple exactly corresponds to the above description (*MASI*, 16, pl. XIII d).

pers of Mahā, Haridrā, Svarṇa, Santāna, Navanīta and Unmatta-Uchchhishṭa aspects of Gaṇapati. Comparatively late iconographic texts not only describe the images of the different forms of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god, but also enumerate numerous other varieties of the same with appropriate descriptions. But most of these image-groups are of an academic nature, for the simple reason that very few among them were actually represented in art. The extant images of Ganeśa of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods can be broadly classified under three heads, *viz* *sthānaka*, *i.e.* standing, *āsana* (seated), and *nṛitya* (dancing). Numerous images of Gaṇapati of the early and late mediaeval periods belonging to one or other of these varieties have been found in different parts of India Their extreme popularity can be explained by the fact that as the god was the remover of all obstacles and bestower of success, he was held in great esteem not only by the various Brahmanical sectaries, but also by the followers of heterodox creeds like Buddhism and Jainism The Buddhists were again principally responsible for carrying his image-type to the Far East and Indonesia One of the earliest standing images of Gaṇapati is the Mathurā sandstone figure of the elephant-headed deity in the nude. Another early form can be recognised in the terracotta plaque of the Bhītargāon brick temple, which shows him in an unusual pose—flying through the air, but the pot of sweetmeat in one of his four hands, to which his trunk is applied, as well as other characteristic traits disclose his identity [1] Both of these Gaṇapati figures belong to the early Gupta period, and a profitable comparison can be made between them and two other seated figures of Gaṇapati, one two-armed and the other four-armed, found among the remains of the Śiva temple of Bhūmarā which was erected some time in the sixth century A D The cult connection is clearly emphasised in the latter, which is not at all prominent in the other two; unfortunately both these figures are very much mutilated [2] Several early images of Gaṇeśa, in stone, metal, and terracotta, were found at Pāhārpur; one among them in grey sandstone of the late Gupta period shows him seated, holding in his four hands a rosary, a radish, a trident, and the end of a snake coiled round his body like a sacred thread A mouse, the peculiar mount of the god, is crudely drawn on the pedestal and his third eye is suggested by the lozenge-shaped mark on the middle of his forehead [3] The attributes in his hands sometimes differ and a pot of sweetmeat (*modaka*), a manuscript, a pen, a broken tusk, a hatchet etc. are also seen in his hands.

1 For the Mathurā and Bhītargāon figures of Ganeśa, cf. A Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, and *ASI* 1908-9, fig 2

2 *MASI*, 16 pls XII(a), XV(a, b)   3 *MASI*, 55, pl. XXXII(d).

4. *Vaishṇava Gods*

With the rise of new gods and goddesses like Durgā, Kārttika, and Gaṇeśa, some older deities lost their prestige. One notable example is Saṅkarshaṇa. He becomes practically identified with Balarāma, the brother of Kṛishṇa, and although he still possesses some importance it is only as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu or one of the Vyūha forms of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa that he begins to figure now. With him are grouped Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the son and grandson of Kṛishṇa, who divide among themselves the *guṇas* of Vāsudeva.[1]

As the Pāñcharātra school developed, the emanations began to be invested with more intricate and wide functions in the process of the evolution of the world of matter and spirit, including the various incarnations of God himself. In this scheme room was also found for Lakshmī, for she was regarded as the eternal consort of Vishṇu, and sometimes she had as her co-wives other deities like Bhūmi and Nīlā with functions of their own in the plan of creation. Thus Baladeva becomes the immanent principle of creation, while Vāsudeva becomes the transcendent deity—God before creation, to quote the language of Hegel If God in the Purusha Sūkta is regarded as having four quarters, then naturally two more quarters had to be filled, and probably in this way Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be added to Vāsudeva and Saṅkarshana Sankarshaṇa is no longer the deity of an ascetic sect, for he is considered to be perpetually in a state of inebriety and to be possessed of an irascible temper, which lands him in the sin of Brahmanicide. The palmyra (*tāla*) may have been chosen for Balarāma because of his drunkenness; or his inebriety may have come from the palmyra association He continues to be paired with Vāsudeva as of old, and a novel feature is that in figured representation a female associate makes her appearance. She is called Ekānaṁśā in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and, together with the two males, forms the model of the Jagannātha-Subhadrā-Balarāma trio of Puri. But Balarāma definitely disappears from the religious field, and though in the Pāhārpur excavations in North Bengal the images of Balarāma are fair in number, he appears not so much as a god as a brother of Kṛishṇa, though his four-handed figure betokens something of the extraordinary in him down to the age of the Pālas. An attempt at symbolism was made later in the *Vishṇudharmottara* where Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha appear as the four faces of Vishnu and represent his *bala*, *jñāna*, *aiśvarya* and *śakti* respectively. We are told further that the weapons of Balarāma, the *lāṅgala* (ploughshare) and the

1 See above, Vol. II, p 447 f.

musala (pestle), represent respectively *kāla* (time) and *mṛityu* (death).

Lakshmī also now becomes definitely a sectarian goddess though the abstract name she bore, namely, Śrī, helped the listing of her name with many other abstract qualities such as Hrī (Modesty), Medhā (Talent), Dhṛiti (Patience), Pushṭi (Sustenance or Growth), Kshānti (Forgiveness), Lajjā (Bashfulness), Kīrti (Fame), Bhūti (Prosperity), Rati (Love), etc. This is not a new trait, for both in the Vedas and in the epics deified abstractions are quite common. The Brahmanic use of abstractions for designating gods and demons, however, did not go to the same length as the Zoroastrian, and Śrī never became so abstract as did Śraddhā, for instance, or the others mentioned above Her role as the guardian angel of kings (*rāja-lakshmī*) and cities (*nagaralakshmī*) and the *Gajalakshmī* (or Kamalā) motif continued, as is evident from the seals of Bhitā and Basārh excavations, Indo-Scythian (*Pakhalavadi-devatā*) and early imperial Gupta coins.

The tendency to regard some of the goddesses as indispensable consorts of the major gods led to the multiple matrimonial alliances of Śrī and of Sarasvatī As noted above[1] Śrī and Lakshmī (regarded as two personalities) appear in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhita* as the two wives of Āditya Later tradition made Śrī and Mahāśvetā the two wives of Sūrya, one on either side of the Sun image. This was followed by the still later conception in North India (especially Bengal) of Lakshmī and Sarasvatī as the two wives of Vishṇu, placed on the two sides of Vishnu image. Identification of Lakshmī with Durgā, Ambā, Devī or Ekānaṁśā is also not unknown. Even Skanda's wife Devasenā has Lakshmī as one of her names, and Kubera, too, claimed her as wife at a later time. Popular belief, however, made her the wife of Vishṇu, and in some Purāṇas his creative activity; and in the *Vishnudharmottara* it is mentioned that gifts dedicated to Lakshmī should be given only to one well versed in the Pāñcharātra doctrine. Her figure appears in the lintels of Vishṇu temples at Bādāmi and Aihole, and latterly she degenerates into a *parivāra-devatā* in the temple of Brahmā as Viśvakarmā. If she has not lost her hold on the veneration of men, it is because she represents the docile type of womanhood intensely attached to the husband and devoted to his service, and also because she is looked upon as the goddess of wealth in the pursuit of which all sects are equally interested.

1. Vol. II, p. 470.

5. *Miscellaneous Deities*

Numerous sculptures of miscellaneous divinities, many of them loosely associated with Brahmanical cults, have been found in different parts of India. Some of them are undoubtedly regional while others are of an all-India character. The Dikpālas, who belong to the latter group, are the guardians of the four major and four minor quarters. They are, with some variations in location, Indra, the lord of the east, Yama, of the south, Varuṇa, of the west, Kubera, of the north, Agni, of the south-east, Nirṛiti, of the south-west, Vāyu, of the north-west, and Īśāna of the north-east. A glance at the names will prove that with the exception of two, *viz.* Kubera and Īśāna who are mentioned only in the latest section of the Vedic literature, all the others were prominent Vedic deities who were highly honoured by the Vedic seers. But now they are relegated to a much inferior place in the Hindu pantheon on acount of the rise to importance of the various sectarian gods and goddesses. Earliest sculptured representations of Indra or Śakra are to be found in Buddhist monuments of Central India, north-western Deccan, and the extreme north-west of India. A garlanded royal figure with a lotus in his hand, riding on a huge elephant and attended by a standard-bearer, carved on the verandah of the Bhājā monastery, belongs to the early Śuṅga period and is regarded by most scholars as one of the earliest representations of Indra. The Hellenistic Indras of Gandhāra region are characterised by a peculiar basket-like headdress (probably a foreign adaptation of the Indian *kirīṭa-makuṭa*) and a peculiar type of thunderbolt in one of his hands.[1] Indra's prominent iconographic traits are the thunderbolt in his hand and his elephant mount; another of his noticeable features, the third eye placed sidewise in the centre of his forehead, is mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* and *Vishnudharmottarapurāṇa.* Relief No. 29 in coarse grey sandstone among the sculptures in the basement of the main mound at Pāhārpur is that of Indra with his mount and peculiarly placed third eye. Agni, Yama or Varuṇa, and Kubera also can be recognised among the other basement sculptures of the same mound; they are shown with their respective iconographic features which changed very little in the subsequent period.[2] In many of the well-preserved temples, either Vaishnava or Śaiva, in different parts of India, the figures of the Ashṭa-Dikpālas are found carved on various parts of the outside walls.

1. For the Bhājā relief, cf *HIIA*, pl VIII. Johnston, however, suggests that the figure stands for Māra riding on his elephant Girimekhala (*JISOA*, VII, pp. 1-7) For the Hellenistic Śakra or Indra, cf Grünwedel and Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, figs. 40, 9.
2. *HBR*, I, pp. 462-64 and plates.

It will not be possible to refer even briefly to the innumerable images of other deities which were connected in different ways with the Brahmanic pantheon. Many of these gods and goddesses were recruited from the folk-cults, and though they were described as demi-gods or Vyantara-devatās from the orthodox point of view, their images were originally not much less venerated by a large section of the Indians. The Yakshas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Apsarases, etc. had their individual iconic forms, and these had various architectural uses in the sense that they were displayed in different parts of the religious shrines. The separate images of the Yakshas and the Nāgas were made in pre-Christian or early post-Christian periods, and these were at first undoubtedly principal cult-objects of a certain class of Indians; but like many of the members of the orthodox Vedic pantheon they were gradually subordinated to the chief sectarian gods and goddesses. The Yakshas were used as Dvārapālas or gate-keepers in Śaiva shrines; the Nāgas singly or in couples served as decorative devices in many temples, and one Nāga in particular served as the couch of the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa; the Gandharvas, the Vidyādharas, the Apsarases, etc were used as graceful ornaments on the *prabhāvalī* of the principal cult images The figures of the river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā were carved at first on the topmost part of the door jambs of the Gupta temples and were shown subsequently in their lower parts. Individual images of them, however, were not unknown, and reference may be made to the Pāhārpur basement relief of Yamunā and the striking sculptures of Gaṅgā from Īśvarīpur and Deopārā.[1] Separate sculptures of Manasā, the snake goddess with a child in her lap and shaded by a canopy of snake-hoods, of the uncouth goddess Jyeshṭhā with her bovine sons and crow banner, of the recumbent mother-goddess with a suckling baby by her side, and the host of the divine on-lookers on the top of the relief, etc. have been found in different parts of India, and many of them can be distinctly described as regional in character. The Hindus took a great deal of pleasure in giving concrete shapes to the objects of their worship, and their love of iconism was so deep-rooted that they even anthropomorphised the emblems and attributes in the hands of their divinities. But to characterise this love of concrete images in their religious lives as pure and unmitigated idolatry would be a gross mistake. The Brahmanical Hindus as well as their Buddhist and Jain brethren only made the highest use of rational symbolism in making sensible representations of their gods and goddesses.

1 *Ibid*, pp 461-62 and plates

G. NEW RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES

One of the indirect results of India's intimate intercourse with the West is the migration of different religious communities from this region to India. These are distinguished from various other foreign immigrants by the fact, that they have throughout maintained their separate entities, whereas the others have been merged into Indian population without leaving any trace of their separate existence. Before the end of the eighth century A.D., no less than three such important communities settled in India, *viz.* the Syriac Christians, Muslims, and Parsis. The Parsis probably did not settle in large numbers till after the period covered by this volume. But the other two formed important elements in Indian population before A.D. 750. A short history of their early settlements will be dealt with in this volume, reserving for the next a detailed treatment of the Parsis.

1. *Muslims*

A new religious element was introduced in India during the period under review. This was Islam which, though preached by the Prophet Muhammad as early as A.D. 610, did not take a deep root in the soil of Arabia till A.D. 630. Two special features distinguished the early history of this religion from that of others known in history. Firstly, the militant character of the Prophet himself, who, unlike the founder of any other religion, had to engage in several military campaigns against his own people before they would accept his faith; and secondly, his extreme intolerance of the existing religion. After the final conquest of Mecca, in A.D. 630, he 'entered its great sanctuary and smashed its many idols said to have numbered three hundred and sixty exclaiming: 'Truth hath come, and falsehood hath vanished!'[1] The militant character of Islam and its extreme intolerance of other religions, specially those which involved worship of images, marked its subsequent history at every step, and particularly in India.

It is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss the causes of the various wars waged by the Caliphs—as the successors of the Prophet were called—or to examine their justification or expediency. But the fact remains that the spread of Islam almost invariably followed in the wake of military victories, at least during the early centuries of its history. So far as historical evidence goes, Islam got a definite footing only in those parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, which had first been politically conquered by the army of the Caliphs, and not

1. P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 118.

beyond that limit. This area was of course quite large, but the point to be noted is that unlike every other religion, whose history is known to us, the field of early missionary enterprise of Islam was almost co-extensive with its political domains, acquired by military force. It is not the gunboats that followed the missionary, but the missionaries that followed the gunboats. There is no real ground to suppose that India formed an exception to the rule.[1]

As has already been shown above, there was maritime intercourse from very early period between India and the Western World, including Arabia and Persia, and we have definite evidence that the relation continued even after the spread of Islam in those countries. It is therefore highly probable that Muslim traders, who frequented the coastal regions, near the important ports lived there for long or short periods, and some of them might even have settled there on more or less permanent basis.[2] But there is no reliable evidence to show, as has been maintained by some, that they settled in Malabar coast in large numbers in the seventh century A.D. Such a theory is mainly based on the traditions current among the Moplahs, Navayats, and Labbes of South India,[3] but these are on a par with

1 Attempts have been made by Mr M A Ghani (*POC*, X, 403) to show that the Muslims came to India as early as A D 637 and settled in large numbers 'not as fighters but as tradesmen and missionaries', that the Indians were so profoundly impressed with "the purity of their living, their zeal for the new faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood," that they eagerly embraced the new faith in large numbers, about fifty thousand being converted each year. We shall refer later to the impression that was produced by Islam on the Indians after the conquest of Sindh in A D 712, and we have got ample evidence for coming to a definite conclusion on this point. As to the period preceding that event, Mr M A Ghani has drawn a rosy picture of the early Muslim Colonies in India, and their happy relations with the Indians. Unfortunately, the principal authority on which he relies is Buzurg bin Shahriyar's *Aja'ib ul Hind*, a book composed in the tenth century A D and described in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* as 'mere sailor's tales with fantastic exaggerations, though there may be some elements of truth'. An account based on such a work does not deserve serious consideration. And some of the anecdotes relied upon by Mr Ghani definitely belong to a much later period.

2 The ship sailing from Ceylon with presents for Hajjāj (above, p 169) contained some Muslim girls, daughters of merchants who died there (*Balādhuri*, *Chach-nāma* I. 69-70)

3 Traditional accounts of the origin of Moplahs differ materially from one another. Some of them, said to have settled on the Western coast in the seventh century, are described as descendants of Hashem, expelled by the Prophet from Arabia. A Muslim merchant named Malik Medina, accompanied by some priests, is said to have settled in or near Mangalore. A story is current among the Navayats that their ancestors fled from the Persian Gulf about the close of the seventh century A D to escape the cruelty of a governor of Irān. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, a work composed in the sixteenth century A D, preserves the legend of a king of Cranganore, who adopted Islam, proceeded to Arabia, and died there. It is said that after his death Islam was spread in all parts of Malabar, in the year 200 of the Hajira, i.e. ninth century A D (Tr by M. J Rowlandson, p. 47). These are all very late traditions and cannot, in any case, be regarded as evidence for large Muslim settlements in Malabar in the seventh century, as contended by some (Sturrock, *South Kanara, Madras District Manuals*, pp 180-81; Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian*

similar traditions current among Christians in the same region which have been rejected by almost all students of history.

It is not till the beginning of the eighth century A.D. that we come across some evidence of the settlement of a large number of Muslims in Sindh. It is said in *Chach-nāma* that king Dāhar had a body of 500 Arab troops in his service. They were Muslims and are said to have fled to India to evade punishment by the Caliph.[1] Though this statement in *Chach-nāma* cannot be regarded as true without corroborative evidence, still it may be provisionally accepted, and may serve as evidence of Muslim settlements in India proper.

The defeat of Dāhar and the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim in A.D. 712, to which reference has been made above,[2] opened the floodgates of Muslim colonisation in this remote corner of India As we have no detailed contemporary history of the Muslim conquest of Sindh we cannot draw any definite picture of this first Muslim settlement in India on a large scale. But the isolated facts mentioned in Al-Balādhuri's account and the *Chach-nāma* enable us to form a general idea of its nature.[3]

It may be reasonably inferred from these accounts that even if there were Muslim settlers in Sindh at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., they formed quite a negligible factor. Throughout the course of Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim's military campaigns from one end of Sindh to another, there is no reference to any Muslim element in the population, though there are various references to individuals and communities, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, who helped the invader. It is equally clear from the same accounts that it was a deliberate policy of the conquerors to make Islam a dominant force

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Culture, p 32) Francis Day, who has recorded some of these traditions current in Malabar and studied the history of the Moplahs, is of opinion that the "Muhammadans obtained no great footing until the ninth century A D" (*The Land of the Perumals*, p 365).

1 *Chach-nāma*, I, 55-56 It is interesting to note that this body of Arab troops, though in regular pay of Dāhar, refused to fight on his behalf against their co-religionists (*Ibid*, 127) Dāhar's secretary, Wazil (*Ibid*. 71), is also regarded by some as a Muslim (*IHQ*, XVI. 597), but this is by no means certain It has been suggested also that Amir Ali-ud-Dowla, appointed by Chach governor of the fort of Sikka, according to a passage in *Chach-nāma*, as translated by Elliot (*HIED*, I 142), was also a Muslim. But the chronology followed in this book makes Chach ascend the throne 24 years before Hijira, and it is not likely that any Muslim took service under him Besides, according to the more reliable translation of the same passage by Fredunbeg (I 28) "Chach appointed the greatest of the nobles of the State," and not a person named Amir Ali-ud-Dowla, "to be temporarily in charge of the fort of Sikka"

2 See pp 170-2

3. For these and other authorities see *Arab Invasion of India*, Ch II, by R C Majumdar. Balādhuri's book, composed in the ninth century A.D, is written as an historical chronicle and may be regarded as fairly reliable The *Chach-nāma*, in its present form, is a work of twelfth century It gives a more detailed count of Sindh, but is less reliable. I have used the translation of Balādhuri, Vol II, by F. F. Murgotten.

in Sindh both by settlements and local conversion. Both these processes are in evidence from the very beginning. It is recorded by Balādhuri[1] that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad marked out a quarter for the Muslims, built a mosque, and settled four thousand colonists there.

The conversion of the people of Sindh to Islam was mainly due to the policy of humiliation and terrorisation, deliberately adopted by the Muslim conquerors towards the non-Muslims, combined with the inducements offered to them to better their social status and material prospects in life by the adoption of the new faith. We have no evidence that the conquered people of Sindh were, at any stage, offered the alternatives of 'sword' or the '*Qurān*', but a letter from Hajjāj to Muhammad, as reported in the *Chach-nāma*, undoubtedly breathes the same spirit. On receipt of the report of Muhammad's great victory at Raor, Hajjāj wrote to him as follows — "The great God says in the *Qurān*. 'O true believers, when you encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads.' The above command of the Great God is a great command and must be respected and followed You should not be so fond of showing mercy, as to nullify the virtue of the act Henceforth grant pardon to no one of the enemy and spare none of them, or else all will consider you a weak-minded man"

Al-Balādhuri and *Chach-nāma* also give us an idea of the nature of mercy shown by Muhammad towards the infidels, for which he was so strongly rebuked by Hajjāj. After his men had scaled the walls of the fort of Debal, the besieged Indians opened the gates and asked for mercy. Muhammad replied that he had no orders to spare anyone in the town, and so no quarter was given, and for three days the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered. The local temple was defiled and "700 beautiful females, who had sought for shelter there, were all captured" The same tragedy was enacted after the capture of Raor. Muhammad massacred 6000 fighting men who were found in the fort, and their followers and dependents, as well as their women and children, were taken prisoners.[2] Sixty thousand slaves, including 30 young ladies of royal blood, were sent to Hajjāj together with the head of Dāhar. We can now well understand why the capture of a fort by the Muslim forces was followed by the terrible *jauhar* ceremony (in which the females threw themselves in fire kindled by themselves), the earliest recorded instance

1 II 218

2 The accounts of *Chach-nāma* about the massacre perpetrated by Muhammad are corroborated by Balādhuri There are other instances than the two given above The numbers massacred at Brāhmanābād are put down as varying from 6,000 to 26,000 According to *Chah-nāma* (I 164) Muhammad "came to the place of execution and in his presence ordered all the men belonging to the military classes to be beheaded with swords"

of which is found in the *Chach-nāma*.[1] It is interesting to note that, according to the same authority, the Muslim prisoners, both male and female, in Sindh, themselves reported to Muhammad that they had received very good treatment while they were in prison. On hearing this account Muhammad appointed to a high office the man who was in charge of the prisoners, of course, after he agreed to adopt the Islamic faith.[2] Further, we are told that when the Hindus of Sindan successfully rebelled against their Muslim ruler, they killed him, but left 'its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray.'[3] The Muslim policy of defilement of temples and cruelty to prisoners cannot, therefore, be condoned as prevalent practice of the time in India.[4]

A perusal of the available accounts thus leaves no doubt that it was perhaps not due to any humanitarian feeling that Muhammad desisted from carrying into effect the general policy of Islam and the order of Hajjāj by massacring all the infidels in Sindh. Expediency and practical considerations probably stood in the way of executing the Islamic law in letter, but he followed the spirit of it. This policy is enunciated in detail in connection with the conquest of Brāhmanābād. As a clear statement of the Islamic doctrine for the treatment of conquered peoples, which formed the basis of the policy pursued by the Muslim conquerors in India, the passage may be reproduced *in extenso* After stating how some Brāhmanas were offered pardon by Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim on condition that they find out the queen of Dāhar and produce her before him, the author of *Chach-nāma* continues:

"As for the rest of the people, a tribute was fixed on them under the rules laid down by the holy Prophet of God (may the blessings of God be on him and his descendants). He who received the honour of Islam and became a convert was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (*jizia*). These latter were divided by him into three classes. The first and highest class had to pay 48 *dirams* of silver in weight per head. The second, or the middle class, had to pay 24 *dirams* in weight, and the third, or the lowest class, had to pay 12 *dirams* in weight only. He then dismissed them with the following words: "I let you go this day. Those among you who become Mussalmans and come within the fold of Islam shall have their tribute remitted, but those who are still inclined to be of their own faith, must put up with injuries (*gazand*) and tribute (*jizia*) to retain the religion of

1 *Chach-nāma*, I. 154, 163 2 *Ibid*, 84-5, also p 157 3. *Balādhuri*, II 233
4. Some Christian rulers in Europe are said to have been guilty of equal or even greater cruelties towards the people of other faiths

their fathers and grandfathers." Thereupon some resolved to live in their native land, but others took to flight in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors, and their horses, domestics and other property were taken away from them."[1]

An intriguing question arose in respect of the right of the Hindus to maintain and construct their temples and carry on worship as before. Muhammad had begun the practice of building mosques in place of temples[2] But after the conquest of the whole of Sindh was over, this question was placed before him by the priests of temples. They represented that 'the temples were lying desolate and in ruins', and asked for 'permission to visit the temples and to worship what they worshipped before.' Muhammad referred the matter to Hajjāj, whose decision in this matter showed a more tolerant spirit than that displayed in his previous letters. "Because after they have become *zimmis* (protected subjects) we have no right whatever to interfere with their lives or their property. Do, therefore, permit them to build the temples of those they worship. No one is prohibited from or punished for following his own religion. and let no one prevent them from doing so, so that they may live happy in their own homes."[3]

In pursuance of the general policy Muhammad wrote letters to the rulers calling upon them all to surrender and accept the faith of Islam,[4] and appointed to high offices those who adopted the new religion.[5] This policy was continued even after the death of Muhammad. Calip 'Umar II (A.D. 717-720) wrote to the kings of Sindh, inviting them to become Muslims and agreeing to let them continue on their thrones and have the same rights and privileges as the Muslims Many kings including even Jaisimha, the son of Dāhar, accepted Islam and adopted Arab names.[6] That the new faith was adopted more for material good than from their conviction, is shown by the fact that within a few years of his conversion Jaisimha quarrelled with the governor of Sindh, apostatised, and declared war against him[7]

The same reason that induced the ruling and official classes to accept Islam, must have operated on a larger scale in the case of the masses of people But the new faith which they were forced or induced to accept sat very lightly on them. Towards the close of the Umayyad dynasty, when the Muslim authority was considerably weakened and Indian rulers vigorously opposed the Muslim intrusion, "the people of al-Hind (*i e.* India) apostatised with the

1 *Chach-nāma* I 164-5.
2 *Ibid*, I. 105
3 *Ibid*, I 168-9
4 *Ibid*, I 157.
5 *Ibid*, I 85, 158
6 *HIED*. I 440
7 *Ibid* I 441

exception of the inhabitants of Kassah."[1] Thus by A.D. 750 Islam lost its footing in Sindh.

The history of the Muslims in Sindh in the first half of the eighth century A.D. is of more than passing interest. In the first place, it shows the very slow progress of Islam in India as compared to its career in other countries. Secondly, it demonstrates the truth of the general rule, noted above, that the missionary success of Islam was almost entirely dependent upon its military success. Thirdly, it shows how the early conversions of Indians on a large scale proceeded less from choice than from practical necessity, and consequently proves how little the creed of Islam really touched the mind and heart of the people. If there was an almost wholesale apostasy on the part of the people of Sindh as soon as the Muslim authority was weakened, it is difficult to believe that Islam really made any impression upon the local people in this or any other part of India.

The attitude of the Muslim conqueror of Sindh towards its people serves as a general pattern of Muslim policy towards the subject Hindus in subsequent ages. Something no doubt depended upon individual rulers; some of them adopted a more liberal, others a more cruel and intolerant attitude. But on the whole the framework remained intact, for it was based on the fundamental principles of Islamic theocracy. It recognised only one faith, one people, and one supreme authority, acting as the head of a religious trust. The Hindus, being infidels or non-believers, could not claim the full right of citizens. At the very best, they could be tolerated as *zimmis*, an insulting title which connoted politcal inferiorty and a low status of helplessness, like a minor under a guardian.

The Islamic State regarded all non-Muslims as its enemies, to curb whose growth in power and number was conceived to be its main interest. The ideal preached by even high officials was to exterminate them totally,[2] but in actual practice they seem to have followed an alternative laid down in the *Qurān*[3] which calls upon the Muslims to fight the unbelievers till they pay *jizia* with due humility.[4] This was the tax which the Hindus had to pay for permission to live in their ancestral homes under a Muslim ruler.

1 *Balādhuri*, II. 228.

2. This ideal was preached by Hajjāj to Muhammad in his letter quoted above. The relevant passage in the *Qurān* (IX 5) runs thus "And when the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them." (Transl by J M Rodwell. Everyman's Library Edition, p 471).

3 IX. 29.

4. "Make war upon such of those . as believe not in God ... until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled" (*Ibid*, p 473). There are slight differences in the interpretation of the last part, but the general meaning is quite clear (*Ibid*, fn 6 and 7). This passage in the *Qurān*, and the statement of Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim, quoted above, do not support the view that the

It will be seen from what has been stated above that Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim followed the main principles of Islamic theocracy in his dealings with the Hindus. The one redeeming feature of his policy was the right given to the Hindus to worship freely at their temples. This is all the more noteworthy as very scant regard was paid to it by many Muslim rulers of India in later ages.

2. *Christian Settlements*

It has already been noted above,[1] that Christian missionaries visited India and small Christian communities were established there, probably as early as the second century A D. It has also been suggested on the authority of the *Romance History of Alexander* that the Christian church was firmly established in South India during the next two centuries.[2] But our knowledge of all these rests upon very vague and casual evidence, whose authenticity is often very doubtful. In any case, we have no knowledge of the location of these communities and their nature and activities.

The first definite information about the Christian communities in India and Ceylon is furnished by Cosmas Indicopleustes, to whom reference has been made above,[3] in the two following passages:—

1. "Even in Tabrobane (*i e* Ceylon), an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, there is also a Church, and at another place called Calliana, there is moreover a bishop, who is appointed from Persia."[4]

2 "The island (Ceylon) has also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. But the natives and their kings are heathens "[5]

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jizia was a kind of tax for exemption from military service (cf Syed Ameer Ali—*History of the Saracens* (1951), p 3.) On this point cf Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's article in the Special Puja issue of the *Hindusthan Standard* (1950).

1 Vol II, p 628

2 This statement is based on a little pamphlet of the fifth century A D on the Nations of India included in the *Romance History of Alexander* of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes The writer mentions having visited Southern India There he was the guest of Moses, Bishop of Adule (Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p 147) According to McCrindle the pamphlet belongs to "the *Lausiac Historics* of Palladius who wrote about 420 A D" (*Ancient India*, p 178) If we accept this date we can hardly accept Rawlinson's view that the Bishop was a Nestorian Prelate

3 See p 86

4 *The Christian Topography* of Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, translated by J W McCrindle (1897), pp 118-19 The words within brackets are not in the original but are added by way of explanation.

5. *Ibid*, p 365.

It is quite clear from the above statements that "the constituency as well as the constitution of the Church both in Ceylon and on the west coast of Southern India was Persian", and it appears that "neither had yet begun to associate the natives of the country in Church fellowship."[1] In fact, the Church of Ceylon would seem never to have done so, and probably for that reason, its existence was short-lived. The Church of Malabar, on the other hand, largely cultivated the fellowship of the local people, and this probably accounts for its permanence, though other causes also might have been at work.[2]

Cosmas' statement reflects the position of Christianity in India during the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. when his book was written. The Christian community was evidently of very little importance in Indian society, and there is no reason to suppose that it enjoyed greater power and prestige at any time before him. Reference may be made in this connection to some facts from which conclusions to the contrary have been drawn by many scholars.

The Council of Nicaea, held in A D. 325 was attended by three hundred Bishops representing all the dioceses of the Christian world One of them, who is not otherwise known, affixed his signature as 'John the Bishop of Persia and Great India'. The adjective 'great' more likely applies to the country rather than to the Church in it, and we need not draw any conclusion from it beyond the probable existence of Christain communities on the western borderlands of India.[3] The stories of the visit of Theophilus and Frumentius to India in the fourth century A D are hardly credible, and they had probably nothing to do with India.[4]

It is evident that the Christians of the western coast of India in the sixth century A D. were Nestorians, under the Church of Persia. The existence of this Nestorian community at Mylapore, on the Coromandel coast, has been inferred from the cross which was discovered on St Thomas's Mount in 1547 It has a Pehlevi Inscription which has been assigned to the seventh or eighth century A D. The purport of the inscription is not quite clear, but its general import has been regarded by some as characteristic of Indian Nes-

1 G M Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, p 117

2. *Ibid*

3 This point has been fully discussed by Mr Rae (Ibid, pp 79 ff.)

4 *Ibid* Ch VII The Malabar tradition, particularly the chronograms like "*rauravam devarājyam*", "*Bhūvibhāga*", or "*Cheramān desam prāpa*", representing respectively the dates A D 317, 344 and 343 for some important events connected with Christianity in South India, do not deserve serious consideration in a sober history The same thing may be said of Travancore traditions about the immigration of Christians at Quilon in A.D 293 For some of these traditions and chronograms, cf. *IC*, XII 19.

torianism.[1] Whatever we may think of this, the discovery of this cross and of similar ones at Kottayam in north Travancore shows that before the close of the eighth century A.D. Christian settlements were spread along the eastern as well as the western coast of South Indian Peninsula.

The influx of fresh Christian colonies in Malabar from Baghdād, Nineveh and Jerusalem, is hinted at in a story widely current in this region. These immigrants are said to have arrived in the company of merchant Thomas in A.D. 745 This Thomas of Cana (Kanaye Thomas) seems to have made a deep impression upon the local people, so much so that some have even suggested that the legend of St. Thomas was due to a confusion with this Thomas. But the historical value of the story is uncertain, and it would be unreasonable to base any important conclusions on it[2]

The importance of the Christian community in Malabar in the eighth century A.D has been sought to be proved by the Kottayam plate of Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartin, which is now in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Kottayam, in Travancore According to previous writers "it is dated in A.D 774 and records a grant made by king Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartin to Iravi Corttan of Cranganore, making over to him, as representative head of the Christian community there, the little principality of Manigramam."[3] But Mr Venkayya,[4] who edited the Plate, refers it to the fourteenth century A.D., and adds that "there is nothing Christian in the document, except its possession by the present owners" He further points out that Manigramam was a trading corporation and not the name of a principality This plate therefore does not prove anything about the Christian community of Malabar. No more importance, from this point of view, attaches to the other Kottayam Plate of Sthanu Ravi, which Burnell placed somewhat later

H. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The development of philosophy has been traced already and also partly dealt with in connection with Buddhism, Jainism,

1 Rae (*op cit* 121) bases this inference on Burnell's translation (*IA*, III 308-16) which runs as follows "In punishment by the Cross (was) the suffering of this One He who is the true Christ, and God above, and Guide ever pure ' Mr T K Joseph of Travancore, however informs me that Dr W B Henning, Professor of Cambridge, offered the following translation in a letter dated September 6 1948
"My Lord Christ have mercy upon Afras, son of Chaharbukht son of Giwargis who arranged this (or who set it up)" According to this translation, the inference of Rae would appear to be baseless
2 For this and similar other stories, cf M Rae, *op cit* (pp 162 ff)
3 *Ibid*, p 155
4 *EI*, IV 290 The date A D 774 was originally suggested by Burnell (*IA*, I, 229) Cf also *IA*, XX 289 XXII 139

Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. Important writers on Philosophy have also been referred to in Chapter XV. Here we propose to deal with the six orthodox systems of philosophy forming three distinct pairs, the beginnings of which have been discussed above.[1]

I-II. *Nyāya-Vaiśeshika*

Whether these two systems began together in a mass of inchoate thinking, or started independently of each other, has been a matter of dispute among scholars. It is just possible that the *Vaiśeshika* came into existence much earlier than the *Nyāya*. Prof. S. N. Das Gupta is inclined to think that it was originally a philosophy of the *Mīmāṁsā* type meant to buttress the validity of the Vedas with a metaphysical bulwark. Whether the two systems were different in origin or not, their similarities are so prominent that tradition has always regarded them as a conjoint pair.

As distinguished from the heterodox systems, they had a common theory about the sources of knowledge (the Vedas being one such source), and believed in soul, God, and the reality of the outside world

The world was a conglomeration of finite things possessing different qualities. The things could be divided into smaller and smaller parts, ending in atoms or indivisible constituents of things. The atoms are of different kinds according to the element of which they are constituents. The elements are earth, water, fire and air. The world spreads out in space and in series of events which occupy time. Space and time are divisible in thought but not into atoms.

The things of the world are by themselves individual; each is distinguishable from another by a quality specially its own, which is called *viśesha*. But they also form classes and have qualities common to them all called *sāmānya*. The distinction between one class and another, like that between one individual and another, is also a *viśesha*, or a specific quality.

In the world of things, changes also take place, one event following another. This means there is causation. And causation implies that something new is brought into existence. The things, their qualities, and their relations in time and space are all real, and these make up the world.

In this world which is knowable, there is a self that knows. They talk of suffering and salvation. But how can there be suffering if there be no sufferer, and how can there be salvation if there be no soul to be saved? There is a soul that knows and suffers and hopes to be saved from the ills of life.

1. Vol. II, pp. 475 ff.

According to this philosophy, not only is there a world that can be known and a soul that knows and experiences it, but there is also a God who made it out of the eternally existing atoms. The existence of God has to be inferred as the cause of the Universe. This God not only created the universe, but He also created the Vedas which are thus an infallible source of knowledge. It was God who gave to words the power to mean what they mean.

The *Nyāya* philosophy laid special stress on its theory of knowledge, so much so that in later times, in Bihār and Bengal, this became the chief, if not the exclusive, pre-occupation of the thinkers of the school. As result of this emphasis on the sources of knowledge, this school discovered the syllogism as the method of inference. In Europe, the first fore-shadowings of the syllogism appear in the discourses of Socrates, and it took final shape in the philosophy of Aristotle. It must be said to the credit of the Indian thinkers that they discovered the syllogism perhaps earlier than the Greeks and, therefore, independently of them. The Indian syllogism consists of five propositions whereas the Greek contains three. The classical example of the Indian syllogism is:

> "There is fire in yonder mountain; for, there is smoke in it; wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen; there is smoke in the mountain; therefore, there must be fire in it."

This syllogism was not an unaided discovery of the orthodox thinkers. The Jain and Buddhist thinkers also wrote much on logic and contributed to its development.

The syllogism is the basis of inference. Besides inference, there were three other sources of knowledge according to this school. These were perception (*pratyaksha*), analogy or comparison (*upamāna*), and authority (*śabda*), especially of the Vedas. The discussion of these sources of knowledge gave rise to a profuse literature.

III-IV. *Sāṅkhya-Yoga*

This pair of systems supplement each other. The *Sāṅkhya* supplies the metaphysics whereas the *Yoga* delineates the psychological discipline by which the results contemplated by the philosophy may be actually achieved. The Sāṅkhya starts with the premise that life is subject to three kinds of evil and suffering. The first kind of evil is due to man's own physical and mental disorders, diseases and agonies The second kind of evil to which man is subject arises from the action of other animals; from a mosquito-bite to an attack by a tiger, from a theft in the house to slander in the streets, there are so many ways in which animals and other men can cause pain and suffering to us. There is a third kind of evil also,

produced by the elements, fire, wind, and water. A fire may burn down your house and property, a storm may blow away your belongings, and a flood may wash away your cattle. This also is a source of suffering. Life, therefore, has so many ills to reckon with. All this may, however, be escaped by true knowledge.

What is the truth that one should try to know? The constitution of the world and man's place in it. The world is evolved out of a primitive principle, an eternal feminine, the *prakṛiti.* It consists of three *guṇas: sattva, rajas,* and *tamas:* three strings woven into one, or three qualities mixed into one, or three strata pressed together; put it any way you like, but these are the three constituents of *prakṛiti.* Usually, however, they are understood to be three qualities, which being the qualities of the matrix of the universe, permeate all things—men and animals as well as inanimate objects, and even men's actions. Besides *prakṛiti,* there are an infinite number of individual souls or *purushas* who do not act but are, under certain circumstances, able to feel and be misled. When *prakṛiti* comes into contact with a *purusha*—how and why is a mystery—the world begins to be unfolded through a series of stages: Intelligence, self-consciousness, mind or the power of attention, the five senses with the sense-organs, the five organs of action, *viz.* the organ of speech, hands, feet and the organs of evacuation, the five subtle elements of earth, water, fire, air and space, and the grosser elements called by the same names. This, together with *prakriti* as the first and *purusha* as the last, gives us a list of 25 *tattvas* (or truths).

The *purusha* is always inactive. *Prakṛiti* becomes active when it is in contact with a *purusha; prakṛiti* has been likened to a feminine being whose nature is to woo and win the heart of the inactive masculine by blandishments. *Prakṛiti* has even been compared to a dancing girl, who displays her art just to please her master and stops this display as soon as she feels that she is no longer wanted. Why the *purusha* and *prakṛiti* come together is an unexplained mystery. And the tragedy is that while *prakṛiti* is active, she is unconscious, and *purusha,* who is conscious, is inactive. This is the great truth by meditating on which the evils of life can be escaped.

For *Yoga,* also, it is the same truth on which man should meditate. But the *Yoga* bestows more care in describing the mental effort necessary for this meditation and the physical discipline by which the body may be made fit for such meditation. In later times, *Yoga* often meant physical discipline more than anything else: the position in which one should sit, the way his hands and feet should be kept, and the various kinds of such postures, the control of breath-

ing, etc. By practising these attitudes and the different kinds of meditation, many extraordinary and even superhuman powers could be acquired. The *Yoga* discusses these powers, too. But after all, all this is a means to an end; and the end always is the escape from the ills of life.

Is there a God whose benediction may be invoked? *Sāṅkhya* says 'no'; for there is no evidence that there is God. The *Yoga* only speaks of Him indirectly as an object of meditation by pondering on whom the mind may be steadied in contemplation. The God of religion is absent from both. The *Yoga*, however, speaks of Him as an existent being and as one who is immensely superior to man, because he is not touched by the evil that encircles man. And this is a point of difference between *Yoga* and *Sāṅkhya*.

V-VI. *The Two Mīmāṁsās*

While we make a pair of *Nyāya-Vaiśeshika* and of *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* because of their doctrinal similarities, the two *Mīmāṁsās*—the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* and the *Vedānta*—constituted not only a pair of similars but practically one unitary system, not so much because of their doctrinal similarities but rather because their fundamental basis was the same. Both of them were attempts at interpretation of the Vedas—the entire Vedic literature including *Mantras*, *Brāhmaṇas* and Upanishads. As an attempt at interpretation of the Vedas, the two *Mīmāṁsās* appear originally to have constituted one system.[1] Their philosophical affinities, however, were not so close as in the other two cases, and later on, they easily bifurcated into distinct lines of thought. About the seventh and eighth century A.D. the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* was divided into two schools, one led by Prabhākara and the other by Kumārila. And the *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* or the Vedānta also split up into a number of more or less important schools. But to begin with, the two *Mīmāṁsās* constituted one line of thought, or one philosophical system.

The main plank on which they both rested was that the Vedas were unassailable as a source of knowledge and, therefore, as the foundation of all true philosophy. Two important dicta came out of this proposition: first, that the relation between words and their meanings was eternal, permanent, and unalterable. The Vedas were a body of words which did not owe their origin to any author, human or divine; they were, therefore, eternal. And the meanings they expressed were equally eternal and unchanging. The second dictum was that knowledge carried its own proof. If you know a thing, you know it, and there is no reason why you should require any other proof in support of it. Objects are revealed to us in knowledge,

1 Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṅsā*, Benares, 1942, pp 4-10; IHQ, 1928, p. 612.

but we have no reason to think that they *produce* the knowledge. If there is an error, it may be due to a defect, temporary or permanent, in our cognitive faculty. But the possibility of such error is no challenge to the validity and self-sufficiency of knowledge as such. The words of the Vedas give us knowledge and there is no reason whatever to doubt its validity.

Are there not differences of meaning in the Vedic texts? Apparently there may be some; but it should be the endeavour of all honest and faithful interpreters to reconcile and synthesise them. The *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* does this with regard to the *Brāhmaṇa* portion of the Vedas or the rules of religious rites, and the *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* or Vedānta does the same with regard to the Upanishadic portion. The Vedas, according to their conclusion, speak with one voice and in one language and speak the same truth.

As a result of this interpretation, the philosophical doctrines that emerge are:

(i) There is a Soul. Whether the soul is permanent and ultimately real or not, is another question. But there must be an agent to perform the sacrifices and one to whom the injunctions about these rites can be addressed. Even the instruction of the *moksha-śāstra* or the Upanishads must be addressed to some one. So, there is a soul, an individual being. There must be a soul to be saved. This soul is uncreated and, when liberated, lives a life of blessedness. Whether it can always, even after liberation, maintain its distinctive individuality has been a matter of dispute among later thinkers. The soul can and does act, and enjoys the fruits of its actions. And, apparently according to some, and in reality according to the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*, there is a plurality of such souls.

(ii) A world also is there, a world of things and qualities that we experience. The fact that we experience a world, no body can deny. But whether this world is as we know it, or whether our knowledge of it is after all an illusion, is a question which the *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* or Vedānta hotly debated at a later time.

(iii) God, however, is not necessary, and therefore there is none. The world changes but was not created. Even the relation between a word and its meaning is uncreated. And *Karma* necessarily brings its own fruits in its trail and does not require a dispenser of justice—of reward and punishment. According to Vedānta, however there is an ultimate substance from which everything else emanates, and that is Brahma.

(iv) *Karma*—The Vedas enjoin the performance of certain actions. There are different kinds of actions. There are actions

which must be done in all circumstances. They are imperative duties. There are others which should be performed only if something is desired and as means to the attainment of that something. For instance, if a man desires a son, there is a ceremony which he should perform. But in the absence of such a desire, the ceremony is not binding on him. There are certain actions, again, which must not be performed or the performance of which is a sin. There is a fourth class of action which has to be performed as an expiation of the sin of having done a prohibited action.

The *Mīmāṁsā* held that the duties, belonging to the *varṇa* (caste) and *āśrama* (the stage of life) to which an individual belonged, were imperative and must continue to be performed till death. But must they be performed even when a man had renounced the world and had attained true knowledge and was on the path to liberation? This question gradually came to the forefront and eventually brought about a divergence between the *Pūrva Mīmaṁsā* and some of the schools of the *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* or Vedānta.

The most important contribution of the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* was the rules of interpretation that it developed. By a careful scrutiny of the tenses and moods of verbs, and similar other grammatical niceties, it developed an elaborate code of rules for understanding a text. The general principles so developed continued to be the basis of interpretation of legal and religious texts for a long time. And even now in interpreting the dicta of Hindu Law and religion, they are found generally helpful.

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Same as those mentioned under Ch X. Section 12.

CHAPTER XIX

ART

A. ARCHITECTURE

The period A.D. 320 to 750 marks a parting of the ways in the history of Indian architecture. In one respect, it is an age of culmination and ultimate exhaustion of the earlier tendencies and movements in architectural types and forms. In another, it marks the ushering in of a new age, which is particularly connected with the growth and development of the temple. It is a creative and formative age with immense possibilities for the future, an age associated with the foundation of the typical styles of Indian temple architecture.

I. CAVE ARCHITECTURE

Rock-cut excavations represent an aspect in Indian architecture that had been characteristic of the earlier period. A marked persistence of this earlier aspect is no doubt due to a long familiarity with the method, an additional incentive being the fact that no great constructional problem is involved in it. Most of these excavations belong to the Buddhist faith, though Brahmanical and Jain establishments of this type are not rare.

The rock-cut architecture of the Buddhists, as in the earlier period, consists of two conventional types—the *chaitya* hall, *i. e.* the shrine proper, and the *saṅghārāma* or the *vihāra*, *i.e.* the monastery. The most notable groups are found at Ajaṇṭā, Ellora and Aurangābād, all within the former Hyderābād State, and Bāgh in the Madhya Bhārat. Of these, Ajaṇṭā has had a long history dating back to a period before the Christian era. Of the twenty-eight caves at Ajaṇṭā five belong to the earlier period while the remaining twenty-three appear to have been excavated during the period under discussion. Two of the latter group, namely caves XIX and XXVI, are *chaitya* caves, and the rest are *vihāras*.

1. *Chaitya Hall*

Cave No. XIX appears to have been the earlier of the two *chaitya* halls. Though separated by a wide gap of time from the older group of *chaitya* caves, Nos. IX and X, it retains the plan of its earlier prototypes, but with extensive changes in the ornamentation of the façade and in the designs of the pillars in the interior.

This cave shrine belongs to a group of monastic establishments, of which caves Nos. XVI and XVII were the pious gifts respectively of a minister and a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa.[1] The group may thus be referred to the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Cave No. XIX (Pl. I, 1) is one of the smallest in size and consists of a rectangular hall, apsidal at the back end, divided into a central nave and two side-aisles by richly carved pillars going along the entire length of the hall and round the votive *chaitya* situated near the apsidal end. These pillars with brackets at the top support a broad and elaborate triforium, which continues right round the nave. Over this rises the vaulted roof, the wooden ribs of the earlier caves being repeated in stone. The votive *stūpa*, a tall monolith, has an elevated platform, square in plan but with a projection in the middle of each side, as its base. Over it, and separated from it by mouldings, rises the drum of the *stūpa* with the standing figure of the Buddha in high relief within an arched niche in front. An elaborate moulding at the top of the cylindrical drum separates it from the hemispherical dome, the niche with the figure of the Buddha extending up to the middle height of the latter. The square *harmikā*, with a projection in the middle of each face, ends in an inverted pyramid formed of a series of steps, and over it is placed the round shaft of the *chhatrāvalī*, consisting of three concentric discs placed one above the other in receding stages, with a pot as its crowning final.

Cave No. XIX at Ajaṇṭā appears to have been originally provided with an entrance court in front with subsidiary chapels at the sides. The hall has only one doorway with a shallow entrance portico, its flat roof being supported on pillars of elegant design.

Chaitya cave No. XXVI (Pl. I, 2) at Ajaṇṭā, belonging to a slightly later date, follows No. XIX in its general plan, arrangement, and architectural treatment. But the ornamentation is richer and more minute in detail, though rather coarser and lacking the proportion and rhythmic balance of that of the earlier cave. The votive *stūpa*, overloaded with a wealth of carving, shows in front a figure of the Buddha in high relief, seated in *pralambapāda* fashion within an elaborately patterned niche. In front there appears to have been a broad portico extending along the entire width of the hall, which is entered through three doorways, instead of one as in cave No XIX

A comparison of Ajaṇṭā caves Nos. XIX and XXVI with similar earlier caves at Ajaṇṭā and elsewhere will at once show that though

1. See above, p. 186.

not far removed from the earlier prototypes in plan and general arrangement, there is a gulf of difference in the style of ornamentation that indicates great and significant changes in the outlook of the worshippers for whom the caves were meant. Not only are the carvings and decorative motifs far richer in design as well as in execution, but they also belong to a totally different school of thought. A significant change is that though in some respects the wooden origins of such halls still linger, the emphasis on wooden forms and technique has disappeared. The solid rock out of which the caves were excavated presented immense scope for the appearance of mass, weight, and volume, and this was fully utilised by the workmen, the wealth of carving being intended not only for decoration but also for lightening the whole structure.

The most significant innovation, noticed in these caves, is the wealth of figure sculptures which are made to cover every possible space, both in the exterior façade as well as in the interior, in place of the plainer architectural patterns of the earlier caves. The façade, no doubt, is a further development of the earlier types. In place of the rail pattern extending along the entire length of the façade there is a double roll cornice with small *chaitya* windows in relief all along its surface. These *chaitya* windows are much reduced in size and serve as mere frames for heads peeping out. Above the upper cornice the enormous horse-shoe *chaitya* window stands out in bold relief against a many-storeyed screen. Apart from this usual and conventional feature, very little of this façade is connected with those of the earlier caves. Above and below, right and left, in the walls of the excavated court (Pl. I, 1), in the elaborate frieze of the triforium over the aisle pillars (Pl. III, 5), and lastly, but most significantly, on the votive *chaitya* itself (Pl. I, 2) appear figures of the Buddha, the 'Worshipful One,' standing or seated, carved in bold relief. In fact, there is an excess of figure sculpture in these caves in marked contrast to its absence in the earlier shrines of this order. "From a pure atheism," as Fergusson correctly observes with reference to these caves, "we have passed to an overwhelming idolatry."[1]

Cave No. X at Ellora (Pl. II, 3, 4), known as the Viśvakarmā cave, represents one of the latest examples of a *chaitya* hall of the excavated type. It closely resembles the two shrines at Ajaṇṭā, just described, although the dimensions are considerably larger. The internal arrangement is practically the same, but the decorative carvings are not as rich as in the other two. In certain respects, however, this *chaitya* cave marks a significant stage in the history

1 *HIEA*, I, p. 151.

of this kind of shrines. The apsidal end of the hall is entirely blocked up by the votive *chaitya* which, though not far removed in shape and form from those in the other two, has been almost completely relegated to a background for a colossal image of the Buddha, seated in *pralambapāda āsana* between two standing attendants, that serves as the frontispiece and the principal object of veneration.

It is in the exterior façade of the shrine (Pl. II, 3) that a marked change is clearly discernible. Much of the courtyard in front is now gone. The façade itself is divided into two sections, the lower consisting of the portico with its range of pillars, and the upper exhibiting a composition which is quite unusual in this context. The enormous horse-shoe opening, which gave such a distinctive character to the frontage of such shrines, is missed here for the first time. The design is not eliminated altogether, but being reduced in size, as we find it in the small, almost circular, opening, it loses its distinctive meaning, and also apparently its traditional significance This transformation is probably a foretaste of what is destined to come soon. With the introduction and increasing popularity of the image the *chaitya* could not expect to command as much veneration as it used to enjoy in earlier times. The addition of the images of the Buddha on the *chaitya* altars at Ajaṇṭā and Ellora is a clear indication that the *chaitya*, by itself, was no longer held to be sacred enough to claim the worship of the Buddhist votaries, who have undergone significant changes in their outlook. The figure of the 'Worshipful One' was required to sanctify it. In the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellora the *chaitya*, as a mere background of the image proper (Pl. II, 4), had even lost whatever was left of its earlier votive character. Though the process was a long one, the image has stepped in and occupied its rightful place in Buddhist worship. The *chaitya* hall has thus outgrown its utility and it is not surprising that this order of shrines very soon disappears from Indian architecture altogether.

2. *Saṅghārāma*

The *saṅghārāma* or the *vihāra* was naturally planned in the form of rows of cells round a central court, which in excavated examples took the shape of a central hall approached from one side and with cells leading out of it on the other three. Among the numerous *vihāra* caves at Ajaṇṭā, roughly twenty belong to the period under discussion Cave No XI appears to have been the oldest of the series and indicates a stage much in advance of caves Nos. XII and XIII belonging to the earlier group. The central hall in the earlier group of caves had been astylar. In cave No. XI, though the hall is smaller in area than that of cave No. XII, four pillars have been

introduced in the centre of the hall (Fig. 1), evidently as supports for the roof. There are a few cells of irregular shape around the hall which is preceded by a verandah with a row of pillars in front forming the façade. The central one of the three cells at the far end of the hall seems to have been cut through to make room for a sanctuary consisting of the seated figure of the Buddha. This sanctuary is in all probability later than the date of the original excavation of the cave. This date itself is uncertain, but from a comparison of the cave with Śrī Yajña cave at Nāsik it appears that a date about A.D. 400 would not be far off the mark.

Cave No. XI is perhaps the earliest example of the introduction of pillars into excavated *vihāras*, but there appears to be a phase of hesitancy and natural vacillation before the system finds a fully co-ordinated expression, forming at once a pleasing and utilitarian feature and adding to the interior effect of the hall. Cave No. VII shows two groups of four pillars each, placed side by side, while the lower storey of cave No. VI, the only example of a two-storeyed cave at Ajaṇṭā, has four central pillars with another series of pillars all round. Neither of these arrangements was considered satisfactory, the first because of its inappropriateness and lack of cohesion in the square plan of the hall, usually followed in such cases, the second, because of the congested appearance of the hall on account of two groups of pillars, one inside the other. These experiments, however, finally led to the production of a harmonious and unified design of a colonnade on all the four sides of the hall, as we have in the upper storey of cave No. VI and in all subsequent examples. This was a more elegant system of columniation which, apart from lending support to the roof, added to the interior effect of the hall. The ordered design and rich decorative embellishments of the pillars created an effect of magnificence, enhanced further, in some of the caves, by elaborate paintings.

Of the remaining *vihāra* caves at Ajaṇṭā the most important are caves Nos. XVI, XVII, I and II, the former two excavated about A.D. 500 during the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Harishena, and the latter about a century later. These four caves are of further interest because of the elegant paintings which enrich them. No XVI consists of a hall, approximately 65 feet square, with a colonnade of twenty pillars around, a recessed sanctuary with a figure of the Buddha in *pralambapāda āsana* at the back end, and a verandah with its roof supported on five pillars in front. On two sides of the verandah and the hall is recessed a series of fourteen cells, while two more appear on the innermost side of the hall on either side of the sanctuary, thus making a total of sixteen. Cave No. XVII is very

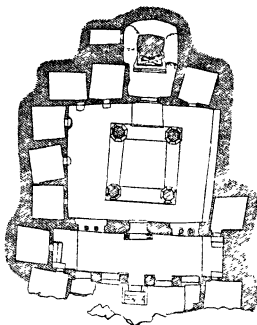



Fig 1 Ajaṇṭā, Cave XI Plan

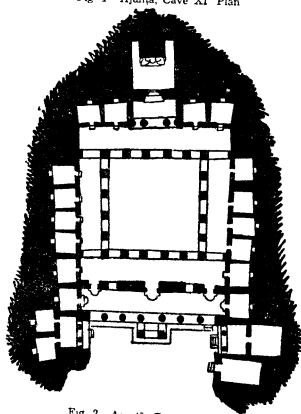



Fig 2 Ajaṇṭā, Cave I. Plan

similar in design. Besides the paintings, these caves are remarkable for great variety and beauty of their pillars. Though indefinitely varied, no two of any type being exactly alike, there is, as Fergusson observes, "a general harmony of design and form, which prevents their variety from being unpleasing."[1] Cave No. XVI is characterised by vertically or spirally fluted pillars with rounded capitals sometimes with horizontal ribs. The pillars in cave XVII are generally square at the bottom and the top and fluted in the middle. The bracket supporting the cross-beams take the shape of squatting dwarfs with face downwards. The design, though strongly reminiscent of wooden construction, is singularly harmonious and satisfactory.

Cave No. I at Ajaṇṭā is approximately of the same size and designed on much the same lines (Fig. 2). The façade (Pl. IV, 7) is one of the most elaborate and beautiful of its class, the richly carved pillars and sculptured friezes of the architrave adding an effect, at once noble and magnificent. The interior (Pl. III, 6) is equally magnificent. Cave No. II is equally decorative, but is a superior conception on account of the regularity and uniformity of its design (Fig. 3). These two caves, which should be dated about A.D. 600 on account of their architectural style, indicate that the rich heritage of Gupta art, already on the decline in Northern India as a result of the disruption of the Gupta empire, was still yielding good harvest in the Deccan.

A few other caves were excavated at Ajaṇṭā after the completion of caves Nos. I and II, but none of them appears to have been completed. Of these caves Nos. IV and XXIV are worth mentioning, because, if finished and decorated as designed, they would have been the finest of the entire series at Ajaṇṭā. The former has a hall about 87 feet square, *i.e.* the largest of all the Ajaṇṭā caves, with its roof supported on twenty-eight pillars. It is nearly finished excepting the monastic cells. The latter (Fig. 4), with a hall approximately 75 feet square planned with twenty pillars, is in a very incomplete state, only the verandah with its façade of pillars being finished. It is unfortunate that all the pillars, with the exception of one (Pl. IV, 8), have perished. But the beauty of design and masterly execution of the capitals attached to the architrave of the roof indicate that the cave was intended to be one of the most magnificently finished *vihāras* in the whole group. What is known as the 'vase and foliage' capital already appears in cave No. XXI in place of the 'cushion' capital, which is generally characteristic of Ajaṇṭā pillars. The 'vase and foliage' capital, so popular in subsequent

1. *HIEA*, I, p. 191.

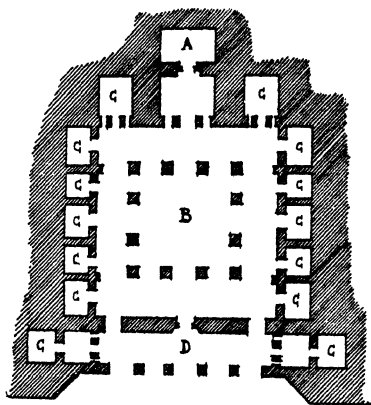



Fig 3. Ajaṇṭā, Cave II. Plan

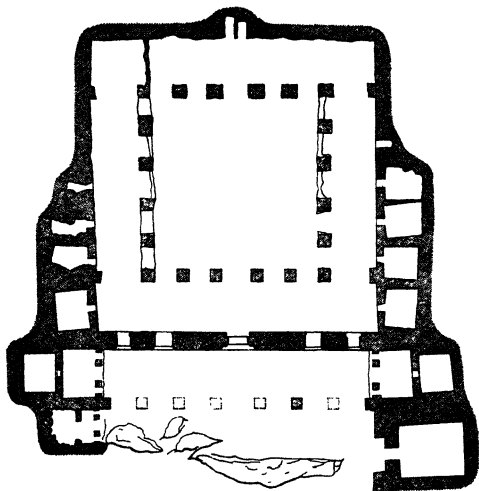



Fig. 4. Ajaṇṭā, Cave XXIV: Plan.

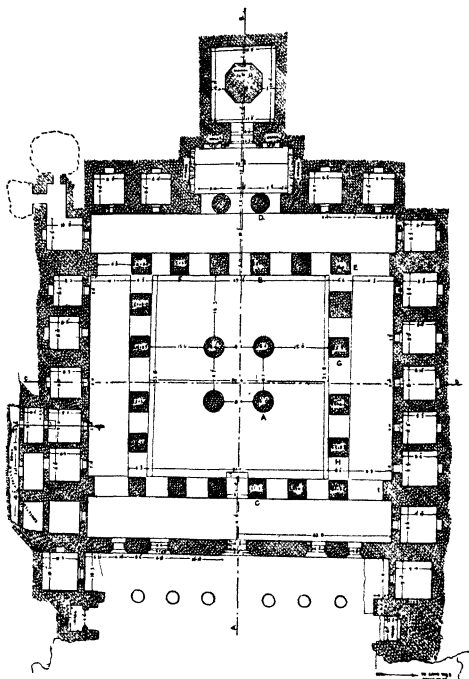



Fig. 5. Bāgh, Cave II: Plan.

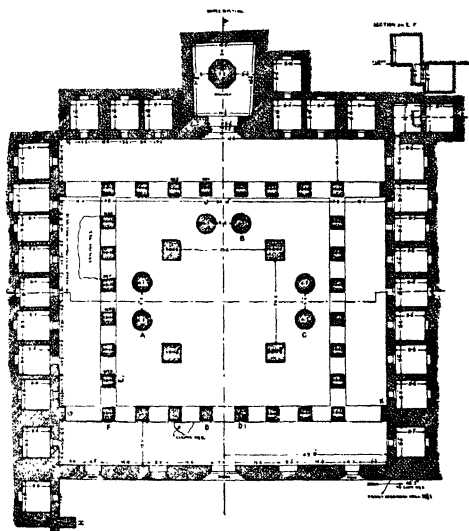



Fig. 6. Bāgh, Cave IV: Plan.

Indian architecture, seems to have attained its perfection in Ajaṇṭā cave No. XXIV, and through this the Ajaṇṭā tradition may be said to have continued in other sites when work stopped at Ajaṇṭā, due probably, as some scholars say, to the defeat of Pulakeśin II at the hands of Narasiṁha-varman Pallava in A.D. 642 and the consequent chaos in the Deccan.

The *vihāra* caves at Bāgh in the Madhya Pradesh, about 150 miles north-west of Ajaṇṭā, are closely related to those at the latter place in general plan and arrangement. They are, however, of a plainer and simpler type, and a fundamental divergence from the later series of Ajaṇṭā caves may be noticed in the fact that the sanctuaries at the innermost end of the hall generally contain a *chaitya* instead of an image of the Buddha. One of the larger *vihāras* again is provided with what is known as a *śālā* or schoolroom, the exact purpose of which it is difficult to ascertain at present. A further interesting feature of these caves may be recognised in an additional complement of pillars inside the usual colonnade of the central hall, introduced no doubt as additional supports for the roof, the rock being not sufficiently homogeneous and perfect.

The Bāgh series consists of nine caves excavated, so far as available evidence indicates, approximately between A.D. 500 and 600. The soft nature of the rock, however, has been responsible for the decay and disintegration of most of the caves Cave No. II (Fig. 5) conforms to the usual type of Ajantā *vihāras*, but with the additional complement of four central pillars. The most important of the group is the great *vihāra* (No IV), locally known as the Rangamahall (Fig. 6). It consists of a central hall, about 96 feet square, with a range of cells on all its sides except the front. Like cave No. IV at Ajaṇṭā it may be described as a twenty-eight pillared cave, but with an extra complement of four central pillars, usual in the Bāgh series. The most interesting feature of the cave is supplied by a highly ornate porch (Pl V, 10), consisting of a deep entablature, supported on two circular columns, that projects inwards form the middle of each side except on the side of the frontal portico. This ornamental feature inside a monastic hall is singular in its appearance in this cave and is not known to occur anywhere else. Contiguous to it is a long rectangular hall (Pl. VI, 11), approximately 96 feet long and 44 feet deep, joined to the previous cave by a long verandah measuring 220 feet in length (Fig. 7). The twenty pillars supporting the roof of the verandah formed no doubt an unusually impressive façade, but much of it is now gone. This rectangular hall has usually been described as the *śālā* attached to the *vihāra*, and both the caves were at one time sumptuously

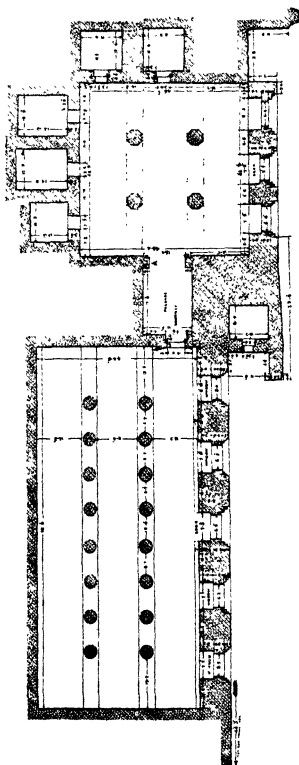



Fig 7 Bāgh, Caves V & VI Plan

embellished with paintings, as elegant as, if not sometimes superior to, those at Ajaṇṭā.

The rock-cut caves near Aurangābād[1] consist of twelve excavations in three groups. Only one of the entire series is a *chaitya* cave, the rest being all *vihāras*. The *chaitya* cave, as appears from the style, belongs to the second or third century A.D., but the *vihāras* can hardly be placed earlier than the sixth century A.D. In all probability they belong to the seventh century and the important ones possibly towards the end of it. The design and decorative embellishments remind one of those of the latest series of Ajaṇṭā caves, but here the motifs, though meticulously copied, have grown mechanical and lifeless (Pl. V, 9), lacking that sense of balance and cohesion which characterise Ajaṇṭā work Of the *vihāra* caves the most important are Nos III and VII. No. III is of the usual plan in which the sanctuary containing a colossal image of the Buddha is recessed at the back end of the hall. Two groups of male and female votaries are shown kneeling before the image. These figures exhibit great individuality and characterisation and are justly regarded as the most striking productions of Aurangābād artists Indeed, the artists of Aurangābād excelled in figure sculptures, which were not only of massive proportions but were also distinguished by boldness of relief and a naturalistic and almost lifelike effect, particularly when unhampered by religious conventions. Cave No VII is rather of unusual design. The shrine here, instead of being relegated to a cell recessed at the back end of the hall as is the usual practice, is placed just at the centre of it with a passage for circumambulation around, with cells radiating from it. As this arrangement is characteristic of excavated temples of the Brahmanical faith, the suggestion is not unreasonable that it was copied from them in Buddhist excavations In this cave, too, there are a number of figure sculptures, including a dancing scene inside the shrine chamber proper, which in naturalness and ease, in graceful modelling and elegant effect, may be regarded as among the most significant products of Buddhist art in India

At Ellora the excavations extend for approximately a mile on the face of a low ridge of hills overlooking a vast plain, and consist of three series of caves—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain. Twelve of these caves situated at the southern end form the Buddhist ser and imply probably two centuries of activity, approximately between A.D 550 and 750 This series may be subdivided into two groups, caves Nos. I to V in the southernmost extremity being possibly the earlier in date. Excepting No V known as the Mahanwada, the

1 *IAL* XI, 1937, pp 1 ff

others of this group differ very little from the monastic caves at Ajaṇṭā. They are all one-storeyed excavations, and consist of a central hall approached through a verandah in front, with a shrine chamber recessed at the far end, and cells for monks on either side. Cave No. II of this group deserves mention for, instead of monastic cells recessed on either side of the hall, we have lateral galleries divided into compartments, each containing a figure of the Buddha as in the sanctuary chamber at the far end of the hall (Pl. VI, 12).

Cave No. V, *i.e.* the Mahanwada, is unique having no exact parallel in the vast range of cave shrines in India. Of considerable dimensions (117 feet x 70 feet across the two fair-sized recesses), it consists of a long rectangular hall divided into a nave and aisles by two rows of pillars, with a sanctuary cella at the far end and cells opening out at the sides (Fig. 8). Along the length of the nave appear two low and narrow platforms, a feature of which there is only one other instance in the so-called Durbar Cave at Kānheri The exact purpose of such an unusual plan is difficult to ascertain. According to some scholars this arrangement might have been designed for the use of the hall as a refectory,[1] while others observe, on the analogy of Lamaistic services in the Gumphās of Sikkim, that the arrangement was ritualistic in character.[2]

The second group, consisting of caves VI to XII, was presumably slightly later in date than the one just described Of these, the Viśvakarmā cave (No. X) represents a *chaitya* hall and has been noted above. The other caves were monastic establishments and usually resemble the later Ajaṇṭā type of monasteries No. VIII, by the side of the Viśvakarmā cave, is important as exhibiting a sanctuary standing free and with a passage around (Fig 9) as in some of the Aurangābād caves

But by far the most important of this group are the two storeyed monasteries, Nos. XI and XII, known respectively as the Don Thal and the Tin Thal. Each of them rises up to three storeys, planned on somewhat similar lines, and has an ample courtyard in front. The designation Don Thal is a misnomer, as the cave is actually a three-storeyed one. But the ground floor long remained hidden under an accumulation of debris; and the two upper storeys, which alone were visible, were apparently responsible for the designation. No. XII or the Tin Thal is the more commodious of the two. A rock-cut gateway leads to an open court at the far end of which rises a façade in three elaborate storeys (Pl. VII, 13), each with a verandah on eight square pillars. Each storey is, however, differently disposed in the interior. On the ground floor the verandah, divided into three

1. *HIEA*. I, p. 203.
2. *Br IA*, p. 69.

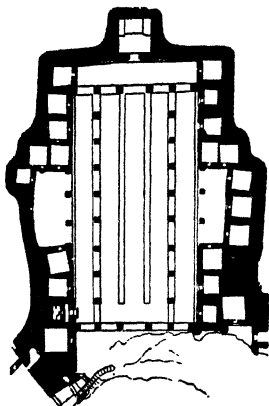



Fig 8. Ellora, Cave V Plan

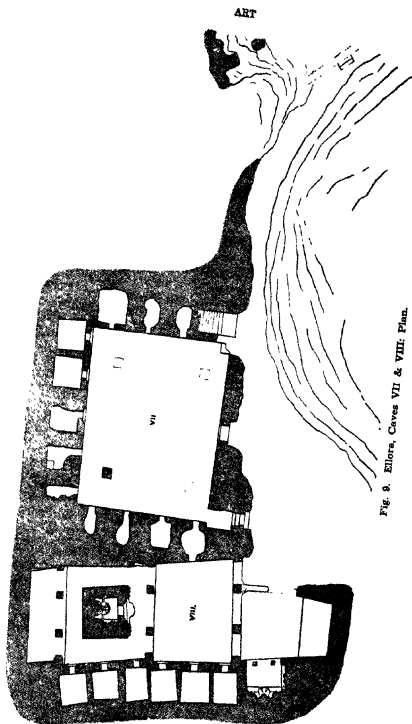



Fig. 9. Ellora, Caves VII & VIII: Plan.

aisles, leads to a pillared hall with a sanctuary cella at the far end and small square cells on either side. A staircase in one of these cells leads up to the first floor, consisting again of a large pillared hall (Fig. 10) with a sanctuary recessed at the back end and a gallery for images on either side forming a kind of iconostasis, as we have in cave No. II of the earlier group. On the topmost storey the hall may be said to have been planned in the shape of a cruciform with a long nave driven axially into the rock and a transept on each side cut at right angles to it. Pillars in regular rows have been used both in the nave and the transepts to support the rock forming the roof. The sanctuary is placed at the far end of the nave, while the monks' cells are arranged along the sides of the cruciform.

By far the most imposing of the two three-storeyed caves, the Tin Thal is among the most interesting of its class in the whole of India. The façade (Pl. VII, 13), rising to a height of nearly 50 feet, though severely plain, lends a majesty to the exterior appearance of the cave. The sober treatment of the façade is amply compensated for by the rich profusion of sculptures in the interior arrangement of each storey, which, though differently treated, indicates throughout a balance and consistency of design. There is moreover a grandeur and propriety in its conception which, as Fergusson observes,[1] "it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture."

3. *Brahmanical Caves*

Brahmanical shrines of the rock-cut mode were also not rare, the earliest being those at Udayagiri, near Bhilsa in the Bhopāl State. The Udayagiri series[2] consists of a number of such shrines, partly rock-cut and partly stone-built. Two of these contain inscriptions belonging to the reign of Chandra-gupta II, one dated in the (Gupta) year 82, corresponding to A.D. 401. These shrines, which represent one movement, may thus be dated about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The earliest of these shrines may be recognised in what is known as the 'false cave' (No. I), which is nothing but the conversion of a natural ledge of rock into a shrine by adding to it a structural portico with pillars in front. The other shrines are elaborations of the 'false cave' and consist of plain rectangular shrine chambers scooped out of the rock, with shallow porticos, built of stone, in front. These shrines, though partly excavated and partly structural, are allied to the traditions and conventions of contemporary structural temples, to be discussed later. Cave No. IX, known locally as the 'Amrita cave', is probably the last of the series, and may be considered

1 *HIEA*, I, p. 204. 2. *ASC.* X, 41 ff.

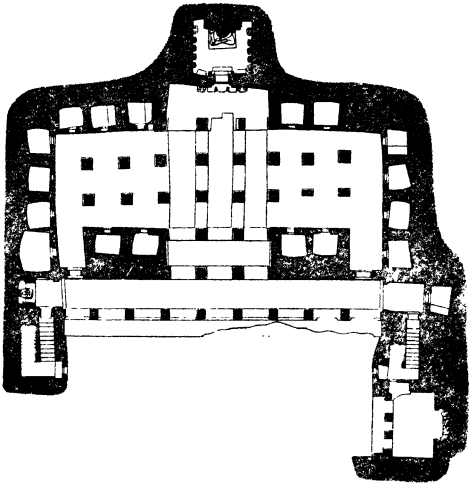



Fig. 10. Ellora, Tin Thal Cave· Plan of second storey.

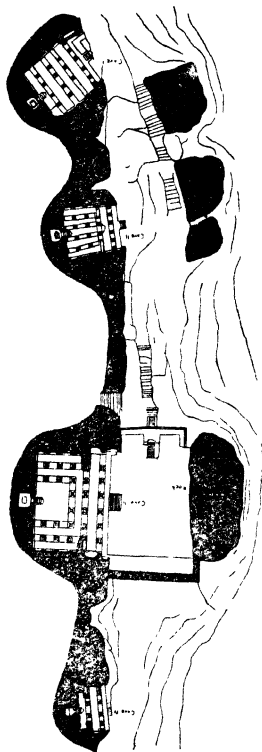



Fig. 11 Bādāmi, Caves Plan

as inaugurating a step forward in the development of the style. The sanctum cella is much more spacious, nearly twice the size of the others, and this increased spaciousness necessitated the use of four pillars, naturally hewn out of the rock, in the centre of the hall, to support the mass of the rock forming the roof of the shrine. It is this feature which carries forward the tradition to further developments in the succeeding centuries.

The next phase of rock-cut Brahmanical shrines may be found at Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District in the south-eastern part of the Bombay State. It was the site of the ancient Vātāpīpura, the royal seat of the Early Chālukya dynasty, and contains a number of shrines, both excavated and structural, that are of singular interest for their architectural details Of the caves,[1] three, closely related in style, belong to the Brahmanical faith. The third is specially important as it contains an inscription dated in Śaka year 500 (A.D. 578) and this supplies a valuable landmark for determining the age of the other caves.

Compared to the earlier shrines at Udayagiri the progress in the shrines at Bādāmi seems to have been considerable Each of the shrines was probably provided with an open fore-court (Fig. 11) which leads in succession to the pillared verandah, the columned hall, and lastly to the small square sanctum cella cut deep into the rock at the far end of the hall The façade is comparatively plain, and but for the pillars of the verandah (Pl VIII, 15) and a long frieze of sculpture at the stylobate, no decorative or architectural effect has been attempted. The interior, however, is very rich on account of the varied designs of the pillars and the profusion of sculptures and carvings which appear on all sides.

The rock-cut caves, so widely prevalent in the Deccan, are hardly met with in the Dravida country, save in the eastern coast, where they were possibly introduced by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I about the first quarter of the seventh century A D.[2] Indeed, this king, who has been described as "one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation," was specially fond of such a kind of shrines, of which a large number of examples have been found.[3] They are usually of the most primitive type indicating

1. *Br IA* pp 62-63 *HIEA*, II, 126-127
2 King Mahendra-varman proudly describes his cave temples as composed without bricks, mortar, metal and timber (*anishtakam asudham alauham adrumam nirmāpitam* — Mandapagattu Inscription) The statement implies that the caves were an innovation in the south, being, in all probability, introduced by Mahendra-varman Pallava.
3 Longhurst, A. H, *Pallava Architecture* (*MASI* Nos 17 and 33) The caves of the early period are enumerated here —Dalvanur (S Arcot District), Trichinopoly 'rock temple,' Mandapagattu (S. Arcot Dt). Pallavaram (Chingleput Dt) Malacheri (S Arcot Dt), Tirukkalukkunram (Chingleput Dt), Kilmavilangai

thereby that the mode and technique of rock-cutting were rather foreign to the craftsmen of the region. Each of these shrines consists of a shallow rectangular pillared hall or *maṇḍapa*, as it is locally called, with one or more cells cut deep in one or more of the interior walls. On each side of the entrance into the sanctum appears the figure of a *dvārapāla* or doorkeeper, carved in high relief, a feature that is also to be found sometimes on either side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* hall. Figures of *dvārapālas* are already seen in one of the caves at Bādāmi, and they constitute an invariable feature of Brahmanical cave temples of later days. The façade is composed of a row of pillars, square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle. A heavy bracket of corbelled shape forms the capital and supports the architrave above. The earliest caves were so plain and simple that no cornice can be seen above the pillars to relieve the rugged appearance of the rock; but gradually there is introduced a convex roll cornice decorated with miniature *chaitya* window niches enclosing human heads, a motif that is locally known as the *kudu*.

Towards the latter part of Mahendra-varman's rule storeyed caves begin to appear, as in Undavalli and Bhairavakoṇḍa; but in spite of this elaboration no appreciable advancement in the design can be recognised. At Bhairavakoṇḍa, however, a significant change is to be noticed in the design of the pillars of the façade The shaft of the pillar becomes slender and takes an octagonal shape with a seated lion in the lower portion. This new design no doubt indicates the beginnings of what is known as the Pallava order which is the precursor of the *yāli* pillars, characteristic of the Dravidian style of architecture in its full-fledged state.

Narasiṁha-varman Mahāmalla, the son and successor of Mahendra-varman I, also continued the cave style along with shaping out free-standing monolithic *rathas* from granulitic boulder-life outcrops at Māmallapuram, the sea-port city founded by him. The *rathas* are no doubt copies of structural shrines, and hence should properly be reserved for treatment in that connection. Of the caves of his period, specimens of which may also be seen at Māmallapuram, the Varāha (Fig. 12), the Trimūrti, the Mahishamardinī, and the Pāṇḍava *maṇḍapas* are the most important. In plan they are similar to those of the Mahendra group, but their façades are usually more ornamental both in the design of the pillars and of the cornice.

(S. Arcot Dt) Bezwāda (Krishnā Dt), Mogalrājapuram (Krishnā Dt.) Undavalli (Guntur Dt.), and Bhairavakoṇḍa (Vellore Dt.). The caves at Bezwāḍa and Mongalrājapuram in the Krishnā District and Undavalli in the Guntur District have been attributed by some scholars to the kings of the Vishnukuṇḍin family. But the style seems rather to indicate that they were excavated by the Pallavas and represent some of the earliest attempts in this direction.

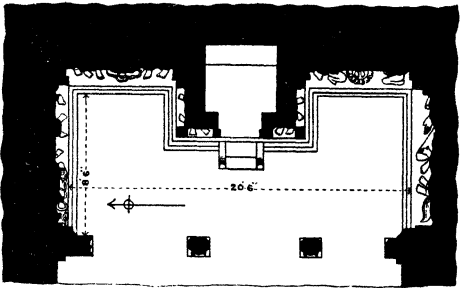



Fig 12 Māmallapuram, Varāha-maṇḍapa Plan

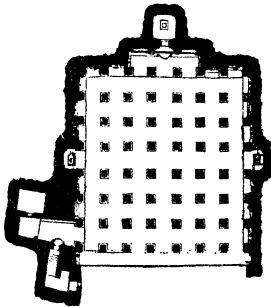



Fig. 13 Ellora, Daśāvatāra Cave: Plan of upper storey.

The Pallava order of pillars is found here in a finished form. Of better proportions they are singularly graceful to look at. The sedent lion supports on its head the shaft, which is usually octagonal and sometimes fluted. The capital is bulbous in shape and is surmounted by a wide abacus (locally known as the *palagai*) with corbelled brackets or double brackets supporting the architrave. It is for these pillars, apart from the finely sculptured panels, that the Māmallapuram *maṇḍapas* are particularly celebrated, and some of the finest specimens may be found in the Varāha and the Mahishamardinī *maṇḍapas*.

The Brahmanical caves at Ellora, which extend along the west face of the rock, date from about A.D 650. There are altogether sixteen excavations belonging to this faith, the Daśāvatāra (No. XV), the Rāvana-ka-khai (No. XIV), the Rāmeśvara (No. XXI), the Dhumar leṇā (No. XXIX) and the far-famed Kailāsa (No. XVI) being the most important The last is an extensive establishment entirely excavated out of the rock in imitation of the celebrated Kailāsanātha or Rājasimheśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. The caves may be divided into three different types The first, best illustrated by the two-storeyed Daśāvatāra cave (Fig. 13), consists of a pillared hall with the sanctum cella scooped out at its far end. It is closely analogous to the design of the Buddhist *vihāra* and appears to be the earliest among the Brahmanical caves at the site. Instead of monastic cells on either side of the hall, we have a kind of iconostasis,[1] the walls being divided into regular lateral galleries containing images in alto-relievo in large sunken panels formed by pilasters Though evidently modelled on the Buddhist *vihāra* it has an unmistakable Brahmanical touch in the detached *maṇḍapa* formed out of a mass of rock left in the centre of the courtyard in front of the cave.

The second type is essentially identical with the above, but the shrine proper forms a distinct component with a processional corridor around it. The sanctum, a cubical cella with a passage around, is shaped out of a rectangular mass of rock left in the centre of the back end of the hall. This arrangement of the sanctuary is also found, though rarely, in Buddhist caves, as in Ellora cave No VIII and some of the Aurangābād caves indicating thereby parallel lines of development in caves of the two religious denominations. This second type is represented best by the Rāvana-ka-khai and the Rāmeśvara caves (Fig. 14) which, though agreeing with each other in the disposition of the sanctuary, exhibit distinct variations in minor details Of these two caves, the latter is certainly the more important, not only because of the separate shrine of Nandi, the

1 For a similar arrangement in Buddhist *vihāras*, compare cave No. II and the first floor of the Tin Thal at Ellora.

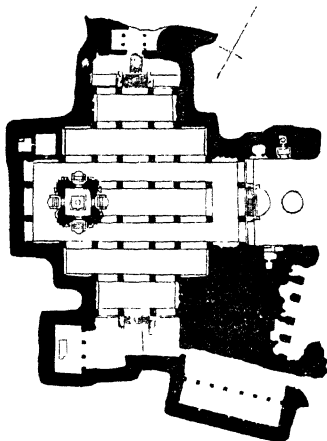



Fig 15 Ellora, Dhumar Lenā Cave: Plan.

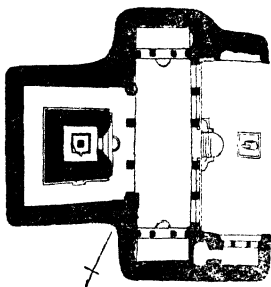



Fig 14. Ellora, Rāmeśvara Cave: Plan

mount of Śiva, situated in the centre of the court in front of the cave, but also on account of the magnificent wealth of sculptures overlaying all its parts, and the rich and elegant design of its massive pillars with their graceful bracket figures (Pl. VIII, 16).

The third type, which appears to date from the second half of the eighth century A.D., may be recognised in the Dhumar leṇā, the last in the series of the Brahmanical caves at Ellora. It consists of a cruciform hall, having more than one entrance and court and with a shrine standing isolated within it (Fig. 15). The cruciform shape of the hall is obtained by a group of halls, more properly transepts, arranged on a transverse system, the beginnings of which can already be noticed in cave No. VI and the topmost storey of the Tin Thal. Usually there are three entrances, the principal one facing the shrine proper, and two others laterally on two sides of the hall. This innovation indeed marks the type as a singularly novel one in cave architecture and adds unparalleled grandeur to these excavations. Of course, such an arrangement depends largely on the nature of the terrain in which the caves were excavated. But the fact that this style of caves is also found elsewhere (at Elephanta and in Salsette) indicates that the design is pre-meditated and the selection of the site consequent thereto. It is possible that the cave temples of this class fall outside the chronological limits of the present volume but we may discuss them here in order to give a complete picture of the architecture of this type.

The Dhumar lenā at Ellora exhibits a hall of a regular cruciform shape with three entrances, each preceded by a court on its three sides. The shrine is placed near the back end of the hall and is a massive square block with steps on four sides leading to the cella. The steps are guarded by gigantic figures on all sides Massive pillars in regular rows support the rock forming the roof of the hall and these, coupled with the pillars of the wide entrances on three sides, lend a pleasant effect to the interior (Pl IX, 17) alternated by passages of light and shade The pillars are of massive proportions They are square at the bottom and circular and fluted in the upper section and topped by fluted 'cushion' capitals. In architectural arrangement as well as the gracefulness of its ponderous pillars and sculptures this cave is probably the finest among the Brahmanical excavations, not only at Ellora but also at other sites.

The Brahmanical cave in the island of Elephanta near Bombay, though similar to the Dhumar leṇā in general arrangement, is smaller and less regular in its plan (Fig. 16). There are three entrances, each with a court in front, but in spite of the transverse arrangement of the adjuncts the cruciform shape is not as explicit

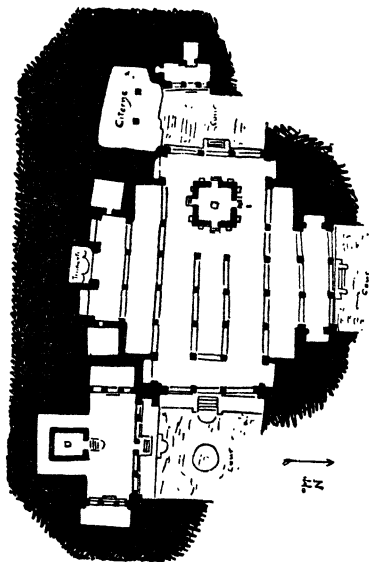



Fig 16. Elephanta, Cave: Plan.

as in the Dhumar leṇā. Though there is a detached Liṅga shrine within the main hall, the principal sanctuary in the cave appears to be placed in the transept enshrining the image of Śiva as Maheśa, justly described as one of the finest sculptures in all India (Pl. XXXV, 85). The pillars (Pl. IX, 18) are closely analogous to those of the Dhumar leṇā in style, in proportions, as well as in their disposition Indeed, it may be said that this order of pillars with ribbed 'cushion' capitals, which had been in use from the sixth century A.D., had reached their fullest development and beauty of form in these excavations. The sanctuary, too, as in the Dhumar leṇā, is flanked by colossal figures of guardians, and sculptures have been accommodated in huge panels all around the cave. In the beauty and quality of its sculptures, enthusiastically praised as marvels of plastic art, the Elephanta excels the Dhumar leṇā at Ellora, which, however, is a more balanced and organic creation from the architectural point of view.

The cave temple of Jogeśvara in the island of Salsette,[1] of much inferior execution, may be taken to be the latest example of Brahmanical cave architecture So far as extant remains go the followers of the Brahmanical faith began to make excavated shrines from about the close of the fourth century A.D. or the beginning of the fifth, but the more important Brahmanical cave excavations belong to a period from the close of the sixth to the eighth century A.D. Even in caves the shrines proper are more or less imitations of structural forms. The practice of excavating temples was little suited to the needs of Brahmanical worship, and it is not surprising that of the twelve hundred cave temples of India not more than approximately a hundred are Brahmanical. It is possible that the practice was inspired by the Buddhists. But its unsuitability for Brahmanical worship became more and more felt, a fact that becomes apparent in the growing desire to cut out of the rock monolithic shrines in direct imitation of structural temples with all their appurtenances

4. *Jain Caves*

The number of Jain caves excavated during the period under review is very small Mention may be made of one cave at Bādāmi[2] and another at Aihole. Both of them appear to date from about the middle of the seventh century A D. and are essentially similar in plan and other arrangements, not entirely dissimilar to other contemporary caves of the Buddhist and Brahmanical denominations. Each of them exhibits a pillared quadrangular hall with a cella cut out at its far end and chapels on either side.

1 *Br. IA.* pp. 85-86 2 *Ibid.* p. 64.

The most notable group of Jain caves are to be found at Ellora among the northern horn of the ridge Although they are not earlier than A.D. 800 and thus fall outside the chronological limits of this volume, they may be treated here for the sake of a complete study of excavated architecture. Of the five shrines of the group three are of some importance, namely, the Chhotā Kailāsa (No. XXX), the Indra Sabhā (No. XXXII) and the Jagannātha Sabhā (No. XXXIII). The first, as its name suggests, is a smaller copy of the famous Kailāsa, mentioned above. The second is also partly a copy of structural form The monolithic shrine in the centre of the court-yard (Fig 17) and the gateway to the court, both shaped out of the rock, are essentially Dravidian in style like the celebrated Kailāsa. Behind the monolithic shrine rises the façade of the cave in two storeys (Pl. VII, 14), each of which is roughly of the plan of a pillared hall with a cella at its back end and range of cells on either side The Indra Sabhā at Ellora, particularly the upper storeys of the cave (Fig. 18), is one of the most perfect specimens among the cave temples at the site. The Jagannātha Sabhā follows the Indra Sabhā in general principles and in the treatment of its esential elements, but lacks the balanced and organic character of the composition of the latter.

With the Jain caves at Ellora the cave architecture of India ceases for all practical purposes The close of this long persisting tradition is already foreshadowed when, instead of halls and shrines being axially driven into the interior of the hill side, monolithic shrines came to be shaped in direct imitation of structural forms, as we have in the celebrated Pallava *rathas* at Māmallapuram culminating in the great Kailāsa at Ellora. The more and more frequent use of this novel practice was an indication that the doom of the rock-cut technique, which had such a long history in Indian architecture, was not far off. The structural method with its immense scope and possibility placed unlimited powers in the hands of the builders who had already been acquainted with its advantages over the rock-cut method. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the rapid progress of structural buildings this archaic rock-cut mode, in spite of its long use and its peculiar advantages, would in the end become obsolete.

II. STRUCTURAL BUILDINGS

1. *Temples*

The Gupta age heralded a new epoch in the history of Indian architecture. Hitherto shrines and sanctuaries, being usually constructed of perishable materials like wood, bamboo, etc., had but

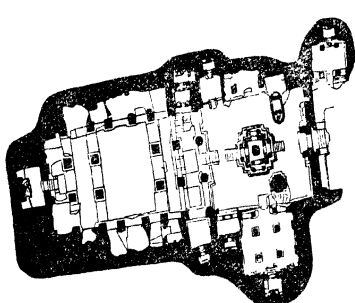



Fig. 17. Ellora, Indra Sabhā Cave Plan of lower storey

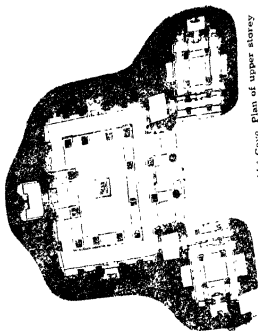



Fig 18 Ellora, Indra Sabhā Cave Plan of upper storey

little scope for the proper application of the principles of architecture as an art, either in respect of form or in that of composition. Now, with a new outlook, Indian builders began to erect their monuments in permanent materials, especially brick and dressed stone. Their output was prolific. The contemporary inscriptions not only give us a fair idea of the large number of temples erected during the period, but also speak of cities of great beauty and magnificence being adorned with lofty temples and other imposing edifices.[1] Hiuen Tsang's account furnishes clear evidence how, within a comparatively short time, the country came to be literally studded with buildings of diverse orders. Most of these buildings have, however, perished. A few that have escaped destruction bear the stamp of primitiveness and insufficient technique. But these early efforts are not devoid of interest. On account of their bearing upon future development they are invaluable for the study of Indian architecture.

Cave excavations are ill-suited to the ritualistic needs connected with the worship of images, and structural temples are required for the proper enshrinement of the deity The new movement is, therefore, particularly concerned with the construction of structural temples widely differentiated in details of form and general appearance It is this wide variety of forms and types that lends to the architecture of the period its special importance It marks the period as an age of initial experiments in various types and forms until significant forms were chosen for further elaboration and final crystallisation. The following well-defined groups may be distinguished among the temples belonging to this period:[2]—

1 The flat-roofed square temple, with a shallow porch in front.
2 The flat-roofed square temple, with a covered ambulatory around the sanctum and preceded by a porch in front, sometimes with a second storey above.
3 The square temple with a low and squat tower or *śikhara* above.
4 The rectangular temple with an apsidal back and barrel-vaulted roof above.
5. The circular temple with shallow projections at the four cardinal points.

The fourth and the fifth groups may be recognised to be survivals of earlier forms, the former from the celebrated *chaitya* halls of the Buddhists, the latter from *stūpa* designs, especially those of the Āndhra country of the second, third and fourth centuries A.D.

1 Compare the Mandasor inscription vv 10-12 (CII III, No XVIII, Sircar, *Select Ins* 291).
2. *JISOA*, VIII, pp 146-58

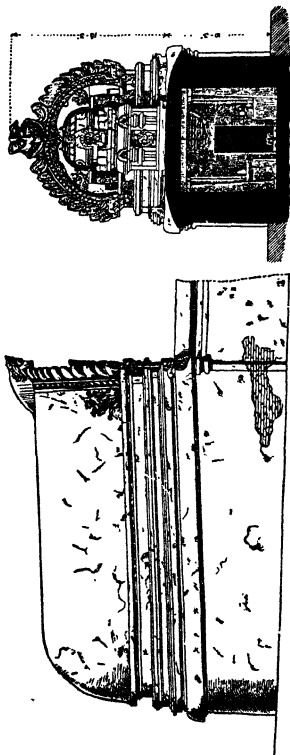



Fig. 19. Chezarla, Kapoteśvara temple: Section and elevation.

The temple at Ter (Sholāpur District)[1] and the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla (Krishnā District) (Fig. 19)[2], both referable to the fourth-fifth century A.D., belong to the fourth group. They are relatively small structures with little pretensions to any architectural merit. They appear to have been structural *chaitya* halls, later on appropriated to Brahmanical usage, to which fact they owe their preservation.

The Durgā temple at Aihole,[3] probably of the sixth century A.D., is distinctly connected with the above group. The roof, however, is flat and is surmounted by a *śikhara* over the sanctum. An outer pillared periphery runs all around the temple which stands on a high basement of several horizontal courses.

These structural temples were no doubt built upon the lines of the Buddhist *chaitya* hall, which was the prevailing architectural type of the earlier period. With the introduction and growing popularity of images, the *chaitya* hall as a votive shrine gradually went out of use.

The fifth type may be seen in the peculiar cylindrical brick structure, known as Maṇiyār Maṭh, *i.e.* the shrine of Mani Nāga, standing almost in the heart of the old city of Rājagṛiha.[4] Systematic excavations have revealed that the structure is the result of successive accumulations of ages, of which one definitely falls within our period. This particular stratum shows a circular wall with shallow projections at the four cardinal points and decorated with fine stucco sculptures in niches all around (Pl. X, 19). It is supported on an earlier structure of a hollow cylindrical shape with a projection at each of the cardinal points, closely resembling the *āyaka* projections of the early *stūpas* of the Āndhra country. It has an entrance doorway in the north, and the surrounding wall, which is square now, also appears to have been originally circular. In the structure belonging to the period under review the cylindrical form is more the result of following the alignment of the earlier building beneath than a conscious or deliberate attempt towards a new form. The forms presented by the fourth or fifth group do not appear to have any marked effect on subsequent architecture, though they survived in stray and isolated instances down to a later period.

(i) The first group

The three other groups of the temples of the period may, however, be regarded as the forerunners of the mediaeval Indian archi-

1. *HIIA*. p. 47 2. *Ibid*. Fig. 147
3 *Ibid*. Fig. 152; Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (*ASI*. 1907-08, p. 194); Cousen, H. *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 38-40, Pls. IX-XI.
4 Quraishi, M. H. & Ghosh, A. *Guide to Rajgir*, pp. 23-24. Pl. V.

tectural styles. The first group, the flat-roofed square temple, appears to have been the basic form of which the second and the third are but elaborations. A representative example of the first may be found in the temple No. XVII at Sānchī (Pl. X, 20),[1] a tiny and unpretentious shrine consisting of nothing more than a simple square chamber with a pillared porch in front (Figs. 20, 21). Though modest in dimensions, its structural propriety, symmetry and proportion, appreciation for plain surfaces, and restraint in ornamentation may very well compare with the best creations of classical architecture in Greece. Other temples of this group are found at Tigāwā (Pl. XI, 21)[2] and at Eran.[3] Numerous sculptures and architectural remains of the period have been discovered at Nāchnā Kuthārā,[4] Garhwā,[5] Bilsad,[6] Khoh,[7] etc. but the structures themselves, probably built of bricks, are gone.

The temples at Sānchī, Tigāwā, and Eran are the best preserved examples of this group. Cunningham long ago proposed a chronology of these temples on the basis of the relative proportion between the diameters and heights of the so-called 'bell' capitals of the portico pillars. Though this point need not be stressed unduly, the ornamentation of this so-called 'bell' offers an approximate indication as to the relative dates of the temples. Every pillar in the Eran temples shows a highly ornate 'bell' with elaborate turn-overs below the corners of the abacus. In the Tigāwā temple (Pl. XI, 21) we have just the beginnings of these turn-overs, and the stylistic indications of the carvings themselves ascribe it to a period earlier than that of the Eran temples At Sānchī we have the 'plain reeded bell' without turn-overs of any kind, and the suggestion of its being the oldest structural temple[8] may be quite correct. The temple at Tigāwā has been ascribed by Smith[9] to the period of Samudragupta, a date that may not be far off the mark. But his suggestion that the Vishṇu temple at Eran also might belong to the time of Samudragupta is hardly acceptable. Apart from the stylistic character of the 'bell' capital, a much later date should be inferred also from the appearance in the Vishṇu temple of a buttress-like projection[10] in the middle of each of the three faces of the temple, corresponding to the projection of the doorway in front, a feature that is itself a later appearance. The plain and bare walls are thus diversified, and

1. *ASC* X, 60-62, Pls XVI, XX, *HIIA*, p. 78, Fig 151; Marshall, J. *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 117-119, Pl. VII, b.
2. *ASC*. IX. 42, 45-46, Pls X & XI: Banerji, R. D *AIG*, Pl. VI; Brown, Percy, *Ind. Arc. Bud. & Hind* Pl XXXIV.
3. *ASC*. X, 82-89, Pls XXV-XXX.
4. *PRASI*. WC, 1919, p. 61.
5. *ASC*. X. 1-19 Pls VI-VII
6. *Ibid*. XI, 17-18, Pls. V-VI.
7. *Ibid* X. 6: *PRASI.WC*, 1920, pp. 105-06 & Pls.
8. *ASC* X, 62.
9. Smith, V. A. Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period. (*OZ*. III, 4).
10. *ASC*. X, Pl. XXV.

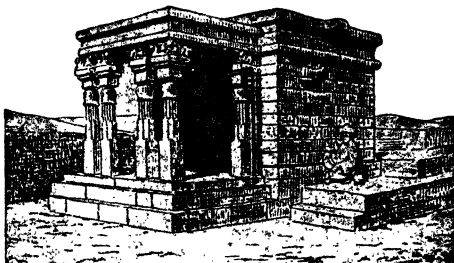
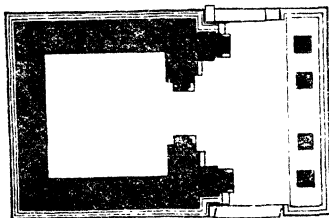
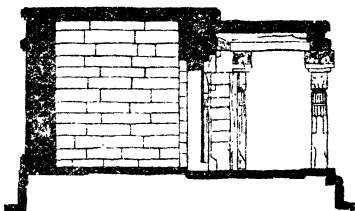



Fig 20. Sānchi, Temple No XVII Diagram

Sānchī, Temple No. XVII: Plan and section

this scheme is destined henceforth to play a most significant rôle in the effective distribution of light and shade in temple architecture of later days, not only in India, but far beyond its frontier, in South-east Asia.

The group has a distinct place among the temple forms of the period as the basis for future elaborations. The ground plan of the sanctum is almost always a definite square, though a rectangular plan is also occasionally met with, as in the Vishṇu and Varāha temples at Eran. The sanctum is preceded by a shallow porch with four columns supporting the architrave on which the roof rests. The intercolumniation is slightly greater in the middle than at the sides. Cunningham regards it as one of the minor marks of the style.[1] The porch is approached by flights of steps in front of the middle intercolumniation. The walls of the temple are quite plain except for a moulding around at the top in continuation of the line of the architrave of the roof of the porch—also a characteristic feature of the style according to Cunningham. The roof was composed of rectangular slabs of stone, placed side by side on the walls, occasionally with overlapping grooves, as we have in the temple at Tigāwā. On the top can be found projecting spouts for the discharge of rain water. The plainness of the walls offers a striking contrast to the decorative richness of the pillars and door-frames.

The nucleus of a temple, *viz.* a cubical cella (*garbhagriha*) with a single entrance and a porch (*maṇḍapa*), appears for the first time in this archaic group of structural temples. Identical rock-cut shrines, each preceded by a structural porch in front, may be seen at Udayagiri, two of which, as noted above, belonged to the time of Chandra-gupta. Similar cave shrines were also possibly in existence in earlier times, and it is not unlikely that this simple primitive-looking type of buildings was, in its early stages, nothing but a translation in structural form of the plain rock-cut shrines of the earlier period. The flat roof, the plain square or rectangular form and the stern simplicity of the walls lend strong probability to this hypothesis. The structural mode at Sānchī, Tigāwā, Eran and other places and the partly excavated and partly structural method at Udayagiri of approximately the same date represent what might be called the twin reverberations of the same style.

(ii) *The second group*

Examples of this group may be seen in the so-called Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā (Fig. 22),[2] the Śiva temple at Bhūmarā

1. *Ibid.* IX, 45.
2. *Ibid.* XXI, 96-97, Pls. XXV-XXVI· *PRASI.WC*, 1919, p. 61, Pls. XV-XVI; *MR.* XLV, 54-56; *AIG.* pp. 137-39, Pl. III.

(Fig. 23),[1] and the Lād Khān (Fig. 24), the Kont-Guḍi and the Meguti temples at Aihole.[2] The first two are situated in Central India and the rest in the Deccan. The remains of the brick-built temple at Baigrām (Dinājpur District, Bengal),[3] possibly the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin to which a grant of land was made in A.D. 447-48, also exhibit a similar plan and might probably have belonged to the same type.

The type consists of flat-roofed square sanctum cella inside a similar roofed cloister.[4] In plan, therefore, the sanctum is a smaller square within a larger square that forms the covered gallery for *pradakshiṇa* around the inner sanctum. The bigger square is preceded by a slightly smaller rectangular porch, open and of the pillared variety, with the projection of a flight of steps in front. The covered gallery is lighted by a trellis or trellises in each of the three sides, and in the Nāchnā Kuṭhārā temple the inner sanctum is also dimly lighted by two trellises in the two side walls The doorways leading to the gallery and to the sanctum are in a line with the flight of steps in front. A variety may be noticed in the provision of an upper storey above the inner sanctum, as we see in the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā (Pl. XI, 22) and in the temples at Aihole (Pl. XII, 24). The second storey being supported on the inner sanctum is necessarily set back from the bigger hall and forms a distinct scheme in the elevation of such temples. The Bhūmarā temple, a highly ornate example that indicates a later date, shows a miniature shrine on either side of the staircase, a design that came to be perfected in the temples of which remains have been unearthed at Nālandā [5] With the remains of four miniature shrines, one at each corner of the temple proper, these temples at Nālandā may be said to be the logical culmination of an arrangement noticed at Bhūmarā. Such an arrangement is known as the *Pañchāyatana* in the *Śāstras*, and may be seen in respect of temples of the subsequent period, irrespective of the style to which they belonged.

The simplicity of design and of decoration places the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā Kuthārā along with the early examples of the first group, with which it is probably co-eval in date. The façade

1. Banerji, R. D Śiva Temple at Bhumara (*MASI*. No 16), *MR*. XLV, 57-58; AIG. pp 142-45, Pls II & IV.
2 Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (*ASI*. 1907-08, pp 190, 192 195-96); Cousens, H *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp 32-38, 29-32, Pls. V-VI, III-IV; *HIIA* p. 79, Fig. 148
3. *ASI*. 1934-35, p 42, Pl. XIX, b, c, d
4 The temples are essentially all alike, though some minor variations may be noticed in some details But these variations do not fundamentally affect the general arrangement and disposition of the type.
5. Ghosh, A. *Guide to Nalanda*, p. 17, plan at end.

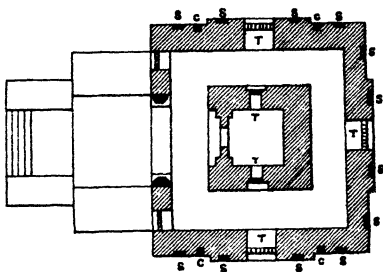



Fig. 22. Nāchnā Kuṭhārā, Pārvatī temple: Plan

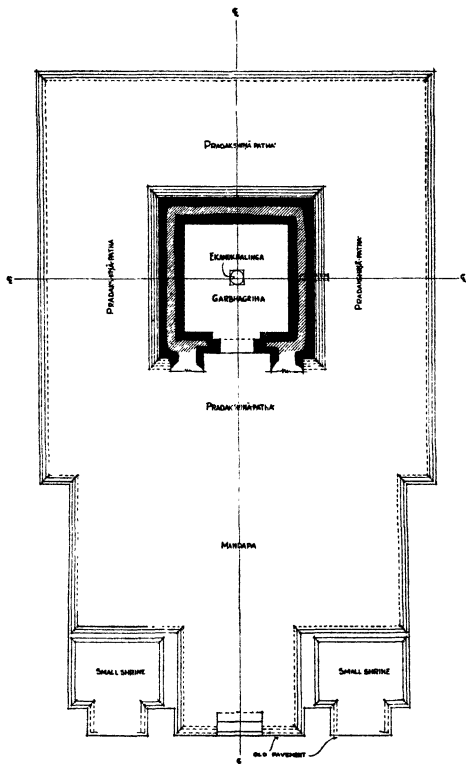



Fig. 23. Bhūmarā, Śiva temple: Plan.

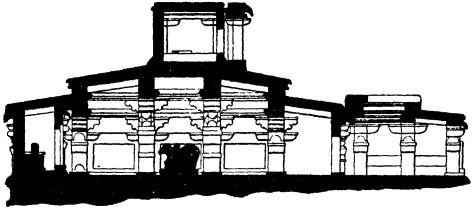
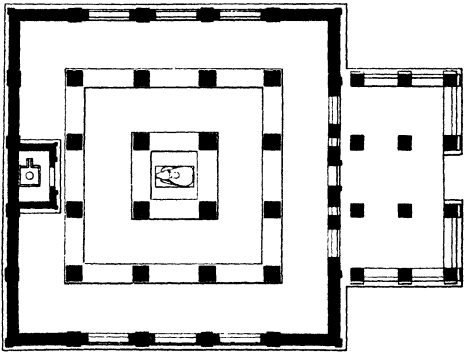



Fig. 24. Aihole, Lād Khān temple: Plan and section.

of the temple bears carvings in imitation of rock-work. The exterior walls are further decorated by a few sculptures of early Gupta workmanship. The Lād Khān and the Kont-Guḍi at Aihole probably come next in the order. The walls of the hall are formed by latticed screens joined to pillars placed at intervals. The massiveness of the pillars and their design as well as the extreme simplicity of construction place these temples earlier to Bādāmi cave No. III for which we have the date A.D. 578. The Śiva temple at Bhūmarā, which is all but a ruin, was splendidly ornamented with figures of *gaṇas, kīrttimukhas,* and divinities in finely wrought *chaitya* window niches. The carving and workmanship are in the best tradition of Gupta art and the rich arabesques of the pillars and door-frames indicate a date somewhere in the first half of the sixth century A.D., though the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who discovered the temple, was inclined to place it about the middle of the preceding century. The Jain temple of Meguti at Aihole (Pl. XIII, 26), erected in 556 Śaka (A.D. 634) by one Ravikīrtti during the reign of the Western Chālukyan king Pulakeśin II, was thus the latest in the series of temples mentioned above. Consequently, as is naturally to be expected in a formative age, it represents, even in its fragmentary state, the most perfect example of the series, so far as its scheme and other arrangements go. Not only is there an improvement in the quality of masonry and technique, but a refinement and delicacy are noticeable in the ornamental treatment of the temple as a whole. The decoration of the outer walls by means of narrow pilasters with little bracket capitals, the intervals between the pilasters being filled up or intended to be filled up with sculptures, undoubtedly exhibits a mature mind that evolves a pleasing scheme of projections and recesses out of the primitive process of forming such walls as shown in the earlier examples. Further, the plan of the temple also marks a distinct progress inasmuch as it leads to a balanced and organic scheme. In plan the temple is a long rectangular building consisting of two parts, the shrine with its surrounding gallery and the forward hall with its roof supported on pillars and probably originally open all around. The two are joined together by a narrow vestibule or antechamber in between. This unified design, a logical outcome of the earlier attempts, had significant bearings on the history of subsequent architecture.

To about the same period as the Jain temple of Meguti at Aihole belong the *rathas* at Māmallapuram, the sea-port city founded by Narasiṁha-varman Mahāmalla at the mouth of the Palar river 32 miles south of Madras. They are all free-standing monoliths, shaped out of a series of boulder-like granulitic outcrops on the sandy

shore (Pl. XIII, 25). Though rock-cut, they reproduce the contemporary types of structural buildings and as such exemplify an entirely novel form of expression. Of the various types furnished by these *rathas* one is particularly related to the temple group, now under discussion, and another to a group examined above.

Of the eight *rathas* the smallest is named after Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. It is square in plan with a square curvilinear roof which indicates it clearly as a copy of the plain and simple thatched structure. The other *rathas* have the characteristic pyramidal elevation of storeyed arrangement. Every storey is provided with a roll cornice decorated with miniature *chaitya* arches, each enclosing a human head. In spite of this general resemblance, there is a great difference in the shape and form of these excavated temples which are, to some extent, determined by the shape and plan of the cellas on the ground floor. The Nakula and Sahadeva *rathas* with their vaulted roofs and apsidal backs reproduce the form of the Buddhist *chaitya* halls, structural examples of which are found in the fourth group of temples mentioned above (cf. the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla and the temple at Ter). This form, as has already been observed, went out of use. But among the *rathas* of Māmallapuram there can be recognised two other forms which have important bearings for the subsequent architectural movement in this part of the country. The Bhīma and Gaṇeśa *rathas* have an oblong plan. Each of them rises in gradually receding storeys topped by a rectangular barrel-vaulted roof with gables at either end. The Arjuna and Dharmarāja *rathas* (Pl XIV, 27), of a square shape and similar storeyed elevation, are each crowned by a domical member, known as the *stūpī* or *stūpikā*. It is not difficult to find in this type an adaptation of the storeyed form of the temple group now under discussion. Indeed, the connection between these two *rathas* and the storeyed temples of the Gupta period is too obvious to be missed. A structural temple of this shape and form, but belonging to the reign of Rājasiṁha Pallava, successor of Narasiṁha-varman, may be seen in the Shore temple, also at Māmallapuram. With this there begins an unbroken series of structural monuments which shed lustre on the South Indian architecture of later days. The rectangular type also gradually develops into the enormous gateway building, known as the *gopuram*, which is a necessary, and perhaps far more imposing, feature of a South Indian temple. The various experiments through the rock-cut method in these *rathas* crystallised into the square and rectangular types, each of which is to exercise immense influence on the subsequent architectural activities of the Draviḍa country. A detailed treatment of these types of *rathas* in that light is therefore reserved for the next volume of this history.

(iii) *The third group*

The third group appears to be but an elaboration of the type represented by the first group, from which it differs very little in general plan and arrangement. But its great importance lies in the innovation of a *śikhara* or tower that caps the sanctum. In religious architecture there is always an aspiration for ascending height, and it is no wonder that in this connection *śikharas* or towers soon made their appearance providing a significant contrast to the early and archaic flat-roofed temples. The inscriptions tell us that already by the fifth century A.D. high and lofty towers had come into existence and they are figuratively described to be as high as the Kailāsa mountain[1] or as reaching the sky.

So far as extant monuments are concerned, however, no *śikhara* temple can probably be placed earlier than the sixth century A.D. The most representative and well-known example of the *śikhara* type is the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (Jhānsi District, U.P.).[2] Among other examples may be mentioned the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuthārā,[3] one at Paṭhāri,[4] the brick temple at Bhītargāon (Kānpur District),[5] and the great Mahābodhi at Bodh-Gayā, as seen by Hiuen Tsang.[6] The Durgā and the Hucchīmalliguḍi temples at Aihole[7] exhibit each a tower on the top of the flat roof of the sanctum, but their plans and other arrangements differ radically from those of the temples, just mentioned, which form a distinct group by themselves.

Of the different examples of this group it will suffice to describe the Deogarh and the Bhītargāon temples as two representative specimens, the former in stone and the latter in brick. The Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (Pl. XIV, 28) stands on a lofty wide basement (Fig. 25) reached by a flight of steps in the centre of each side.

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1 It is not clear whether these epigraphic statements have any reference to the class of buildings, known as the *Kailāsa* in the different texts, like Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, the *Matsya Purāna*, etc.

2. *ASC*. X, 105-10, Pls. XXXIV-XXXVI; *HIIA*. p. 80; *MR*. XLV. 58-59; *AIG*. pp 146-52; Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (*MASI*, No. 70).

3. *ASC* XXI, 98; *PRASI.WC*. 1919, Pl. XVI, b; *MR*. XLV, 60; *AIG*. pp. 154-55.

4 *ASC*. X, 70-71.

5. *Ibid*. XI, 40-50; *ASI*. 1908-09, pp. 6-16, Pls. I-V; *HIIA*, p. 80; *AIG*. pp. 133-135.

6. *HTB*. II, 118.

7. Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (*ASI*. 1907-08, pp 194, 196-197); Cousens, H. *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp. 38-41, Pls. IX-XIII The Durgā temple, as has already been noted, shows a rectangular plan with an apsidal end, and the Hucchīmalliguḍi is similar in plan to the second group of temples, described above. R. D Banerji includes the temples at Sankargaḍh (*PRASI. WC* 1920, p. 104, Pl. XXVII; *AIG*. p. 146) among the examples of Gupta temple architecture, but thinks the *śikhara* to be a mediaeval addition But a study of the carvings of the door-frame and of the decorative motifs, which are definitely of a later date, leaves no doubt that both the lower and upper members of the structure were built at one and the same time, which cannot be earlier than the tenth or eleventh century A.D.
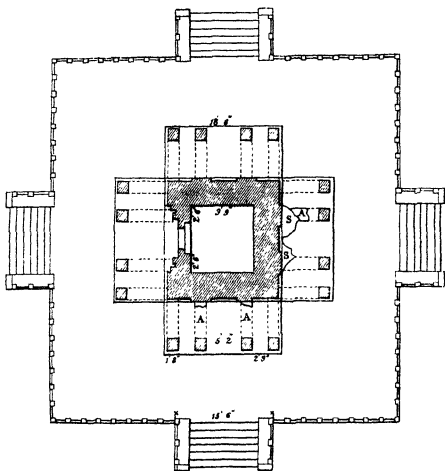
Fig 25 Deogarh, Daśāvatāra temple Plan

The basement, which illustrates the aspiration for height and majesty, is embellished by a continuous frieze of sculptured niches on all sides. The plainness of the walls of the sanctum was also relieved on three sides by sculptured niches, each as a sunken panel between two pilasters, and on the fourth by an elaborate doorway.[1]

Towards the top of the walls there is a frieze of miniature arched niches between a double cornice from over which rises the *śikhara* (now in a dilapidated condition), consisting of blocks or tiers of gradually receding stone courses. In contour it appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid, and the projections of the niches on the walls of the sanctum have been carried up the body of the *śikhara*, the predominating decorative element of which is the *chaitya* window. Probably there were angle-*āmalakas* at the corners,[2] but the top, with whatever finial there was, has wholly tumbled down.

The brick temple at Bhītargāon (Pl. XV, 30) consists of a square sanctum cella and a similar, but smaller, vestibule, connected with it by a passage. The interior passage and the outer entrance were roofed by semicircular vaults, while the sanctum and the vestibule were covered by domes, the voussoirs, in both cases, being placed, not face to face, but end to end—a mode of construction that Cunningham calls the Hindu fashion. Above the sanctum there was an upper chamber also covered probably by a similar dome.[3]

The ground plan (Fig. 26) is square with doubly recessed corners, i.e. with a projection in the middle of each of three sides and the vestibule in front. The walls rise in bold mouldings, their upper part being decorated with regular terracotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters, and terminate in a double cornice of carved brickwork with a recessed frieze of smaller terracotta plaques. This double cornice separates the body of the sanctum from that of the tower, which exhibits well-defined superposed courses with straight or almost straight sides. These courses are decorated with tiers of niches containing boldly projecting busts or heads or entire figurines. As each successive course recedes by several inches, the tower gradually diminishes towards the top. The projection on the body

1 From pillars lying on the platform on which the temple stands Cunningham thought that there were four pillared porticos on the four sides, one protecting the entrance doorway in front and the other three, the sculptured niches on the three walls R D Banerji, however, thought that the whole platform was covered over with a flat roof surrounding the sanctum with its *śikhara* In the present fragmentary condition of the temple, it is difficult to ascertain whether the platform was open to the sky or was wholly covered or whether there were narrow porticos only to protect the carvings of the doorway and of the sculptured niches. The last appears to be the most plausible.

2 Burgess, J *Ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India*. Figs 248 & 252.

3. The reconstruction of the top of the temple by Percy Brown (*Br I A*. Pl XXXIII, 5) as consisting of a barrel-shaped vault does not appear to fit the square plan and other arrangements of the temple.
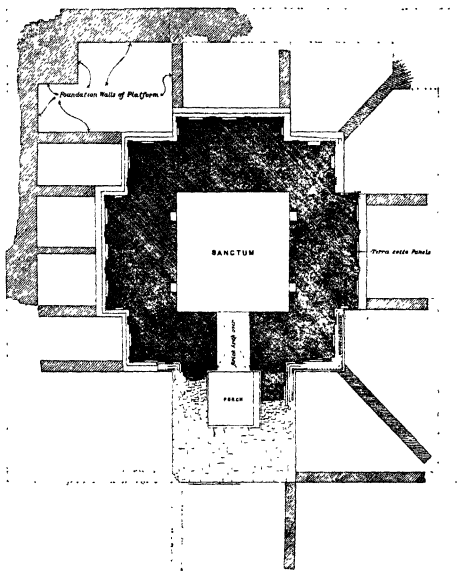
Fig. 26. Bhītargāon, Brick temple: Plan

of the sanctum has been carried up the body of the tower, but as the top has tumbled down no definite idea of the crowning elements is possible here, as is also the case in the Deogarh temple. As recent excavations have shown, this temple, like those at Deogarh and Nāchnā Kuṭhārā, stood on a raised platform, built on cell-like foundations.

The temple at Deogarh, by the style of its reliefs and carvings, may be placed in the sixth century A.D. There is, however, not the same unanimity with regard to the Bhītargāon temple. Cunningham, who first described it, was of opinion that it cannot be placed later than the seventh or eighth century A.D., and might probably be even older. Vogel, on the analogy of the decoration of pilasters and cornices with similar elements in the Parinirvāṇa temple at Kāsiā, was inclined to place it at least three centuries earlier than the date suggested by Cunningham. R. D. Banerji observes that it cannot be earlier than the mediaeval period The vigorous and spirited carvings of the terracotta panels, the form of the *śikhara*, etc. sufficiently indicate it as a product of the Gupta age; and though the date proposed by Vogel may appear to be too early, it is not probably far removed from the Deogarh temple, which it resembles in all essential features.

The great Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā has been restored and renovated so many times that it is difficult to determine its original architectural form. As it now stands (Pl. XVI, 31), it consists of a high straight-edged pyramidal tower, surmounted by a *hti* with a fluted *āmalaka*-like lower member, and with angle-*āmalakas* at the corners demarcating the different stages. The entrance porch, evidently later than the original temple, appears on the east. Each of the four faces of the tower presents several tiers of niches, every one of which no doubt originally contained Buddhist figures. The front face has a tall lancet opening for the admission of light into the sanctum At the base of the tower there rises at each of the four corners a turret, which is a replica in miniature of the main tower. In the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang minutely describes the temple at Bodh-Gayā under the name of the 'Mahābodhi *vihāra*.' The dimensions and general appearance and form of the temple, as given by the Chinese pilgrim, practically correspond to what we have now in the temple before us, and the suggestion that the temple in its present shape and essential elements existed in the seventh century A.D is quite reasonable. The technique of construction in brick, the straight contour of the tower, the tall lancet opening in front, the *chaitya* niches on the four sides of the tower accommodating, according to Hiuen Tsang, figures of the Buddha, have close parallels in

the Bhītargāon temple to which it is probably co-eval in date. Hiuen Tsang also describes the great temple at Nālandā erected by Narasiṁha-gupta as being over 300 feet in height, and resembling the tower at Bodh-Gayā.[1] Nothing now remains of this lofty structure except its massive basement. There is hardly any doubt that when entire, it presented a shape and form similar to those of the early *śikhara* temples of the period.

The chief interest of this group of temples lies in the *śikhara* or tower surmounting the sanctum which presents a marked contrast to the early low and flat-roofed temples. In almost every case the tower is either badly damaged or gone altogether, but the contour of the examples that have been preserved suggests a straight-edged pyramidal form, not unlike that of the present Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. The *śikhara* temple at Paṭhāri, which from the remains near about may be said to belong to about the sixth century A.D., is slightly better preserved. Its height is just twice the width of the building in strict accordance with the prescription laid down by Varāhamihira (*yo vistāro bhaved yasya dviguṇā tat samunnatiḥ*).[2] The straight contour of the tower, however, gradually gives place to a slight inward curvature towards the top, as we find in the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā, probably of the seventh century, and the brick temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur (Pl. XVI, 32) of about the same or somewhat later date.[3] The former, a perfectly preserved example, exhibits angle-*āmalakas* at the corners, to demarcate the different stages of the tower, and a complete *āmalaka* crowning the top of the temple. The latter, a beautiful example of the early *śikhara* temples, consists, as usual, of a square sanctum with the porch projecting from it in front, the whole standing on a high plinth. A greater variegation over the plan of the Bhītargāon temple may be noticed in the addition to the number of projections on each side of the sanctum, the receding planes of the walls leading to attractive effects of light and shade. It is also richer in ornament and more refined in treatment, indicating considerable experience in the art of building. The deeply recessed false windows in the centre of each of the three walls of the sanctum also constitute a noticeable feature. Unfortunately, the top has fallen down, but the crowning elements were undoubtedly similar to those of the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā. In the perfect disposition of its parts, and in the richness and refinement of its ornament, this modest brick temple at Sirpur is perhaps unsurpassed among the early *śikhara* temples of India.

1 *HTB* II, 167 ff.
2 *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (Vangavasi ed.) Chap. 56.
3. *HIIA* pp. 93-94, Fig. 186. The temple has recently been assigned, with very little reason though, to the 9th century A.D. (*ASI*, 1923-24, p. 28).

(iv) *The Nāgara and Drāviḍa styles*

The Gupta temples described above can be easily recognised to have heralded the two important styles, Nāgara and Drāviḍa, which characterised the mediaeval temples of India to be described in the succeeding volumes. The cruciform plan and the *Rekha* tower which form the distinctive features of the Nāgara style already make their appearance in the Daśāvatāra temple of Deogarh and the brick temple of Bhītargāon. The curvilinear form of the tower follows slightly later in the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā and Lakshmana at Sirpur. The sculptured niches on the three walls of the Daśāvatāra temple and the projection in the Bhītargāon temple even foreshadow the setting forward of the middle of each side of the square temple which is another characteristic of the ground plan of the Nāgara temples.

Similarly the second group of Gupta temples shows many of the characteristic features of the Drāviḍa style. The upper storey placed over the sanctum foreshadows the roof formed by a succession of gradually receding storeys, and some sculptured reliefs of the Gupta period even offer closer parallels. The plan of the inner sanctum with a cloistered gallery around. the scheme of the division of the walls by pilasters and niches, and the use of the roll cornice carved with well-shaped *chaitya* arches which we find in this group of Gupta temples, also constitute the distinctive marks of the Drāviḍa style

It would thus appear that the characteristic features of what afterwards came to be known as the Nāgara and Drāviḍa styles had already been evolved in the Gupta period. During this period was laid the basic foundation of subsequent Indian temple architecture, the history of which is the story of the two styles, the Nāgara and the Drāvida, with their various elaborations and ramifications. In this respect the architecture of the period presents a picture contrary to what we find in sculpture. In the history of Indian sculpture it has truly been observed that the period marks the fulfilment of earlier tendencies. In the history of Indian architecture it is just the formative and creative age with unlimited scope for future development and elaboration.

2. *Monasteries and Stūpas*

Although temples form the most important class of monuments, a brief reference should be made to the *stūpas* and monasteries which were also built in large numbers during the period. The monasteries. usually built of brick, were, as before, designed as a square block formed of four rows of cells round an inner courtyard, with perhaps a sanctuary in the centre of the back end. They were
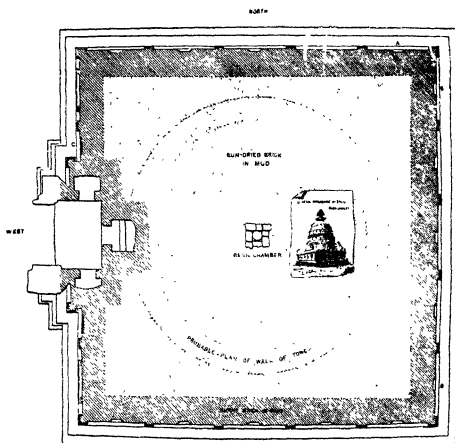
Fig 27. Mirpur Khās, Stūpa· Plan.

usually extensive conglomerations of religious establishments connected with famous Buddhist sites, but have mostly perished. A few of them have been unearthed in extremely fragmentary condition and these do not call for any special notice.

Of the *stūpas* built during the period, two at least deserve particular mention, namely the *stūpa* at Mirpur Khās (Pl. XV, 29), in Sindh[1] and the Dhāmekh *stūpa* at Sārnāth (Pl. XVII, 33).[2] The former is a brick structure showing a hemispherical dome raised over a square basement. What is interesting is the existence of three chapels or cellas within the mass of the basement on the western side (Fig. 27), the central chapel having an arch constructed on the radiating principle. From stylistic indications of the decorative scheme the structure may be dated about the fourth century A.D., certainly not later than the fifth, and the appearance of the true arch about this period clearly indicates that the principle was known to Indians long before the advent of the Muslims.[3] The Dhāmekh *stūpa* at Sārnāth rises in three stages, the basement, the drum and the dome, the last having a cylindrical, instead of the normal hemispherical shape. The basement is solidly built of stone and is relieved on the outside by eight projecting faces, each with a niche for the reception of an image (now gone) and a broad band of exquisitely carved ornament, geometrical and floral (Pl XVII, 34). The upper stage, the dome proper, was built of bricks, probably originally faced with stone. The rich and elegant patterns of the ornamental scheme constitute the chief beauty of the monument, the cylindrical shape of which possibly indicates a date about the sixth century A.D. One of the two *stūpas* at Jarasandha-kā-Baiṭhak at Rājagṛiha is of a similar shape and probably belongs to the same period. Because of their shape they look like towers and as Hiuen Tsang designates the *stūpa* by the term 'tower' this shape seems to be the prevailing one during the period.

B SCULPTURE

I. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The pivot of Gupta sculptural art is the human figure. Already at Mathurā and Amarāvatī we have seen figures of men and women away from and independent of the animal and vegetal world that used to surround them at Bhārhut and Sānchī. Now all animal and

1 *Br I.A* , p. 52, Pl. XXXII, 9.
2 Sahni, D. R *Guide to the Buddhist ruins of Sarnath,* pp. 36-37.
3. There are many stray occurrences of a true voussoir arch in Indian architecture of pre-Muhammadan date, the example at Piprāwa (*JRAS.* 1898, pp. 573 ff) and the arch-stone of possibly Mauryan date (*ASI.* 1921-22, Pl. XXXVI) being probably two of the earliest instances of its use.

vegetal patterns are pushed altogether out of the narrative on to the borders or to panels where they keep themselves confined in their exclusiveness; carved with deep oblique cuts the rich vegetal scrolls exuberantly recoil on themselves in playful contrasts of light and shade. But such rich vegetal patterns of decoration only underline the importance of the human figure. At Mathurā and Amarāvatī we have seen the richness and abundance of vegetation pass on, in so far as the quantitative aspect is concerned, to the human figure itself. In the art of this period a deeper, qualitatively meaningful, transformation of the human figure takes place, and here, too, it is the vegetal life that causes this transformation. Thus the human figure itself becomes the conveyor or carrier of the unceasing flowing movement that used to reside in every vegetal device, especially the creepers and lotus stalks; the latter while moving away from the world of human beings seem to have passed on their lively rhythm and ceaseless flow in bends and curves to the human figure itself.

Since it is in youth that this inner movement of life finds its fullest expression, it is almost invariably youth that captures the imagination and engrosses the vision of the artist of this period. The body indeed seems to shine in smoothness and in the almost transparent luminosity of its texture. Whereas this illumination itself belongs to the vision of the artist, it is given perceptual form with the help of a plastic and full modelling that, in its naturalism and rarification, has hardly any parallel in any other period of Indian art. A largeness of conception endows the human figure with a mental and physical discipline that discards the earthiness of Mathurā and the sensuousness of Veṅgī and elevates it to a state of experience of either a subtle spiritual or a deeper rational, or a sturdier and more vital existence. The face is lit up with this experience which is 'wisdom' itself, while the eyes with drooping eyelids, instead of looking out into the visible world, seem to look within where every thing is at rest in contemplative concentration

This is true not only of Buddhist and Brahmanical gods and goddesses, but also of ordinary mortals, whether men or women. Basically it sprang from the notion of a disciplined body and con quered mind which were sought to be achieved through centuries of conscious physical and intellectual effort. Once this bodily discipline is achieved, there remains no scope for nervous tension of the body, conditioned by emotions or suggestive of physical energy The body, whether seated, standing, or bending, thus reaches a poise and a balance, and the related muscular mass seems to pulsate with the glow of the vital current flowing unceasingly beneath the skin The characteristically Gupta plastic idiom is born of the intense physical experience of this notion. Slowly it dawned that super-

human strength lay not in voluminous body and concentrated energy alone, but in a conquest of the mind itself. The wide open eyes thus began to close themselves under heavy eye-lids and look inwards; the lips began to close in calm determination and firm fulness; the body began to relax itself in ease and grow in full roundness from within.

For such an experience of existence there is obviously no need of elaborate draperies or decorative jewelleries. Indeed in the art of this period they are very sparingly employed, and that too always with a keen eye on the sensitiveness of the plastic surface, for drapery and jewelleries are but unavoidable superfluities that cloud and weigh the body that happens to be the receptacle of supreme joy and bliss.

Nor in an experience of the kind narrated above is there any scope for agitated physical or emotional action, or any argument for inter-relatedness of movements of the figures composed in a group. Each figure, whatever be its position or action, exists by itself in a slowed and subtly integrated tempo of existence rich with a deeper understanding of life Even in attitudes and positions where two figures are supposed to be emotionally inter-related, the air they breathe is one of complete detachment, and hence. compositionally they are merely juxtaposed against the flat binding surface of the relief-ground.

II. EVOLUTION OF GUPTA SCULPTURE: MATHURĀ AND SĀRNĀTH

Dated or definitely datable sculptures of the early Gupta period are few and far between; but the few we have help us to determine, howsoever roughly, the beginnings and the early stages of the evolution of the Gupta plastic conception.

So far as extant examples go, Gupta plastic conception seems to have had its birth at Mathurā which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, produced the massive earth-bound Bodhisattvas of extraordinary strength and energy. The Mathurā laboratory used to export its products to Śrāvastī, Prayāg, Sārnāth and presumably to other places as well The practice continued in the fourth century as well and we find Mathurā artists and Mathurā inspiration working at Kasiā, Bodh-Gayā and also at Sārnāth. A Bodhisattva from Bodh-Gayā[1], dated in the year 64 of one Mahārāja Trikamala (Pl. XVIII, 35), is perhaps the earliest example of plastic art that can be dated in the Gupta culture period. Structurally and iconographically it belongs clearly to the Mathurā tradition of the first and second centuries; but the massiveness and ponderosity of an

1. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Pl. XXV; *KIS*, fig. 54.

earlier age are now brought under a stern and disciplined modelling, and a firm outline and a harsh geometrical composition restrain a vigorous and monumental body of full rounded limbs within a heavy and ruthless concentration.

In the figures of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas of this period, the plastic theme of disciplining the body and conquering the mind is perfectly clear, the body has been fully brought under discipline, but the inner world has not yet been conquered. They have not yet experienced bliss, the joy and glow of weightless existence. To this phase of the Mathurā tradition belong the two remarkable three-eyed Śivaite heads, one in the Mathurā Museum,[1] and the other in the Calmann galleries (Pl. XIX, 38. 39) London,[2] the latter qualitatively of a higher level.

It was given to Sārnāth, where Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law, to give expression to this supreme bliss in concrete plastic shape in the course of the next one hundred and fifty years. In the countless seated or standing images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, also certain Brahmanical images (e g. the Kārttikeya of the Bhārat Kalā Parishad, Banaras), of the Sārnāth school of this period, the body sheds off all its toughness, attains full and soft roundness and exhales an aroma of complete ease and serenity. All this is achieved with the help of a soft and delicate modelling, a softly gliding, smoothly flowing, melting line, and an utmost economy of plastic differentiation. With the passage of time, the physiognomical type grows longer, the head slightly smaller and lighter, plastic treatment more delicate and sensitive, and altogether a supra-sensuous extra-mundane soaring elegance results, till finally the modelling and outline seem to throb with an almost uncanny sensitiveness. Such perfection, such pointed ecstasy of blissful experience rendered in such concrete form is almost unbelievable, and means that it must either turn the corner or vanish into formlessness. A good specimen is the well-known seated Buddha in *dharma-chakra-pravarttana* attitude from Sārnāth (Pl. XVIII, 37),[3] but there are examples in the Sārnāth Museum which are perhaps equally good, if not better still.

It was at Sārnāth that the Buddha preached his first sermon, and this act is referred to in the canonical texts of Buddhists as *dharma-chakra-pravarttana* or turning the Wheel of Law. It is represented by a seated Buddha with the fingers of the two hands held in front of the body in a special position. The Sārnāth image is a fine expression in stone of the meditative and compassionate

1. *Cat. M.M.* 2 *JISOA*, VI 202, Pl. XLIV.
3 *HIIA*, Fig. 161. *FAS*, pp 168-9, Pl XXXVIII

Buddha giving his first message of deliverance to the world. The Wheel or *Chakra*, the symbol of the *dharma*, occupies the centre of the pedestal and on its two sides are the figures of the five disciples to whom the first sermon was preached. The woman with a child, whose figures are added at the left corner, is probably the figure of the donor of the image, which in some respects represents the high-water mark of the art of sculpture in ancient India.

Mathurā, during all these decades, must have also gone through the same stages of experience, but the plastic formulations were of a slightly different character. There a certain heaviness of form persists for a considerable time, and despite strong influences from Sārnāth, aesthetic and iconographic, a certain toughness in plastic treatment of the body-surface remains The treatment of the folds of the drapery, the eye-brows, and eyelids in their round ridges also remain traditionally Mathuraesque. Taken all together the headless seated Mahāvīra image (A.D. 432-33) and the Buddhas (Pl. XVIII, 36) and Bodhisattvas of Mathurā of somewhat later date lack the supra-sensuous elegance, sensitiveness, and high spirituality of Sārnāth. The influence and tradition of Mathurā are also found in distant localities, *e.g.* the seated Buddha image dated A.D 448-49 from Mankuwār, Allāhābād District (Pl. XX, 43).[1] This image has a peculiar head-dress and also the webbed hand, a traditional mark of Buddha.

III. EARLY SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE (FOURTH TO SEVENTH CENTURY)

1. *North India*

The process and experience that Mathurā and Sārnāth went through in the fifth and sixth centuries was largely shared by other centres as well, in varying degrees of depth and intensity according to local pre-conditions—ethnical, social and religious.

Very few specimens from Āryāvarta proper (Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley) and Mālwā register the experience of the elevated spiritual existence of Sārnāth or even Mathurā. Such examples as that of the Kārttikeya (Pl. XX, 44) (Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras),[2] the Lokeśvara or Śiva (Pl. XXI, 46) (Sārnāth Museum),[3] one or two images from Gwālior (Pl. XXII, 51),[4] the Ekamukha Liṅga[5] from Khoh in the Nāgod State (Pl. XXI, 48), etc., which come nearest to the Sārnāth plastic conception, are relatively slightly thinner in spiritual experience and hence also slightly different in treatment

1. *FAS*, p. 173, fig. 119
2. *HIIA*, fig. 175.
3. *Ibid* fig 171.
4. *HIIA*, fig 173; *KIS*, fig 60.
5. *MASI*, No 16, p 5. *PRASI WC*, 1920, pp. 106-7, Pl. XXIX

as well. Generally speaking, the figures are relatively heavy and spread out; the modelling terse and the outline more slow and polished than gliding and melting. The Gaṅgā relief from Besnagar (Pl. XXII, 49),[1] the Durgā-Mahishamardinī and the bust of Śiva from Bhūmarā have the characteristically quiet poise and balance of the Sārnāth tradition, but they too partake of the qualities of relatively short and heavy appearance, terse modelling and a slow outline. The figures of the Anantaśāyin relief (Pl. XXII, 50), Daśāvatāra temple, Deogarh, perhaps of a slightly later date, are heavier still, modelling relaxed without meaning and the outline almost hardened to an extent that the figures are confined within their own shape. Here, in all these examples, there is perhaps a lower level of experience—the kind is the same—which is responsible for the difference in aesthetic treatment and achievement.

The strong accent of the common denominator of Gupta art is equally impressed on the reliefs (fifth century) from the architrave of Garhwā (Pl. XIX, 40-42), near Allāhābād (Lucknow Museum). The equipoise and balance, the ease and spontaneity of existence, the subtle and delicate plastic treatment, and the proud but detached and self-composed disposition of the figures belong essentially to the age and the locality that produced them, in spite of the Hellenic contrapost motif learnt from Veṅgī and the draped garment motif from Mathurā noticeable in some of the figures.

But even in Āryāvarta other forces and traditions were at work.

The Śiva-Pārvatī relief from Kosām (Pl. XXIII, 53)[2] and the Rāmāyaṇa panels from the Daśāvatāra (Pl. XXIII, 52),[3] Deogarh (Jhānsi), bring up-to-date an older tradition of narrative reliefs, and are different in conception and treatment from those of the larger number of Sārnāth relief sculptures. Whereas in the latter the figures are not only compositionally detached but also emotionally and spiritually so, in the former, in spite of a quiet poise and detachment which are the common denominator of Gupta sculptures of the North, there is a compositional linking up of figures and planes and a certain coarseness which spring from a different level of social experience. Definitely they are much less elegant and spiritual, much less refined and luminous than the products of the Sārnāth School, but more homely and more intimate which is perhaps due to a closer relation with day-to-day life.

Closely related to these in socio-religious experience, and similarly bringing up-to-date the older tradition of narrative reliefs, are such examples as the Kṛishṇa-Govardhana-dhāraṇa panel from

1. *HIIA*, fig. 177. 2 *ASI*, 1913-14, Pl. LXXb 3 *HIIA*, fig. 167.

Mandor (Pl. XXI, 47),[1] and the door panel from Nāgari,[2] both in Rājputāna and belonging to about the beginning of the fifth century. While in the physiognomical type and plastic form of a softer body-surface of the Deogarh and Kosām examples the Sārnāth idiom makes itself felt, the sturdy and broad body-type, the pronounced linear accent and a relatively general hardness of plastic treatment of the Rājputāna examples belong to the legacy of Kushāṇa-Mathurā. But in both cases the quiet poise of the figures is derived from the age that produced them, while their homely intimacy and sturdiness seem to belong to a social and religious experience different from what produced the luminous Buddhist sculptures of Sārnāth. It is the same difference that distinguishes the highly subtle Mahāyāna-Yogāchāra thought from the broad and homely philosophy of the Purāṇas, a difference reflected not only in the respective plastic formulations but also in the themes and subjects of the specimens discussed above.

This broad and homely sturdiness of physical type and artistic vision—an inheritance from the days of Sānchī—was understood again in a different context in Mālwā. There the sturdy physical type, relatively broad and of heavy consistency, is treated in concentrated roundness and in a tough plastic idiom. This will be evident from a close comparison of the female busts from different sites in Mālwā [Gaṅgā image, Besnagar (Pl. XXII, 49);[3] Apsarā, Gwālior Museum (Pl. XXI 45),[4] lintel of *toraṇa* gateway, Pawāyā, Gwālior Museum][5] on the one hand and those from Banaras, Rājgir and Tezpur on the other The Mālwā specimens are invariably heavy, round and tough, while the eastern ones are soft, slender and delicate. But the heavy consistency and concentrated roundness of the sturdy body is nowhere more in evidence than in those specimens where the figures are formed out of the live rock, as those of the Udayagiri caves near Bhilsa (*e.g.* the Vishṇu of Cave No. 2; Anantaśāyin Vishṇu; the figure of Bhūdevī of the Varāhāvatāra relief; also the standing Śiva, Mandasor; the figures of the Yaśodharman pillars, Mandasor; and the Narasiṁha image in the Gwālior Museum).[6] Even the Buddhist images of the Bāgh caves have not been able to escape this broad and heavy consistency and this concentration in height and roundness. It is not unlikely that these qualities are indirectly conditioned by local ethnic legacy on the one hand and the vigorous social thought of Puranic integration on the other.

1. *HIIA*, fig. 166
2. *Ind. Sc.*, p 172, fig. 61.
3. *HIIA*, fig 177.
4. *HIIA*, fig. 175.
5. *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 165, Pl. XLIII (c) and (d).
6. *HIIA*, fig. 170; *KIS*.

The monumental Varāhāvatāra relief in Udayagiri (*Pl.* XXIV, 55), however, stands by itself. While it fully shares in the average plastic qualities of the Udayagiri sculptures, its monumental quality belongs as much to the cosmic myth it portrays, as to the live rock itself that lends its deep impressiveness to the heaving, commanding mass of the image rendered in slow, heavy and tough plasticity. Located in Mālwā, traditionally and psychologically the Varāhāvatāra (fifth century) stretches one of its arms towards the Sūrya of Bhājā (second century B.C.) and the other to the sculptures of heavy but dynamic mass of Bādāmi, Ellora and Elephanta (sixth, seventh and eighth centuries).

2. *Eastern India*

The soft and subtle music of Sārnāth was listened to in Eastern India with rapt attention. But the Prāchya country, which had inherited a culture and ethnic character different from those of Āryāvarta, endowed the subtle delicacy and spiritual refinement of Sārnāth with a warmth of emotion and a sensuous appeal. This is evident not only in the colossal copper image of the standing Buddha from Sultānganj (Pl. XXV, 58), Bhāgalpur (Birmingham Museum)[1] and the huge metal image of the Buddha from Nālandā (Nālandā Museum), but also in such examples as the stone image of the Buddha from Bihārail (Pl. XXV, 57) (Rājshāhi Museum), the stucco reliefs of the Maniyār Maṭh (Pl. XXV, 59), Rājgir, and the two stone images of the river-goddesses of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from Dah Parvatiyā (Pl XXVI, 60, 62), Tezpur.[2] The Sultānganj and Nālandā examples seem still to prefer the Mathuraesque treatment of the robe in conventional folds and curly fringes, but the Rājgir, Bihārail and Tezpur specimens closely follow the vision and idiom of Sārnāth; but everywhere, nevertheless, the unearthly sublimation of Sarnāth is subtly touched by a charm and emotion that are essentially human. This is achieved by very slight variations of the form of the face and the plastic treatment of the body.

In the Brahmanical bas-reliefs on the pillars from Chandimau (Pl. XXIV, 56), decidedly of a homelier and more variegated character than the schematic ones from Sārnāth reliefs of the same period, altogether a different aesthetic impulse and social experience seem to have been at work. Plastically the figures are concentrated in height and roundness, and if the decorative embellishments wind their curly way in a rhythmically capricious manner, the figures themselves are also poised in lively and vivacious movements. Undoubtedly these reliefs reveal a fondness for contrast in light and

1 *HIIA*, fig. 160.

2. *ASI*, 1924-25, p. 98, Pl. XXXII (a) and (b).

shade, for vivacious and lively narration and a homelier feeling and atmosphere unknown to or uncared for by Sārnāth.

3. *The Deccan*

The Deccan has yielded to us very few specimens that can definitely be dated in the fifth century or are representative enough for a clear understanding of the tendencies. But the sixth century introduces us to forces that are vital and varied.

The quality of the Aihole reliefs (Pl. XXVII, 63) is on the whole mediocre, both compositionally and plastically, and a thin lyricism imparts to the figures of gods and their flying associates a feminine grace that has nothing to do with other contemporary sculptures of the Deccan of this period—Parel or Bādāmi, Ajaṇṭā or Kānheri. Of the sublimated energy, deeper wisdom, and spiritual bliss of Sārnāth these reliefs have heard but hardly experienced anything. But at the same time Sārnāth has imparted her quiet poise and balance and her soft and delicate plastic treatment to the supple and elongated human body of Aihole. This suppleness and elongation, however, are contributions from the South; they connect Aihole with the Andhra school on the one hand and the Pallava school on the other.

The contemporary Buddhist reliefs of the Kānheri (Pl. XXVII, 64)[1] caves somewhat register the reverberations of Sārnāth, but that too very feebly and without any sign of illumination or the slightest suggestion of latent energy. A stiffness of pose and a tight modelling hold the figures within their outlines, and they seem to carry their burden with a mute insensibility. Compositionally detached and without any inter-relatedness of inner idea or outer rhythm, the insensitive stiffness of the figures reveals that at least so far as Buddhist art in the Deccan was concerned, the meaning and significance of the fluid and luminous thought that produced the weightless figures of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley were but little understood and experienced.

This is equally noticeable, though in a different way, in the numerous seated or standing figures of Buddhas (Pl. XXVIII, 66) and other divinities that decorate the walls and façades of the Ajaṇṭā caves of about the same period. There the figures are condensed in height and characterised by a spongy roundness. Seemingly weighty, they have hardly any suggestion or feeling of energy and strength, either physical or spiritual, and despite a more sensitive treatment of the plastic surface and a quiet poise they seem to be mute and drowsy. Of spiritual luminosity they know nothing; and whatever physical vigour they have appears to be disintegrating under the burden of drowsy exhaustion.

1. *HIIA*, fig. 163.

It is not by the standards of the common denominators of the age and more particularly of the North that we can evaluate contemporary plastic achievements of the Deccan, for ethnic and geographic preconditions seem to have marked out this region for making contributions to Indian art of altogether a different character, different in vision and outlook, different in social and psychological origins, and different in method and treatment. Outstanding illustrations of this character, so far as the sixth century is concerned, hail from Bādāmi and Parel which bring up-to-date the trends and traditions that had been at work at Bhājā and Kārli.

Of heavy and monumental size and proportion are the figures of the magnificent relief from Parel (Pl. XXVIII, 65).[1] The three vertical figures seem to rise slowly upwards from the formless cosmic depths of the earth's bottom; remnants of the unformed still cling to the figures of the *gaṇas* at the bottom. Deeply absorbed in themselves in supreme concentration, their dynamic but latent energy and strength, that belong to the heaving earth, seem to swell them from within with heavy solidity. The accessory figures, ranged in a vigorous and dynamic composition and connected in inherent relation, are also dynamic in movement, but they too sink themselves in deepest absorption and like the main figures, of whom they are manifestations, hold their dynamism in store, mainly in the chest which expands in breadth and roundness, but also in other parts of the body where solid masses take shape and form by pressure from within. All this is controlled by a clear but flowing outline. Such powerful plastic conception and treatment of the body surface, such latent dynamism and movement, and such radiation of energy are unknown to contemporary Sārnāth; yet paradoxically enough, both proceed from the innermost concentration of mind or *Yoga*.

The same vision and conception of form bring forth the figures and compositions of the rock-cut sculptures of the Bādāmi caves. What lies latent in the Parel figures or in that of the Anantaśāyin Vishṇu of cave III (Bādāmi) bursts forth in powerful and dynamic gestures in the reliefs of the Bādāmi caves (Pl. XXIX, 68-71).[2] Here, too, the bodies of the principal divinities are heavy and monumental in proportion; they are full and solidly built, but unlike those of Parel the plastic treatment is slightly coarse and more generalised. What is significant is that here, too, the emphasis is on the plastic conception and execution of dynamic but latent energy, condensed and concentrated within the physical frame, an energy that rises from deeper and more vital sources of life. These principal figures entirely dominate their respective compositions, and the actual limits of their bodies and limbs are not the connoted or suggested

1. *KIS*, fig. 66. 2. *Ibid.* fig. 67.

limits of their dynamic extension. In fact, their latent dynamism extends far beyond their shapes to the limits of the panel itself and embraces all subsidiary figures which, since they have hardly anything to contribute to the main figure, are sometimes worked out more freely and elaborately. But the minor figures and the elaborate apparels of the principal divinities are all fully subordinated to the large and spreading composition of the main figures. The weightiness of their monumentalised bodies and their condensed energy, pent up within the body along with the dynamic extension of the composition, lend to the reliefs of Bādāmi a meaning and significance unknown to Sārnāth. They make the live rock the cradle of their superhuman energy and aboriginal vitality.

IV. LATER SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE (SEVENTH CENTURY)

1. *Middle and East India*

No dated sculpture of the seventh century is so far known, but quite a considerable number of them can be assigned to the period on stylistic and other grounds. The first half of the seventh century enjoyed a kind of loose political cohesion under the Pushyabhūti empire, but immediately after the death of Harsha-vardhana the political fabric disintegrated into numerous warring and petty autonomous states, and not until the middle of the eighth century did Northern India settle down to comparatively secure social and political conditions. A century of regional psychology, fostered by political and geographical exclusiveness, gradually helped to bring to the fore local tastes and prejudices, and give scope for regional, social, and aesthetic ideals to slowly crystallize into concrete visual forms, and thus give rise to local regional schools. But though the process seems to have been at work already from the seventh century, this did not actually happen in any appreciable form before the middle of the eighth.

Throughout the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, mainly represented by Sārnāth, and in Bengal and Bihār, the Gupta plastic conception of the fifth and sixth centuries was disintegrating from sheer exhaustion and almost unbearable grace and refinement. Further exploration along the same line seemed impossible, and the soft tenderness and fluid illumination held by a melting line and unbelievably sensitive modelling were slowly but surely collapsing; the result was an all round coarseness of treatment and meaningless heaviness of form.

The more important mid-Indian examples assignable to the seventh century continue to hail mainly from Sārnāth (Pl. XXVIII, 67) and its spiritual extension, Nālandā. A meaningless and drowsy

heaviness of form, generated by a heavy and continuous feasting on the remnants of a generation, burdens all figures. What had been creative means is now reduced to formulas that carry no significance. The plastic surface grows coarse while the outline loses its fluidity. In the subsequent century, however, Nālandā puts a brake to the process of disintegration by a tightening up of the modelling and deficiency of a firm outline. The bodily type remains throughout a legacy from the Gupta ideal and tradition of the Gangā-Yamunā valley. What happens at a later stage need not be discussed here but will form the subject-matter of the regional Eastern school of sculpture, to be dealt with in a subsequent volume.

A couple of metal images from Bengal (the Sarvāṇī image of queen Prabhāvatī, Dacca Museum;[1] bronze Śiva, Ajit Ghosh collection, Calcutta) which may be assigned to the seventh century also reveal the slowing down of the high tide of Gupta tradition in its Eastern version, and very little remains in them of the latter's refined sensuousness and sensitive abstractions. The stiff and coarse Sarvāṇī is but a forerunner of the conventional cult image of a later age. But a few stone sculptures from Pāhārpur,[2] assignable roughly to this or a slightly later period, cling more honestly and tenaciously for some time yet to the East Indian version of the Sārnāth tradition. The plastic character of the so-called Rādhā-Kṛishṇa relief (Pl. XXX, 72) of Pāhārpur and of the lady with a bird on a jamb from Bhāgalpur (Pl XXXI, 74) has all the grace and poise, and warm sensuousness and human charm of the Nāginī of Maṇiyār Math (Rājgir)[3] and the Gangā and Yamunā of Dah Parvatiyā (Tezpur).[4]

But a very deep aesthetic and social significance attaches to a good number of stone reliefs (Pl. XXX, 73) from the same Pāhārpur monument. Of heavy and coarse features and appearance and of indifferent proportion, without any trace of refined sensitiveness or cultured sophistication, the naive and simple figures of these reliefs are modelled into form in a carefree manner. Their plasticity is in their movement and in their dynamic composition and powerful rhythm. Free from the trammels of formularisations, the art of these sculptures derives its inspiration directly from the day-to-day life around, and it is the immediate experience of the dynamism and purposeful rhythm of daily life itself that has been imparted into these sculptures. Intensely lively, powerful and human, these examples represent what must have been a submerged art of the people of Bengal, which was given but little scope for coming to the

1. *HBR*, fig. 147.
2. *MASI* No 55, by K N. Dikshit. Delhi, 1938, pp 37-55.
3. *HIIA*, fig 176.
4. See above, p 528

fore again before the late mediaeval period, when social and political conditions were favourable for a re-assertion of local and popular expressions in art and literature.

2. *Mālwā and Rājputāna*

What happened to the art of Mālwā and Rājputāna in the seventh century cannot be definitely ascertained. A few stray examples[1] that may stylistically be dated in the period are not substantial enough to suggest conclusions.

Generally speaking, condensed plasticity, concentrated roundness and a terseness of treatment seem to characterise the products of this period. In Sānchī (Pl. XXXII, 77) for example, these characteristics are visible in a number of sculptures assignable to the seventh and eighth centuries. To what extent Deccan contributed to this phase of Mālwā art is difficult to say, but a certain impress of contemporary Deccanese accent seems to be indicated.

With this Mālwā-Rājputāna idiom we can perhaps link up certain wooden reliefs of the Brahmor temple[2] and some large metal images of Chamba,[3] assignable to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. The essentially Mālwā firmness of outline and lightness of modelling that grip a solid body are here too, marked by an elegance that recalls the Āryāvarta ideal of a previous age.

A comparison of the Mālwā-Rājputāna specimens of the late seventh and eighth centuries with those of Nālandā, Bengal, and Orissa of the eighth century, strikingly illustrates the interesting fact noted above that a slow but gradual transition of the plastic conception was taking place all over Middle and Eastern India.

3 *The Deccan*

While Āryāvarta was going through the pangs of disintegration of an old tradition and the birth of a new art, Deccan was fulfilling her destined mission of carrying on the tradition of Bhājā and Kārli, of Parel and Bādāmi to its final creative perfection. The results at its most important stages are to be seen in the caves at Ellora, Paṭṭaḍakal, Aurangābād and Elephanta.

Seventh century work at Ellora (Rāvana-ka-khai, Daśāvatāra Rāmeśvara and Dhumar Leṇā caves; cf. Pls. XXXII, 79, XXXIII, 80; VIII, 16 and IX, 17) is distinguished by the same heaviness and

1. Cf Avalokiteśvara from Sānchī (Pl XXXII 77) and a female bust from Gwālior (Pl XXXI, 75) and the lower part of a female figure (Pl XXXI, 76)
2. Vogel, *Antiquities of Camba State*, p 7, fig 2
3 *Ibid* cf. Metal image of the Buddha from Fathpur, Kangra (Pl. XXXII, 78)

broadness of physiognomical form, and by the same concentrated power and energy that radiate and transcend the physical frame as in Bādāmi of a previous generation. But while in Bādāmi a generalised modelling diffuses the total accumulated power and energy evenly to all parts of the body, in Ellora a differentiated modelling localises the widespread energy in particular parts of the body according to its flexions, attitudes, and movements, and there it is condensed and focussed. To keep harmony with such differentiated modelling and localised and condensed energy, the clear and flowing outline of Bādāmi is replaced by one that is tense and terse in agitated restraint. What in Bādāmi and Parel was in deepest absorption and meditation, accumulating endless power and energy, now seems to be slowly on the surge to expand and act, but is yet kept in fullest restraint. Eyes that had once been closed with the inward look have now opened and the figures are slowly emerging out into the world of creative gestures and movements; iconographic gestures and movements were known in Bādāmi as well, but there they had remained steeped in absorption.

The slow emergence of this life of movement, of tension and differentiation is brought about by the character of the relief as well. The reliefs are as a rule sunk at the darkest and deepest bottom of the recesses of the caves whence the figures are made to emerge towards light and space in a slightly diagonal direction of forthcoming. This direction of emergence and movement is underlined by projecting pilasters as well as by a sideward flexion of the upper part of the body with horizontal shoulders. The modelled volume of the figures is thus given a lively play in light and darkness and the diagonal direction towards space lends to the plastic conception and composition a widened meaning and significance. Space which dwells apart thus becomes an integral part of the relief and fully plays its part in both.

The same plastic conception of volume and compositional movement characterises the relief of the Aurangābād caves (Pl XXXIII, 81) as well, where differentiated modelling of volume exploits more fully the darkness of the recesses of caves and the light of unfilled and delimited space.

Towards the middle of the eighth century the reliefs of the temples of Paṭṭaḍakal register the impress of the South Indian Pallava tradition of Māmallapuram (also called Mahābalipuram) and Kānchīpuram right on their Deccanese inheritance; but the two are not yet fully blended into a creative synthesis. The figures attain a slender suppleness and elegance so characteristic of the south of a previous age. The easy, silent and graceful movements add charm

to the architectonic dignity and proportion of not a few of the panels worked in high relief. Indeed, much more refined and elevated in taste and serious and condensed in spirit, the Paṭṭadakal reliefs lift to a much higher level the light and thin plastic conception of the South.

But in the array of the powerful and magnificent reliefs of the Kailāsanātha temple of eighth century at Ellora, the process at work at Paṭṭadakal reaches maturity, and the creative fusion of concentrated and sustained power and heaviness of form of the Deccan and of ease, grace and suppleness of the South results in mighty carvings of forceful movement and noble and dignified elegance blended into one. The slowly rising movement of the seventh century Ellora now gathers speed and bursts forth into moments of intense activity and abandon of the body and spirit. The condensation of ever-present energy and latent power now releases itself in forceful direction that bends the figures in a bowlike arch diagonally pushing forward (the Mahishamardinī relief—Pl. XXXV, 84)[1] or brings them in rapturous and violent embrace (the Mithuna relief) or surges them into violent gestures and vigorous movements (the scene of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa, Pl. XXXIV, 82).[2] Even when they are seated or standing at ease (the Śiva-Pārvatī scene,[3] the river-goddess reliefs), they retain in their slender bodies an attitude of dignified command, and while flying exhibit an active and conscious effort at speed.

All this is attained by a thorough mastery of a detailed and differentiated modelling of the volume. The degree of localised tenseness and condensation of power depends upon the speed and vigour of the movement itself. The diagonal direction of forthcoming is equally potent here and is nowhere more in evidence than in the bow-like arches of principal and subsidiary figures. In not a few of the reliefs the entire composition is dictated by this direction of movement with a slight flexion of the chest and horizontal shoulders (scenes of Dance of Śiva, of Vishṇu, Narasiṁha, of Mahishamardinī, etc.). Effects of light and darkness are exploited to the full, not only according to the degree of coming forward into space, but also in accordance with the requirements of the theme and the psychological states of the actors on the stage. This is done, as required, by grading the relief with the help of receding cuts or by effecting deep and dark recesses into the rock of the cave.

If Paṭṭadakal and Ellora release stage by stage the stored up power and energy of Bhājā, Kārli, Parel and Bādāmi into forceful and violent movements of might and command, Elephanta[4] brings

1. *KIS*, fig. 75. 2. *Ibid*, fig. 78. 3. *HIIA*, fig. 193. 4. *Ibid*, figs. 194-5.

forth the final vision of primeval energy drawing its sap from the bottom of creation and accumulating it through millenniums within the limits of the human frame, till the concentrated vigour and latent power swell the body to its utmost limits in solid and rounded forms of mighty proportions (Pl. XXXV, 85). There it abides for all time in pristine grandeur and absorbed in deepest concentration. In Bādāmi the tall and heavy crowns elaborately carved weighed on the gods with their downward thrusts; here they are worn lightly and accentuate the upward direction, and the curly locks and rich ornaments frame the weighty and impersonal faces of the mighty divinities in a significant plastic contrast. A simple and highly generalised modelling of the volume gives to them power and dignity unsurpassed. In concentrated and latent power and energy, in sublimated consciousness of dynamic movement, in monumental poise and grandeur, in elemental dimension and in power and balance of composition, the Elephanta reliefs are the last word in rock-cut sculptures of the Deccan. The last limit of perfection is reached and nothing remains to be explored.

The *dharmachakra-pravarttana* Buddha of Sārnāth (Pl XVIII, 37) and the Śivaite reliefs of Elephanta represent the two utmost heights and extensions of India's quest in the realm of spirit reached in the concreteness of plastic vision and form, while the bronze Naṭa-rāja of the Tamil genius of a later period represents the third. But the first and second are truly classical in the strictest sense of the term and reach the highest level of supreme classical consummation.

An Ajaṇṭā inscription of presumably the fifth or sixth century records, in a moment of self-deluded exultation of the author, that Krishna, Śankara and other gods have beaten a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of the Buddha! Whatever might have been the case with Buddhism in the South in the sixth and seventh centuries, Buddhist art in the Deccan as represented by examples at Ajantā and Kānheri, we have seen, was already on the verge of collapse and disintegration. The same languorous and spongy modelling of an otherwise heavy but elegant body characterises the reliefs of the almost contemporary Buddhist caves at Lonad, not very far from Bombay. In the eighth century, however, the rock-cut reliefs of Nāsik (cave XVI) show figures whose flowing and disciplined outline seeks vainly to impart subtlety to an otherwise thin and spread-out volume of the body On the whole, compared with contemporary Brahmanical works at Ellora, Aurangābād, Pattadakal and Elephanta, all pregnant with the vigorous energy and dynamic movement latent or expressed, of a renascent culture, the heavy and languorous Buddhist works bear the

mark of evident exhaustion and final collapse. In the north, we have seen, this collapse was arrested in time by a fresh process of integration with a new conception and outlook of life.

4. *The South: Māmallapuram and Kāñchīpuram*

The sea-shore rocks of Māmallapuram in the South burst forth in stately and elegant flowers in the seventh century under the great Pallavas. Enriched in the meanwhile by the experience gone through in Āryāvarta, Mālwā and the Deccan, they brought the inheritance of the Āndhra school up-to-date and contributed to it their own share of knowledge and experience that belonged to the age.

The enormous Gaṅgāvataraṇa(?) relief (Pl. XXXIV, 83),[1] carved in epic scale, in epic breadth, simplicity, and directness, on the entire face of a cliff, is inspired by the rock itself. The theme belongs to the rock and it utilises the surface composition of the rock with its cracks, crevices, rectangles and roundels for purposes of relief composition itself. Such attempts were made at Bhājā and Udayagiri, but nowhere else than at Māmallapuram are the reliefs so organically related to the rock. Inside the enormous, conceptually unlimited expanse of the composition, and along either side of the Gaṅgā descending from heaven to earth, is grouped a whole world of men, animals, gods, ascetics, serpent-deities and semi-divine beings. The sympathy with, and understanding of, all sentient beings and the deep and fresh love of nature that were once in evidence on the early Buddhist reliefs of Sānchī are here once more brought to the fore, and all creatures in their most loving and joyous existence are drawn together round the life-giving current of the river. That ascetic cat, so humorously realistic, or that elegant and intensely life-like pair of deer, that old and emaciated Brāhmaṇa ascetic bent with age, or on the other adjoining cliff, that intensely lively pastoral scene of the milking of a cow, or that sculptured block showing a monkey family—all these testify to the unbounded love of this art for the little joys and little sideways of life, and to its close observation and love of nature.

The joyous and effortless existence of life is here taken for granted; everything here is thin, light and obvious and, frankly there is here no trace of spiritual quest. What gives them poise and dignity is the restrained measure of their movement. The figures just burst forth like flowers into light from the body of the rock and there they exist against a flat ground, jostling in a crowded world without vegetation or any sort of decoration. Since they all disport

1. *KIS*, fig. 71. Mr. Ramachandran has recently identified the rock-cut reliefs of Māmallapuram as representing the epic and Pauranic story of the encounter of Arjuna with the Kirāta (*Kirātārjunīyam*). Cf *JISOA*, XVIII, 54 ff.

themselves on the flat face of the rock, any deep display of light and darkness is uncalled for; there is thus no deep mystery or intense drama of vigorous action as one experiences at Ellora or Bādāmi. Everything here is clear and self-evident; a simple, clear and definite experience gone through with a cultivated detachment and disciplined strength calls for no subtlety and depth of conception or form.

There are also other reliefs at Māmallapuram (Pl. XXXVI, 87) which belong to temples cut out of live rock. They are in most cases made to emerge from the vertically set, low sunk, rectangular panels flanked by shafts of pilasters, and are obviously architectonic in character. Of tall and slender Āndhra type, but with a much simplified and generalised modelling and much more disciplined and restrained, the height of the figures is underlined by the vertical direction of the shafts and the panel itself as well as by tall and slim arms and legs and high and pointed crowns. Despite *bhaṅgas* of intended grace and refinement the figures never, not even the female ones, miss their architectonic discipline. This is so even in those reliefs where no architectural device is called for, as in those of the Gaṅgāvataraṇa rock.

With a simplified and generalised modelling the sensuousness of the Āndhra school melted away, but not the pliability which is now endowed with a cultured dignity and detachment. A consciousness of power heightened by broad shoulders in the case of male figures and by disciplined strength gives to gods and men a noble and aristocratic bearing. Gods perforce had to be formularised, but kings and queens—we are told by epigraphs that they are contemporary 'portraits'—and even ordinary mortals, despite comparative ease of posture and attitude, never fail to achieve this bearing. Female figures are much slighter and thinner with their narrow chest and shoulders, smaller breasts, minimum jewellery and apparel, and their generally very submissive and dependant attitude. Invariably they appear to lean or incline towards their male counterparts with a graceful *bhaṅga* that bases itself on a pair of firm hips. But whether it is a male or a female, a god or a king (there is nothing to distinguish them except by the inscriptions), a divinity or an ordinary mortal, a disciplined impersonal attitude characterises all facial and bodily appearances. This attitude, as already pointed out, is not born of any inner experience or meditative principle or of any deep experience of life. It is but formal acceptance of life with a cultured and aristocratic detachment. Indeed, for deeper or subtler experience, either in the sense of the Deccan or of Āryāvarta, Māmallapuram seems to care little.

In the eighth century reliefs of the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñchīpuram the thin and light plastic context of Māmallapuram has become thinner and lighter still. The collapse and disintegration is just arrested as in the North by a firmer and more precise outline.

V. VEGETAL AND GEOMETRIC DECORATIVE CARVINGS

A word must be said about the vegetal and geometric carvings of the period. It has already been pointed out that the human figure pushed all rich decorative patterns comprising the animal and vegetal world or purely abstract geometric devices out of the reliefs on to the borders or to sculptural and architectural bands and panels where they kept themselves confined in their exclusiveness. There they are vital, prolific, and brimful in their richness and exuberance, but always chaste and elegant. Precisely outlined beads and rosettes, exquisite arabesques and dentils, fully and richly modelled stalks and foliages, twisted rope-designs with hanging pearls and other ornaments, intertwined creepers and figures of *ganas*, men, women, and grotesques, all deeply and obliquely cut into clear and precise form, meander their sinuous and capricious courses in a curly and concentric manner, and are bathed all over in a rich display of light and darkness. The technical perfection of rich craftsmanship of the period and of imaginative fertility is everywhere in evidence.

Apart from such rich and exuberant vegetal patterns there are other devices, often side by side, of geometric abstractions, like Swastika motifs in repetitions and combinations, diamond-shaped ornaments formed by crossing of parallel lines, chess-board patterns, etc., all cut with flat and angular surfaces—nowhere so prominent as in the ornamentation of the Dhāmek *stūpa* of Sārnāth and in certain door-frames of contemporary temples. Here too there is a pleasing display of light and darkness, but the general effect is comparatively less warm and variegated. Abstract geometrical devices had so far been very rare in Indian plastic art; the Gupta period introduces and makes them popular, and from now onwards, *i.e.* from the eighth century they are used in profusion throughout Northern India.[1]

A study of these rich vegetal and geometric decorative patterns of the period in a geographical context shows that they are most prolifically and profusely used in the plastic art and architecture of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley and the Prāchya country. Already in Mālwā they are but sparingly employed, while in the rock-cut reliefs

1. *FAS*, fig. 115, Pl. XXXVII.

of the Deccan and the South they are practically excluded. While this may have been due, basically, to ethnic reasons, it is not altogether impossible that it was also partly due to the respective governing ideologies of the times, at least in the Āryāvarta and the Deccan. The subtle and mystical thought process of Āryāvarta left in her elevated and spiritual plastic formulations of the relief, with its pivotal human figure, hardly any scope for richly imaginative and capricious decorative devices which had perforce to find their place away on the borders and architectural panels. And, since the vegetal principle was alive and potent in the human figure itself, it was already there and had to find its place somewhere In the Deccan, rock-cut themes themselves enter into elemental depths and dimensions, and reside in realms where is eternal darkness and where there is no vegetation, no movement, no light, and no scope for any differentiation. Nor was the vegetal principle alive and active anywhere in the conception of the human figure as in the North

VI GENERAL REVIEW

The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Sarnāth of the fifth and sixth centuries represent the plastic process and final achievement of a highly subtle and mystical, fluid and luminous thought known to us as the Mahāyāna-Yogāchāra brought up-to-date by contemporary Buddhist thinkers. They are the culmination of a spiritual quest that started its career in the early centuries of the Christian era In the context of plastic examples extant, the most important centres of this quest were Mathurā and Sārnāth, roughly the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley though reverberations of Mathurā and Sārnāth were heard from Assam to the farthest North-west and from Kāshmir to the Vindhyas. What we see in Āryāvarta during these centuries is the fruition of this quest, so far as plastic creations, mainly Buddhist at any rate are concerned. But contemporary Brahmanical sculptures also, at least quite a few of them and those of Āryāvarta again, were inspired by this quest, it is enough to refer in this connection to the Kārttikeya from Banaras and the Ekamukha Linga from Khoh in the Nāgod State. But the majority of Brahmanical sculptures though belonging to the common denominator of Gupta plastic vision, was not touched by this thought and spiritual quest, in a word by the Yogāchāra cultural outlook; it is enough to refer the readers to the Brahmanical reliefs from Rajaona, Deogarh, Udayagiri, Mandasor and Besnagar

A study of the religio-philosophical literature, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, of the period shows that from about the third and fourth centuries, Āryāvarta was in a great ferment of thought

and minds and ideas came into conflict with minds and ideas, and in these and following centuries combatants came roughly to be ranged on two sides, one representing the thought of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu and Dinnāga, another represented by the Yoga-sūtras and Nyāyasūtras, by Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara and Kumārila, to name only a few. Out of this ferment and turmoil evolved a neo-Brahmanism, sturdy and vigorous in action, robust and virile in imagination, fertile in creation and comprehensively ethnic in origin. This neo-Brahmanism found popular expression in the contemporary redactions of the Purāṇas and the Epics that brought up-to-date the basic Indian notions of creation, preservation and destruction of life. The more significant Brahmanical sculptures of this period are mainly concerned with these notions and their concrete manifestations. When we are told that a Purāṇa ought to consist, among other things,[1] of the evolution of the universe from its *material* cause and its recreation from the constituent elements into which it is merged at the close of each aeon, we seem to catch a glimpse of what seems to have been the vision and thought that inspired the reliefs of the Udayagiri caves of Mālwā or of Bādāmi, Ellora, Aurangābād and Elephanta, or, on a lower level, of even Māmallapuram. We seem only then to realise more fully and deeply the origin and meaning of the dynamic strength and power, latent in meditative absorption or expressed in vigorous action, in these magnificent reliefs, or of the manifold manifestations of the notions of three supreme principles, in concrete plastic terms. Here we really witness the birth of a new thought and outlook, indeed of a new culture and civilisation

Contemporary Buddhist plastic art of the Deccan remained on the whole untouched by this new vision and thought, and with all possibilities of the sources they drew from explored and exhausted, it slowly and gradually collapsed Contemporary Buddhist painting, we shall see, drew from other vital sources of life as well, and had other reasons for its inherent potency and strength, which enabled it to survive longer and that with refinement and vigour, but on a lower level of creation.

In Āryāvarta and Eastern India, however, the older vision of a highly subtle and mystical significance and of corresponding plastic expression, after a short period of torpor, was effectively integrated by the new vision and thought of neo-Brahmanism, and its corresponding plastic expression. A new and integrated art was thus born in the following centuries as will be described in the next volume.

1. See above, p. 292.

C. PAINTING AND OTHER ARTS

I. PAINTING

1. *Scope and Nature*

While the quest for form in stone during all these centuries concerned itself with themes and expressions of a deeper and more fundamental significance, painting (also, clay-modelling and terra-cotta) partook of a secular character, and was presumably more in general practice and popular demand than stone sculpture. A perusal of the literature of the period, both creative and technical, would show that painting was considered as an essential social accomplishment not only in the cities, among the members of the upper strata of society including princes and ladies and nobles of the court, but also elsewhere among the members of the various professional guilds, and was practised even by amateurs. The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana includes painting as one of the sixty-four *kalās* or fine arts—repeated later on in text after text—and mentions paints, brushes and drawing boards as essential furniture of an average citizen's (*nāgaraka*) personal apartment. If Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's great work is any indication of the period under review, then it has further to be admitted that attempts were already being made to give theoretical and practical guidance to an increasingly large number of amateurs and professionals who came to practise the art. Yaśodhara refers to the *Shaḍaṅga* or Six Limbs of Painting, *viz. rūpabheda, pramāṇas, bhāva, lāvaṇyayojana, sādṛiśya* and *varṇikabhaṅga,* which are rendered by Coomaraswamy as distinction of types, ideal proportions, expression of mood, embodiment of charm, points of view (with reference to stance, *sthānam*) and preparation of colours (grinding, levigation, etc.). The renderings are open to question, but this is not the place to enter into a discussion on this point. The *Vishnu-dharmottaram,* admittedly a text of the Gupta age, in devoting a complete chapter to the art of painting, discusses the details of quite a good number of such canons and is followed, later on, by other texts as well, the *Śilparatna,* for example Already the *Vishnu-dharmottaram* introduces such technical details as *vajralepa* or the method of preparation of the ground for murals, preparation and application of colours, methods of shading the line, adding high lights, fore-shortening of limbs and features, different methods of treating the volume, expression of mood (*bhāvanā*) and movement (*chetanā*), and classification of painting according to themes as *satya, vainika, nāgara* and *miśra* which Coomaraswamy translates, respectively, as realistic, lyrical, secular and mixed All these and other references in contemporary literature

leave no doubt that the intellectual ferment of the Gupta culture-period led to serious and detailed thinking about the theory and technique of painting, and that it was during this period that aesthetic canons in respect of the art of painting were formularised. These canons were closely related to the canons of the art of dancing, and both together evolved a language of gestures (*mudrās*) and also a canon of poses (*bhangas*), attitudes (*sthānam*), and proportions (*pramāṇani*), etc. Curiously, however, the theory and technique of painting had little or no concern with sculpture as plastic art. The reason is difficult to explain, but it seems that painting, terracotta, etc. were not considered as the *media* suitable for highest creative expression understood in a deeper context. Of comparatively poorer and less durable materials, and usually considered as a social accomplishment, these arts were generally employed for rendering moods and movements that did not claim to be permanent, whereas stone was considered to be the most suitable material for the registration of the deepest and highest aspirations and of the most permanent values of life. But whatever the reason or reasons, even the best and profoundest remains of paintings of the period, namely those of Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā, and Bādāmi, appear to be thin and light when compared with the sculptures of the period, whether of the North or of the Deccan or of the South.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the intrinsic aspect of the art of painting as understood by the Indian mind. According to both Buddhist and Jain conceptions painting is the product of the seeing faculty of the mind, seeing without the operation of the sense of sight, and proceeds from the *pratyaksha* or direct intuition, not from *paroksha* or sense knowledge by perception. Painting is thus said to originate 'from the *darśana* activity of the mind, as distinct from its *jñāna* function.'[1] According to Indian conception the former is distinctly of a lower level than the latter.

The *Vishṇu-dharmottaram* distinguishes different kinds of paintings suitable for religious edifices, palaces. and private houses. We have no extant remains to judge what courtly paintings or those in private houses were like; presumably both were concerned with secular themes as distinguished from ecclesiastical for religious edifices. The remains of paintings at Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh, Bādāmi and Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal are all ecclesiastical in so far as their themes are religious, and they are designed to serve religious ends. But in inner meaning and spirit, and in their general direction and atmosphere, nothing could be more secular or even more courtly and sophisticated. Despite their subject-matter their direction is towards ex-

1. Kramrisch, *JISOA*, V. 221-22· Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, III, 218-19; *Transformation of Nature in Art*, Ch. V.

pression of mood and unfoldment of charm, their appeal is wordly and aesthetic, *i.e.* limited to sensory experience, not spiritual nor intellectual in any way. It is only in such examples as those of the Avalokiteśvara and Padmapāṇi of Cave I and the Return to Kapilavastu of Cave XIX, both at Ajaṇṭā, that contemporary painting aspired to reach the heights and depths attained by contemporary sculpture.

Contemporary literature, including the epics, reveals that flat walls and ceilings, etc., of royal palaces and houses of the rich were elaborately decorated with mural paintings and furnished with separate picture-galleries (*chitraśālās* or *chitrasadmas*). These picture-galleries, which were presumably decorated with portraits and portrait panels, among other things, for portrait painting, usually on wooden boards, occur as a frequent and popular device in Sanskrit dramas and romances of the period. Bhāsa's *pratimā-gṛihas* were indeed sculptural portrait galleries, the *devakulas* of Scytho-Kushāṇa monarchs. *Chitraśālās* were probably painted counterparts of such *pratimā-gṛihas*. A casual remark by Bāṇa is respect of wall-pantings seems to indicate that the themes of murals that used to decorate the walls and ceilings of palaces and houses were generally very broad and comprehensive and embraced the entire panorama of life and nature (*darśita viśvarūpa*). Besides mural paintings which he (also other contemporary writers) knew as *bhittichitra*, Viśākhadatta (sixth century), the author of the *Mudrārākshasa*, refers to another kind of painting, presumably of a folk and popular character. Such paintings, called *Yamapaṭas*, were executed on textile scrolls and dealt with themes of a narrative-didactic nature, showing the results of *Karma* in the other world. Buddhaghosha, the celebrated Buddhist scholar and divine of the period under review, also refers to a similar kind of painting to which he gives the name of *charaṇachitras* which consisted of scenes of happy and unhappy destinies of men after death with appropriate labels attached to them and shown in portable galleries. There can be no doubt that these *yamapaṭas* or *charaṇachitras* are the ancestors, in form, meaning and presentation, of the *paṭachitras* that were widely current in Eastern India even in the nineteenth century and persist even to-day, as well as of the Javanese and Balinese scrolls called *Wayang Beber*. No contemporary example of *Yamapaṭa* or *charaṇachitra*, executed presumably on fragile materials, has survived to this day; but it was evidently a folk-art of ethnic and religious significance and of wide popular appeal, an itinerant school of deep and great educative value for the rural masses.

The way Viśākhadatta uses *bhitti-chittra* as a literary metaphor (*saiveyaṁ mama chitra-karma-rachanā bhittiṁ vinā vartate*) seems to indicate that mural paintings were long in vogue. But in spite of their decided popularity and esteem the art does not seem to have been held in the highest estimation as creative art. Rājaśekhara (*c.* 1000) places the *chitra-lepya-kṛit* or mural painters (as distinguished from *lekhya-chitra*) in the category of *Apabhraṁśa* poets, *i.e.* those who wrote in the language of the common people, and not in that of classical Sanskrit poets who wrote for and in the language of the highly intellectual and cultured.

2. *Extant Remains*

The actual remains of ancient paintings of this period are very few in number. There are faint traces of paintings in the caves at Bedsā which have been assigned to the third century A.D. but they are not substantial enough to admit any definite conclusion. Faint traces exist also in the caves at Kānheri (cave XIV, sixth century), Aurangābād (caves III and VI, sixth century), and Pitalkhora (*chaitya* cave I, sixth century), all in the Deccan; and in the rock-cut temples at Tirumalaipuram (Digambara Jain, seventh century) and Malayadipatti (Vaishṇava, between A.D. 788-840), both in the South. But more substantial remains are to be seen in the caves at Bāgh (notably cave IV, *c.* 500), Ajaṇṭā (caves I, II, XVI, XVII, XIX),[1] and Bādāmi (cave III, sixth century); in a Jain shrine at Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal (seventh century), and a Śaiva shrine at Kāñchīpuram (Kailāsanātha temple, seventh century), both in the South; and in the rock cave at Sigiri in Ceylon (sixth century). But whether such paintings hail from the North, the Deccan, or the South, the norm is supplied by those at Ajaṇṭā, and all paintings of the period belong to a common denominator, differentiated to an extent only by those at Ellora (eighth century) where a new tradition seems to emerge. Of local and regional schools it is hardly necessary to say much, since they are local only in certain conventions and idiosyncracies, physiognomical and otherwise. Basically, Bāgh in Central India or Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal and Kāñchīpuram in the South or Sigiri in Ceylon are not very much different from Ajaṇṭā except in those slight but peculiar elements that make them locally distinguishable.

3. *Technique*

A most interesting part of the technique of the paintings of the period is the method of preparation of the ground for painting. The *Vishṇu-dharmottaram* lays down a complete prescription for laying of the ground for painting which it calls *vajralepa;* but judg-

1. For the date and description of Ajaṇṭā (and other) caves, cf. the previous section on Architecture.

ing from extant remains this prescription does not seem to have been used anywhere. Powdered rock, clay and cowdung, not infrequently mixed with chaff or vegetable fibres, sometimes also with *mudga* decoction or molass, were made into a paste-like substance which was thoroughly and evenly pressed like plaster on the hard and porous surface of the rock. The plaster was then levelled and polished with a trowel and, when still wet, was laid over with a coat of fine white lime wash so that the plaster could take the lime. The entire ground was generally allowed to dry before any colour was applied; that it was kept moist while the colours were applied, as Coomaraswamy thinks, is doubtful. Indian mural paintings, of this period at any rate, are thus *fresco secco* and not true frescoes or *fresco buono*. After application of colours the painted surface was lightly burnished.

The outlines were drawn first, before any underdrawing in colour of the contours was made. These outlines were always and invariably boldly drawn, first in *dhāturāga* or red ochre; the contours were then filled in with red overlaid with a very thin monochrone *terra verte* that shows the red through it; then while the local colour in different tones was applied, the outline was also renewed in brown, deep red or black, with thin or broad shading by dotting (*vindu*) or cross-lines (*patra*) to give to it an effect of rounded three dimensional volume fully modelled. Indian line thus aims not at calligraphic fineness but at bold and rounded elasticity. If the modelling quality of the line is potent in varying degrees (except in a class of paintings at Ellora), the modelling quality of colour is also equally valid. The latter was done not only by the employment of colour-shades and tones but also by laying on high lights, to suggest *natonnata* or different planes. It is not thus correct to say that there was no attempt at modelling at Ajaṇṭā or in other paintings of the period. Brush strokes were always and invariably free and bold, particularly firm in the outlines which are not a little responsible for the strength of the drawing. Colour too is always and invariably fully modelled which shows the figures as if bodied forth in fully rounded and plastic volumes.

The principal colours in use were red ochre (*dhāturāga*), vivid red (*kuṁkuma* or *sindūra*), yellow ochre (*haritāla*), indigo blue, *lapis lazuli* blue, lamp black (*kajjala*), chalk white (*khaḍi-māṭī*), terra verte (*geru-māṭī*) and green (orpiment or powdered verdigris, *jaṅgal*). Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers to a kind of very deep lightening yellow colour produced from *manaḥśilā*, an arsenic colour, which however does not seem to have been used in the extant paintings of the period. All the colours were locally available except *lapis lazuli* blue which may

have been imported from Jaipur or from outside the country. Mixed colours were also used, for example grey, but not usually. Not all the colours are used everywhere, nor with the same consistency, which is determined by the theme and the local atmosphere. Generally speaking, classical Indian painting does not aim at contrasts of a medley of colours, but attempts at saturating the surface with highly charged and dense colours, mainly *terra verte,* Indian red and earth buff, in innumerable tones and shades. This charged saturation, fully modelled and shaded, adds to the classic dignity of the paintings.

4. *Ajaṇṭā. Caves XVI, XVII, and XIX, Caves I and II*

Only a very small fragment remains of what must once have covered the entire flat spaces of the long series of caves at Ajaṇṭā. But even these unmistakably portray a crowded world of lively and fresh vegetation, of gods and semi-divine beings, of *apsarases* and *kinnaras*, of genii and grotesques, of a rich and varied flora, of pageantry and processions, of gaiety and love, of grace and charm, of sublimity and coarseness, all bathed in the mellowed light of the softness and elegance of a highly intellectual, refined and sophisticated civilisation. The joyous naturalism of a bygone age (cf. Sānchī reliefs) seems to have come back, but not without a great difference wrought by the intervening centuries, and more by the governing ideology of the age to which these paintings belong. A dramatic panorama of rich contemporary life of princes and peoples, nobles and warriors, sages and beggars—of different ethnic and national types—a life lived in cities and palaces, in courts and forests, waysides and gardens, lived with dignity and nobility and in grace and charm amidst decorative splendour, moves before our eyes in radiant joy and freedom born of a healthy and effortless material existence. Such simple and graphic narration endowed with the richness of expression of refined emotions and sensibilities of a highly cultured society is indeed unsurpassed in the whole history of graphic art. Yet all this is lifted to a higher spiritual level by the intensity of a subtle and mystical experience approached from a direct and broad humanistic level and gone through with a noble and lofty detachment.

This attitude and outlook of life are brought out from the level of consciousness to that of vision by making the figures body forth from darkness to the light of the surface of the rock In the process of this coming forward which Kramrisch significantly calls 'the direction of forthcoming', the world with its objects and events that remained crowded and compact in density, each with its own assignment in space, within the realm of consciousness, achieves a direction of movement that seemingly stops before our eyes but goes on cease-

lessly in the mind. This movement of each figure and of each story is linked up rhythmically with that of the other narrative, and thus the entire painted surface is held by a ceaseless rhythm and movement which impart the joyous freedom that belongs to the scenes of life depicted, and give to the bodies of objects the reality of effortless existence, lithe and light in appearance, moving forward, backward, and sideward with ease and freedom, bending and oscillating in a disciplined but careful manner as in a dance.

Among the themes that are still recognisable in Cave XVI are the three Buddhas, a sleeping woman, and the sequel to the *Shaḍdanta jātaka* represented by a dying princess (Pl. XXXVII, 89); in Cave XVII, the seven Buddhas, the *Siṁhalāvadāna*, Wheel of Causation, Return to Kapilavastu, Consecration Ceremony, a love scene, the *Mahāhaṁsa*, *Mātṛiposhaka*, *Ruru*, *Shaḍdanta*, *Śibi*, *Viśvantara*, and *Nālagiri jātakas*, and *gandharvas* and *apsarases* (Pl. XXXIX, 92) besides; in Cave XIX (which may be slightly later in date), return to Kapilavastu and a number of Buddhas; in Cave I, the Great Bodhisattvas (Pl. XXXVIII, 91), *Māradharshaṇa* (Pl. XXXVII, 90), *Pañchika* story, *Śibi* and *Nāga jātakas*, love scenes, etc; and in cave II, Śrāvastī miracle, palace and Indraloka scenes, *Kshāntivādin* and *Maitribala jātakas*, etc.

Horizontal bands, in which the paintings of the first phase (Caves IX and X) were laid, have now become practically coterminous with the entire area of the walls. No frames except those broad scroll-borders of the cell-doors in Cave XVI hamper the free march of the narrative; even the horizontal bands have now been dissolved, though in Cave XVII veiled suggestions of horizontal arrangement remain here and there. Usually one story merges into another in unbroken continuity, and the crowded narratives move forward both horizontally and vertically, above and below.

Cave XVI shows the aesthetic validity of the direction of forthcoming to its very best. Large volumes carefully modelled in the round and fully shaded in outline crowd the painted surface with a warm impact of form (scenes from Buddha's life and that of the conversion of Nanda—right and left walls). Perfect poise and reserve give to ample curves of movement a quiet dignity and detachment. Certain fragments, mostly on the back wall and showing scenes from the life of the Buddha, lack this poise and dignified detachment; colour profusely modelled and outlines deeply shaded bespeak more technical awareness and efficiency, but rob the bodies of not a little of their suavity and grace.

In Cave XVII, the human figure dwindles to smaller sizes and, endowed with greater ease and added elegance, fill the space in dense

compactness and sways them in rhythmical waves. This swaying rhythm and the fullest extension of the direction of forthcoming bring forth the exhaustive and powerful compositions of the scenes of the *Viśvantara jātaka* and the *Siṁhalāvadāna* into their fullest maturity. But the figures themselves do not rise fully to the stature of the composition. Slender and supple and consciously elegant, they have not, despite their open eyes, the fullest comprehension of what is happening before them; they participate in the world festival with an abandon, elation and acuteness (also see scenes of *Śibi* and *Haṁsa jātakas*)—sharpened by flaming and acute colours and fine linearism—that are oblivious of any deeper mystery of existence.

Cave XIX reveals the same mastery of compositional power and majesty (scene of Return to Kapilavastu), but the numerous Buddhas presage the complete coming forth of the Bodhisattva paintings of Cave I

In Cave I the large Bodhisattvas (Pl. XXXVIII, 91) have grown to their full stature, both outwardly and inwardly. Of large dimensions they are yet weightless; fully bodied forth in solid rounded plasticity, they are yet melting in *Karuṇā,* and seemingly in motion in the midst of a radiantly moving and rejoicing world, they seem to have become stilled into silence before a great realisation. With eyelids lowered they withdraw themselves into their own depths (Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara).

Not all the scenes reach to this height, nor are they all technically on the same level; some are even coarse, sodden, and blunt, and are seized by a languid torpor. A strengthening of the spread-out contour by a thick modelling in colour and a distended outline only emphasise this defect, as is illustrated by the left bottom of Padmapāni scene But the scene just above this is of a much finer texture; there the slight and small figures with their animated faces reveal themselves in a spirit of spiritual humility and surrender.

Much more comprehensive in composition than these is the scene of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* which is on a par with that of the *Viśvantara jātaka* of Cave XVII, but here the modelling is less sensitive and a certain mannerism has cropped up. This mannerism is also evident in the *Màradharshana* scene where, besides, both modelling and outline have become coarsened The *Śibi jātaka* scene reveals yet another aspect within the common trend; here the ample curves and plasticity of modelling are replaced by angles and coarser treatment of body surface resulting in thinness and insipidity.

In both colour and modelling, the paintings of Cave II reach the highest perfection in the direction of forthcoming. Indeed, the paintings of this cave exhaust the possibility of what colour can achieve

in solidity and in the third dimension. In other respects the majority of the scenes of this cave follow either the manner of the *Mahājanaka jātaka* or that of the *Sibi jātaka*, both of Cave I. Still in others there is evidence of exhaustion and disintegration shown in careless brush work and conventional mannerism.

It is in the paintings of these caves, so far as the modelling of volume is concerned, that painting comes nearest to sculpture. Sculpture in India was always considered to be the main exponent of artistic vision, while painting tried to come up to it with its own means. In Caves I and II, and also at Bādāmi, Cave III, painting seems to run almost a parallel course with contemporary sculpture. It is here that painting, for once at least, reaches the elevated classical or *Saṁskṛita* height and dignity of contemporary sculpture

5 *Bāgh: Caves IV and III*

The paintings of Cave IV of Bāgh correspond to those of Caves I and II of Ajantā There is nothing to distinguish the small fractional remains of what seems to have been an enormous output in these caves from those of the last phase at Ajaṇṭā Stylistically too both belong to the same norm But there is a slight difference. There can be no doubt that the Bāgh paintings like those of Ajantā are affiliated to Buddhism—presumably they relate *jātaka* stories, but whereas in Ajantā despite a secular, even slightly pagan atmosphere, the paintings are informed by a religious spirit and present the dominant figures of the compositions in an inwardness of vision and a superior detachment of outlook that spread like a web over the entire surface, those at Bāgh are frankly secular, depicting contemporary life with its evident religious associations. The languorous drowsiness, so evident in the half-closed drooping eyelids and the soft and sensuous modelling, of a large number of figures is more the result of the intensity of participation in the joyous pageantry than of physical exhaustion or of deep spiritual experience Yet an emotional discipline and a detached vision lift them above the transitoriness of daily life (Pl XL, 93)

Relatively more earthly and more human than those at Ajaṇṭā are also the Bodhisattva figures inside Cave IV. The supramundane and highly graceful and melting vision of Ajantā divines (Cave XVII) is here touched by an earthly nobility held by a tightened modelling and a more precise outline, no inner vision illuminates them, but an aristocratic bearing and detachment, coupled with a compassionate look, make them abide in the midst of a fresh and luxuriant, moving and teeming world

All the technical knowledge of the age manifests itself in the scene of the female *chauri*-bearer in Cave III where a soft, delicate

but full bodied woman, bending under the weight of her full round bosoms and presented in back and three-quarter profile, reveals all the mastery of delicate and sensitive colour-modelling of volume, fine shading of the outlines, and the fullest meaning of the direction of forthcoming. Luscious and sensuously drowsy, yet restrained and detached, it integrates an intensely mundane experience with an elevated spiritual aloofness.

6. *Bādāmi: Caves III and II*

The earliest Brahmanical paintings, so far known, are the fragments found in Cave III (Cave II also contains slight traces) of Bādāmi (A.D. 578) The cave is Vishṇuite but the paintings themselves seem to depict Śivaite subjects, the most important and well-preserved being that of the so-called betrothal of Śiva and Pārvati (Pl XL, 94).

Seen on a monochrome photograph the figures look as if they have been worked out of live rock in full but soft rounded volumes, sensitively dense and malleably compact. Indeed, they have been bodied forth by modelling the colour in full roundness, shading the outlines and profuse application of high lights where the painted relief reaches the highest point The technique follows that of Ajantā and Bāgh, but the style hardly conforms to that of any of them, not even the last phases of Ajantā with which they are considered to be contemporaneous In Caves I and II of Ajantā the modelling is summarised to a firmness that gives a hard and tight appearance to the texture of the body, the outline, too, is shaded thickly and slightly harshly. The modelling of Bādāmi, on the other hand, is much more sensitive in texture and expression and the outline much more soft and elastic With a slackening of the contour the figures exhale an intimate warmth and delicacy of feel and atmosphere that are unknown to the last phases of Ajaṇṭā.

But Bādāmi, too, belongs to the common denominator of classical Indian painting and interprets its potentialities in its own way It is essentially a painting of volume being bodied forth on to the surface in full and round modelling; in the process of coming forth, bodies of objects crowded in the realm of mind produce an impact, the resultant movement of which abides on the painted surface Each one centre and phase fulfils this tendency in its own way As to the rest, namely the joyous and radiant naturalism the poise and balance and sensuous charm and disciplined grace the intensity of mundane experience and the noble reserve and spiritual detachment, the physiognomical norm, etc are all products of the age characterised by a highly urbanised, intellectual and sophisticated culture to which the paintings belong.

7. *Siṭṭannavāśal: Kāñchīpuram: Tirumalaipuram*

If Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmi represent the classical tradition of the North and the Deccan at its best, Śiṭṭannavāśal and other cognate paintings show the extent of its penetration in the South. The paintings of Śiṭṭannavāśal (*i.e.* the *vāsaḥ* or abode of the Jain Siddhas) are intimately connected with Jain theme and symbology. The paintings that are still extant and are relatively better preserved are to be seen on the walls and ceilings of the Jain shrine and the pillared *maṇḍapa* in front; the sides of the pillars also seem to have been originally painted over, and there remain today at least three panels, two occupied by dancing *apsarases* (Pl. XLI, 96) and the third by a couple, identified as the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I and his wife, accompanied by another figure. The ceiling of the pillared hall is divided into three painted lotus panels of which the middle one, the largest of the three, shows a lotus pond; indeed, the green lotus blooms or white lotus buds with white scalloped lines for the petals or with black outlines shaded towards the edges, that play so prominent a part in the composition and the fresh liveliness of the painted panels, are all supposed to have been culled from this pond. The ceiling of the main shrine is also similarly painted with an analogous division, central lotus pond and lotus blooms. But whereas the latter is purely floral and relatively more spacious, the former is compact with bulls and elephants, *haṁsas* and *sārasas, makaras* and human figures, etc. all intertwined with the thick growth of lotus stalks, blooms and petals On both the ceilings there is a painted cloth canopy which is but a painted version of a textile fabric with unending abstract and flat geometrical patterns formed of the cross, square, and *triśūla*. Inset in the rectangles are the figures of gods and demi-gods Despite the fluidity of curves and the general design and the slightly modelled lines and volumes, the flat abstract geometrical vision of the cloth canopy painting is in striking contrast with the vision and treatment of the lotus pond where fresh stalks, petals, and blooms, including bodies of man, animal, etc are all modelled in the round with a feel of their texture. While in the latter the classical tradition is at work, in the former the mediaeval tradition of flat and abstract surfaces and linearised designs is already making itself felt. This is clearly visible in the human figures of the painted cloth canopy where they are treated in a flat and linear manner with wide extended eyes and angular movements Compared to these the figures of the lotus pond on the ceilings or those of the *apsarases* on the pillars (also the lotuses, animals. etc.) are treated in fuller roundness of modelling; though it must be admitted that here even the modelling is much more abstract than at the last phases of Ajantā curves shallow. and colour thin and flat But it still suggests the

fresh, living and breathing body. Physiognomically the conception of human figuration at Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal corresponds to that of Māmallapuram reliefs.

Precarious traces of painting belonging to the end of the seventh century survive in the Śivaite Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī and the rock-cut Vishṇuite temple at Malayadippati. In both these places, painting seems to correspond to the carved reliefs of the time and the locality.

The remnants of painting in the Śivaite cave temple at Tirumalaipuram are also extremely fragmentary, though it seems that the entire ceiling, walls, panels and brackets were all originally painted over. All that now remains are certain stray fragments of lilies, lotuses, scrolls, ducks, dancing *gaṇas*, human figures and part of what seems to have been a dancing and musical scene. The angularity of movement that characterises the human figures supersedes the classical tradition of ample curves and conforms to the carved reliefs of Māmallapuram. As in the temples at Kāñchī and Malayadippati, mentioned above, the outline in black attains sharpness and perhaps also a nervous agitation, colour becomes thin, modelling slight, and the paintings altogether thinner in meaning and appearance. The classical tradition continues still, but in increasing abstraction. Certain human figures, small in size and proportion but with large heads, recall a similar tradition at work at Ajaṇṭā, notably in the scenes of the *Śaṅkhapāla* and *Mahājanaka jātakas*. There, as here, the modelling is relatively of little consequence, and the movements relatively more angular.

II. TERRACOTTA

Quite a different attitude of life and artistic vision are revealed by the deluge of terracotta reliefs dug out from all over Northern India, but nowhere so profusely as in the Gaṅgā Valley and Bengal where the riverine plains ensured inexhaustible supply of malleable earth and clay which were the average man's material for sculptural decoration. It is curious to note that Deccan and the South have not yet yielded any substantial, or even mentionable, quantity of terracottas from any of their archaeological sites, rich usually in stone. Small in size they were usually produced from sketchy moulds in large quantities, and not unusually very carefully finished by chiselling before and after baking or burning. From traces of colour on a large number of specimens from Rājghāt (Banaras), Ahichchhatra, Bhiṭā and other places, it seems that painted terracottas were also quite common, colours usually employed being white, yellow, red ochre, and pink. The final paint was generally laid on a slip of neutral earth colour. It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa refers to

one such painted terracotta peacock (*chitrita-mṛittikā-mayūra*) in his *Śākuntala*.

Terracotta plaques and figurines belonging to the period under review are known, among other places, from Harvan, Kāshmir (decorative mouled brick tiles with various vegetal, animal, and human motifs); several sites like Sahri Bahlol, Takht-i-Bāhi and Jamalgarhi in the Punjāb (mostly Buddhist subjects and portrait heads); Hanumāngarh, Bikanir, Rājputāna (decorative tiles); Brāhmanābād (ornamental bricks with various designs) and Mirpur Khās (carved bricks, figure heads, etc.—Buddhas and donors—Pl. XXXVI, 88) in Sindh; Sāheṭh-Māheṭh (Rāmāyaṇa plaques), Kasiā (Buddha and Buddhist figures), Bhītargāon (Brahmanical reliefs—Pl. XXXVI, 86), Bhiṭā (seals and small reliefs), Basārh (seals and small reliefs), Kosām (terracotta figurines, moulded animals, heads, etc.), Ahichchhatra (large size figures of Śivaite affiliation—Pl. XLII, 98), Rājghāt (rich yield representing secular scenes, human heads and figures, gods, etc., *makara*, elephant, boar, lion, horse, figurines, etc.), Pawāyā (figure reliefs), Patna (Rāmāyaṇa panels), Mahāsthān and Bāngaḍh in Bengal (large-size plaques and medallions—Pl. XLII, 97), etc.

An examination of the finds enumerated would show that terracotta plaques and reliefs were made and employed for various purposes. Temples and Buddhist establishments mainly brick-built, such as Mahāsthān, Pāhārpur, Chausa, Bhītargāon, Mirpur Khās, etc. had their surfaces covered with plaques and figures of divine and semi-divine beings, not unoften in disregard of iconographic canons, but more with themes with which the common people at large were concerned in their day-to-day life The exterior walls of residential houses made of impermanent materials were also decorated with plaques representing gods and goddesses, narrative scenes from the Epics and *Purānas*, animals and semi-divine beings; mantels and niches of private apartments and bed chambers were often decorated with plaques of amorous couples, portrait heads, toys and human and animal figures and beautiful female figurines. Different types of clay figures were made for definite *vratas*, *pūjās* and socio-religious festivities. Bāna testifies to the fact that a host of clay-modellers were employed on the occasion of Rājyaśrī's marriage to make terracotta figures of auspicious fruits, trees, and aquatic animals as well as of female figurines holding auspicious fruits, for purpose of decoration. To what extent terracotta objects of various sizes and descriptions were employed for decorative and festive purposes would be evident from a statement of this seventh century romancer when he states that the four quarters appeared to him as if beautified by clay-modelling (*pustamayaiva chakāsire kakubhah*). What has come down to us must, therefore, be regarded as only a very small fraction of the total

output of those days, not only because most of the temple and house decorations have gone to dust whence they came, but those made for the round of *vratas*, *pūjās* and socio-religious festivities were, according to custom, immersed in the ponds and rivers immediately afterwards.

Made of soft, plastic and fragile materials, these terracottas present the Indian modeller-artist from a different angle. Relieved of iconographic injunctions and religious dictates, and concerned more with things on the surface of vision, the artist in clay moves and works with an intensely playful and joyous freedom of imagination and action, and uses his soft and pliable material with an easy sensitiveness of his fingers and palm. Passing moods, contemporary tastes, fashions and prejudices which have less scope in sculpture or even in painting, register themselves in the plastic idiom of the age; no claim is made of permanency, neither in material nor in form or content Whatever the themes, they are presented in vigorous action, playful freedom and emotional abandon, and are inherently related with the life of the people as lived from day to day. The essential dynamism and rhythm of daily life with its varied associations, not usually recognised by hieratic and high-bred standards, find their joyous and free expression in this inexhaustible inventory of contemporary form and social life, much more complete and variegated than either sculpture or painting. In the representations of hieratic gods and goddesses the artists had perforce to conform to certain fixed types and forms, but nowhere does everyday life find more unhampered expression than in the terracotta human figures, male and female, animal figures, and miscellaneous objects, whether presented singly or in groups and narratives. But whatever the action or movement, theme or presentation, the essential plastic treatment is the same as that of contemporary sculpture of the respective localities

Yet another aspect of the complex cultural and ethnic set-up of the age is revealed by these terracottas. Men and women of every social and economic strata of life—blue blooded aristocrats of noble bearing; courtly and fashionable ladies of high society; mendicants and beggars; dancers, acrobats, and snake-charmers; ordinary beings of every walk of life including jesters, dwarfs, elephant-riders and grooms; foreigners (Bactrian Greeks, Parthians, Śakas, Kushānas, Hūṇas etc) with their distinctive facial types and dress and hair decoration, etc, richly represented by finds at Harvan, Rājghāt, Kosām, Bhiṭā and other sites including those of the Punjāb and the North-west; Indian nationals both male and female mostly female, with rich decorative coiffures curled coquettishly in spirals or twisted in short crisp ringlets or arranged in curly hanging loops, so

picturesquely described by contemporary poets and romancers; charming feminine types of warmth and sensuousness—all move before our eyes in a never ending series, and always within a simple, but lively realistic and vigorous pattern of existence in which animals, real and fantastic, in abstraction or naturalistic forms, and local flora, again in abstract or naturalistic designs, vegetal scrolls, etc. play their full rôle.

Of special technical and aesthetic significance are the terracottas from Ahichchhatra, Rājghāt, Pāhārpur and Maynāmati. The baking of the almost life-size terracottas of Ahichchhatra, executed in the usual plastic idiom of the Gaṅgā valley of the period, must have presented a difficult technical problem which was successfully solved by the potters of the age whose large cylindrical pits for special kilns were 10 to 12 feet in depth. Besides their general aesthetic appeal and their value as documents of contemporary social life, the Rājghāt terracottas, especially the heads, afford interesting study of facial types and expressions as well as of playful imagination, while those from Pāhārpur and Maynāmati are interesting aesthetic documents of immediate power, purposeful rhythm and dynamic action and movement

Terracottas assignable to the centuries immediately following the period under review are known from but very few sites. Certain specimens are known from Belwa, Gayā, and Banaras that can be assigned to the pre-Muslim period; but generally speaking they are conventionalised forms of Gupta and post-Gupta types, somewhat mechanical and petrified. This does not however mean that terracottas were not made and the creative urge did no more seek expression in this very easy and pliable material. What seems to have been the case was that plaques and figures made for worship and decoration were left exposed to time and nature and went the way of all things, while earlier ones were protected underground and only recently dug out In Bengal, Assam, and South India, for example, such terracottas continued to be made and used for covering the wide surfaces of brick temples throughout the mediaeval period. But they have a different aesthetic tale to tell, a different vision and a different plastic treatment.

III. POTTERY

The high skill and efficiency of baking and burning, and not unoften of colouring also, the deluge of terracotta seals, plaques and figurines, and bricks and tiles testify also to a very high standard of the potter's art in the period under review. Unfortunately our archaeological excavations uptil recent times have not been such as to enable us to set up a scientific and chronological framework

for a proper study of this important branch of art. However, at Ahichchhatra it is possible to build up such a frame and study the art right from about 300 B.C. to about the end of the early mediaeval period (c. A.D. 1100); and though important pottery finds of the period under review are known from a few sites in the Punjāb and the North-west, from Brāhmanābād in Sindh, Sāmbhar (ancient Śākambharī) in the Jaipur State, and Rājghāt near Banaras, etc., it is indeed the finds at Ahichchhatra that epitomise the styles and sequences of the art throughout the North, more particularly in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley and Eastern India. No important find from either the Deccan or the South can yet be assigned to this period.

The main types of the pottery of this period and their variants form a long and large series with minor differences. Generally speaking pots were wheel-made, but mould-made pots are also considerable in number; indeed this period may be considered as the most important for the mould-technique. Grey wares of the Śuṅga period disappear altogether as well as the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan painted and polished wares. The majority of the vessels of the period are ordinary red wares with a red or brownish slip; quite a number of them also show a highly polished red ground. The material is ordinary clay, but for special types of vessels mica dust was sometimes mixed with clay to impart a glossy and metallic surface. Whatever the type or variety—dishes, bowls, jars, lids, basins, caskets, etc.—all pots of the period are characterised by fine finish and graceful designs—lotuses, rosettes and small vegetal patterns, rectilinear or curvilinear geometrical patterns, spirals, girds, zig zags, fan-shaped or ornate *nandīpada* pendants, etc.—either incised with blunt points or imprinted in relief by moulds or stamps. There are certain painted specimens as well where simple designs of broad or narrow bands are drawn in black on the red ground. The large number of pottery spouts assignable to this period and picked up at Ahichchhatra, Rājghāt, Śākambharī and other sites is indeed remarkable; they are mostly designed in the form of animal heads such as boar, elephant, lion, *makara*, etc. There is no doubt that such utilitarian devices as these spouts and lug-handles or lug-ears of cooking and drinking vessels, etc. were evolved from earlier models, with modifications. The one new invention of the period was however the intermittent groups of indentations on the rims of cooking pots. A most graceful and highly imaginative design is that of the river goddess Gaṅgā appearing on the handles of the drinking vessels. The mould-made decorated jars and bowls are remarkable examples of fine potting; their decoration usually consists of two or three cordons with demarcating ribs or ridges and show on the reserved bands a polished red ground; on the decorated bands designs such

as beads or fish scales are also in relief. Imported wares also do not seem to have been unknown; we have at least one specimen of a jar with a pinched spout, a loop-handle twisted rope-like, a polished black surface and a black core. Presumably it belongs to the Mediterranean type of similar wares.

Cylindrical pits of large dimensions and depth laid bare at the Gupta level at Ahichchhatra seem to reveal that special kilns for the baking and burning of high class vessels, presumably of tiles and ornamental pottery, were made. The practice continued throughout the period under review when richly and elegantly designed enamelled tiles, ornamental bricks and ornamental pottery seem to have been very much in demand.

IV. COINS AND SEALS, ETC.

Imperial Gupta gold and silver coins are marked by refinement and elegance and represent the high-water mark of early Indian coinage. Whatever the type and size and the intrinsic value, they are always marked by clarity and elegance of design and lettering, regularity of shapes and forms and precision and refinement of execution. With the weakening of the imperial authority, however, Gupta and cognate coinage shows a downward grade not only in intrinsic value but also in artistic merit, so that towards the end of the period under review it reached a bottom from which recovery seemed wellnigh impossible

The Saraswati Collection of Calcutta contains, among other things, a couple of copper seal matrices, both from Rājghāt, one containing the inscribed (*Śrī Jayavarma*) representation of a bull, and the other that of a sedent lion, also inscribed (*Śrī Bhadrasya*) (Pl. XLIII, 99-102) On paleographical and stylistic grounds they are assignable respectively to the fourth and fifth century A D A dynamic naturalism characterises both the representations; fully modelled in high relief they are comparable to the conception and execution of animal figures of Gupta coin types and of the very interesting burnt and baked clay seals from Basārh The lion type still smacks of Hellenistic modelling, but the bull is a typical Indian bull conforming strictly to the contemporary plastic idiom

The clay seals from Bhitā, Basārh (Pl. XLIII, 103-5) and Kosām form a large but very interesting series by themselves The ideal of human figuration as well as their artistic form and treatment follow in the main those of Gupta stone sculpture and terracotta of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, but the animal types and treatment, though subscribing to the same plastic idiom, are more in intimate relationship with those on Gupta coins. Among the rich specimens from Basārh, special attention may be drawn to two clay seals where an

admirable and highly skilful foreshortening, that speaks of long experience and close observation, presents two bulls in full frontal view within a narrow space.[1]

There can be no doubt that early Gupta gold and silver coinage was evolved from Hellenistic and Śaka-Kushāṇa coinage, not only in design but also in treatment and execution. The dress the kings don and its treatment retain their Scytho-Kushāṇa characteristics in quite a good number of the Imperial coins up to Skanda-gupta, and the modelling of the body-contour is appreciably Hellenistic, especially in the male figures, but less so in the female ones. Even the Hellenic contrapost, noticeable in the Garhwā relief, is conspicuous here. But the type of human figuration increasingly conforms to contemporary Indian conception. A specific example is afforded by the gradual transformation of the Ardochsho type of Kushāṇa coins to one of characteristically Indian Lakshmī type in form and attitude.

V. OTHER ARTS

The archaeologist's spade has not yet unearthed for us any gold or silver or any other precious jewellery that can be assigned to this period, nor any specimen of ivory work of any significance. Beads and precious stones are known, but they too are not substantial enough for building up an account of the art of jewellery of the period.

This is certainly very strange since, from painted or carved or moulded counterparts, as well as from fairly elaborate and vivid descriptions in contemporary literature, we know that the jeweller's art, already at a high level of demand during the preceding centuries, was brought up to a very high artistic standard of simplicity, refinement, and elegance which was exactly in keeping with the spirit of the age. Quite a good portion of the rich repertory of plastic decoration of the period is derived from, and inspired by, the jeweller's art displayed in pearl pendants, twisted rope, or metal designs, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, and *hāras*, etc. The high intrinsic value and aesthetic quality of Gupta gold and silver coins also suggest that the jeweller's art in these metals must have been of a fairly high standard of excellence in design and execution.

The excellence of the carpenter's art can easily be presumed. Forts, royal palaces, in fact all kinds of civil architecture of the upper strata of the people still continued to be made of wood. The simplicity and elegance of their structure, designs, decorations and ornamentations, etc. as well as of household furniture, etc. can well be seen in the elaborate paintings of the Ajaṇṭā caves and some of the stone reliefs of the period.

1. *ASR*. 1913-14, Pl. L figs. 685, 798.

CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

I. INTRODUCTORY

By the beginning of the Gupta Age a strong Brahmanical reaction had set in against the ascendancy of rival faiths like Buddhism and Jainism. In the field of social life this movement manifested itself in a tendency towards intensification of the social division into four fundamental *Varṇas* with its corollary of the pre-eminence of the Brāhmaṇas. As a result we find that, within India's borders at any rate, the Reform movement started by the founders of Buddhism and Jainism had lost much of its momentum, while the Brahmanical Counter-Reformation had become a power to reckon with. Simultaneously with this change successful attempts were made to solve the complex social problem created by the influx of hordes of foreigners into the north-western and western parts of the country in the preceding period. For while the barbarians gradually adopted the faiths and languages as well as the manners and customs of the indigenous population, even the framers of the orthodox Brahmanical society met them half-way by conceding to them the original status of Kshatriyas.[1] During the same period the remarkable development of industry and trade with its resultant increase in wealth and prosperity led to a pronounced rise in the standard of living and taste for town-life, at least among the upper classes. The long peace which the Gupta Emperors in the North and their contemporaries in the South gave to the country, and which was sought to be maintained in the new grouping of states following their downfall, enabled the social tendencies of the preceding epoch to take firm root in the soil.

II. SOCIAL DIVISIONS

1. *The Four Varṇas*

The age-old doctrine of the division of society into four *Varṇas* is the keynote of the whole system of social life in the Smṛitis. We have no reason to doubt that the rules relating to the duties and mutual relations of the four *Varṇas* in the preceding period[2] were generally observed during the Gupta Age. We may quote by way of evidence the high authority of Hiuen Tsang, himself an intelligent foreigner belonging to a different faith, who not only refers to the

1. Vol. II, pp 103, 122, 546

2 Vol II, pp 542 ff.

four hereditary castes of Indian society together with their respective occupations, but adds that the members of a caste group marry within the caste.[1] To this we may add that Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* assigns the different quarters of a city to the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, as does Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra.*[2] The distinction is carried by Varāhamihira to the number of dwellings, as well as classes of *chowries* and umbrellas allowable to the four *Varṇas* respectively.[3] Nevertheless there were in the Gupta Age as in earlier times undoubted departures from the strict Smṛiti law. This is proved by a number of authentic instances of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas adopting the occupations of the classes below them, and of Vaiśyas and Śūdras following those of the classes above them.[4] An inscription of the fifth century A.D. refers to two Kshatriya merchants living in a city in the upper-Gangā basin, while another inscription of the same century mentions a body of weavers from Gujarāt as having gradually adopted various other occupations in their new home in Mālwā. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang and his companions, escaping from a band of robbers in the Ṭakka country, met a Brāhmaṇa who was ploughing the land, with his own hands.[5] In the *Daśakumāra-charita,*[6] a contemporary prose romance, we hear even of a colony of Brāhmaṇa robbers living by the occupation of *kirātas* in the Vindhya forests.

In the next place, we have in the Gupta period authentic examples of inter-marriages between *Varnas,* not only in the *anuloma* but also in the *pratiloma* order.[7] In the contemporary

1 *HTW*, I, 168
2 *Kaut*, II 4 The northern, eastern, southern and the western quarters are assigned respectively to the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras
3. *BS* LIII 70, 91, LXXII 4. In LIII 84 the corners of a city or village or house are declared to be auspicious for Chaṇḍālas and such other low castes, though unsuitable for others.
4. Historical references are—(a) Mayūra-śarman (p. 271) deliberately exchanged Brāhmana's *rôle* for that of a Kshatriya warrior and eventually became the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, (b) *CII*, III. 89 (Mahārāja Mātrivishnu, great grandson of Brāhmana saint Indravishnu), (c) *HTW*. II 250-51 (Brāhmana kings of Ujjayini, Jijhoti and Maheśvarapura in Hiuen Tsang's time), (d) *EI* XIV 306 f (*mahāsāmanta* Pradoshaśarman descended from strictly orthodox Brāhmana family), (e) *HTW*. I. 300, 343 (Vaiśya kings of Thāneswar and Pāryātra, (f) *HTW*. I, 322, II, 252; *Beal*, 79 (Śūdra kings of Matipura and Sindh)
5. *CII*. III 70-71, 81-4; *Beal* 73.
6. P 24 (NSP 1951, p 26).
7. Cf. Above, p 179 (Prabhāvatī-guptā, daughter of Chandra-gupta II married Rudrasena of Brāhmana Vākāṭaka dynasty); *EI*. VIII, 24 (daughters of Kākutstha-varman of Brāhmana Kadamba dynasty married to Gupta and other kings), *ASWI*. IV, 140 (Brāhmana Soma, ancestor of minister of Vākāṭaka king Devasena married Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya wives); *EI*. XV, 301 (maternal ancestor of Lokanātha was a Brāhmaṇa, but begot a son by a Śūdra wife); *HTW*. II, 246 (daughter of Harsha of Thāneswar belonging to Vaiśya family married Kshatriya king of Valabhī); *Har*. I (Bāṇa's father married a Śūdra wife by whom he had two sons).

Sanskrit dramas and prose romances we find Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas even marrying the daughters and female slaves of courtesans.[1] It follows from the above that the Smṛiti law in the Gupta Age, though followed by the people in general, was far from possessing the rigidity of later times. On the other hand, the Brāhmaṇa appears from the authoritative accounts of the Chinese Buddhist travellers to have retained the high social position assigned to him in the Smṛitis.[2] The old Smṛiti law, declaring exile to be the utmost penalty for a Brāhmaṇa offender and exempting him from capital punishment and confiscation of property, is repeated in the *Kātyāyana-Smṛiti*. That this rule was followed in actual practice is to be seen from concrete references in the dramas and prose romances of the period.[3]

2. *Low Castes*

As in the preceding age, there were also numerous mixed castes.[4] We know something about the condition of the Chaṇḍālas and similar classes who occupied the lowest rank in the order of the mixed castes. According to the Smṛiti law the Chandālas were to perform the meanest work, such as carrying unclaimed corpses and executing criminals. They were not to walk about during night in villages and towns, and even during day-time they were to move about with distinguishing marks fixed by the king. In fact they were to live outside the village. Strict rules were laid down for preventing pollution of other classes by their contact.[5] The evidence of contemporary Chinese travellers shows that these rules were followed in the Gupta Age. In Madhyadeśa, at the beginning of the fifth century, as Fa-hien tells us,[6] the Chaṇḍālas were required to live outside the boundaries of towns and market places on approaching which they had to strike a piece of wood as a warning

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1. Cf. the stories of Brāhmana Chārudatta marrying Vasantasenā and Brāhmana Śarvilaka marrying her slave Madanikā in *Mrichchhakatika*, and the story of a prince marrying the younger daughter of a courtesan of Champā in *Daśakumāracharita* Such marriages are approved by an ancient *Kāmasūtra* authority (fn 1, p 565)
2. Hiuen Tsang (*HTW*. I, 140) says that the Brāhmanas were the purest and most esteemed of the various castes and clans of the country According to I-tsing (*Record*, p 182) Brāhmanas were regarded throughout the four parts of India as the most honourable
3. *Kāt* V. 483 (immunity of Brāhmanas); *Mri*. Act IX (Chārudatta, though found guilty of murder by the presiding judge is recommended for exemption from the death penalty for his Brāhmana birth); *Daśa* p. 131 (NSP, 1951, p 181) (Brāhmana minister charged with treason against the king is sentenced by judge to be blinded in lieu of capital punishment).
4. *HTW* I 168. For a comprehensive account of mixed castes compiled from Smritis of c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1000, see *KHDS*. II 169 f
5. Cf. *Vi*. XVI, 11 14, *Manu*. X, 51-56 *Bri*. p 96, V. 18 (disabilities of Chaṇḍālas). *Manu*. V. 85, *Bri*. p. 359, v. 8, *Par*. III, 24, Chyavana and Devala quoted by Vij. on Yāj. III. 30 (Brāhmana touching Chaṇḍāla to purify himself by bathing).
6. *Giles*, 21.

to others to avoid their touch. For them was reserved the occupation of hunters and dealers in fish. In the first part of the seventh century, according to Hiuen Tsang,[1] butchers, executioners, scavengers, etc. (corresponding no doubt to Chaṇḍālas and similar castes) lived in dwellings marked by a distinctive sign and lying outside the city. The references in the literature of the Gupta period confirm the above accounts. We learn from them how the Chaṇḍālas, who were confirmed meat-eaters, were habitually engaged as public executioners and were regarded as untouchables.[2]

3. *Aboriginal Tribes*

Removed still further from the Chaṇḍālas and other castes lying within the pale of Indo-Aryan society were the aboriginal tribes (Pulindas, Śabaras, Kirātas, and so forth) who lived in the hills and forests of the Vindhyas and other mountain ranges. In the *Daśakumāra-charita*, the *Harsha-charita*, the *Kādambarī* and other works of the late Gupta period we get vivid glimpses of the dress and manners as well as the religious and social customs of these tribes. We learn that the Śabaras of the Vindhya forests in the seventh century were used to such reprehensible and outlandish practices as the offering of human flesh to their deities, living by hunting, partaking of meat and wine, and kidnapping women for marriage[3]

4. *Slaves*

The Smriti law of the Gupta Age develops the rules about slavery in the preceding period[4] in some respects. Kātyāyana, while repeating the law of Yājñavalkya and Nārada forbidding enslavement in the ascending order of castes, categorically declares that a Brāhmana can never be a slave, and further that the sale and purchase of a Brāhmana woman are to be annulled. With the same Brahmanical bias he declares, in modification of the older law, that while a Kshatriya or Vaiśya apostate from asceticism is to be made a slave, a Brāhmaṇa offender is simply to suffer banishment. Introducing a new clause, Kātyāyana[5] says that a free woman marrying a slave herself becomes a slave, but a female slave bearing a child to her master is immediately released from servitude

1. *HTW*. I. 147. I-tsing, though he does not refer to Chaṇḍālas by name, says (*Record*. p 139) that persons engaged in clearing filth had to strike sticks when going about and anyone touching them by mistake washed himself and his garments
2. Cf *Mri* X and *Mud* VII (pair of Chaṇḍālas told off to lead condemned criminal to public execution) *Mud. loc cit* (person contaminated by Chaṇḍāla's touch unfit to be touched by others) *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 246 (Dombas, Chaṇḍālas, Kaivartas mentioned as typical examples of meat-eaters). *Kād*. p 21 (Chaṇḍāla girl, entering king's audience-hall, strikes pavement with bamboo stick repeatedly from a distance to attract attention).
3. *Kād*, 59 f. 4. Vol II, p. 570 f 5 vv 715 ff

References in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, a drama of the Gupta Age, partly confirm and partly supplement the data given above. In the character of the gambler, who offers himself for sale in payment of a debt due to a gambling master, we have an illustration of the class of self-sold slaves mentioned by Nārada. Again, the fate of the slaves Sthāvaraka and Madanikā shows how the treatment of slaves depended upon the temperament of the individual owners. For while Madanikā is regarded by her high-minded mistress as a friend and confidante, Sthāvaraka is beaten and put in fetters by his brutal master. Again, while Madanikā is released by her mistress to make possible her union with her lover, Sthāvaraka has to wait for his release till the disgrace of his master and the issue of an order by the new king.

III. MARRIAGE

The rules relating to marriage, formulated in the older Smṛitis,[1] are not materially altered during this period, but there is a growing tendency to lower the marriageable age of girls. Some texts make it compulsory for the guardian to marry the girl before puberty. According to *Vishnu Purāṇa* the age of the bridegroom should be three times that of the bride, but according to Aṅgiras the difference in age should be considerably less.[2] Vātsyāyana's view of the marriageable age of girls, which may be taken to reflect the prevailing practice, is somewhat different from that of the Smṛitis. He quotes in one place, though anonymously, a text of Āpastamba's *Gṛihya-sūtra*[3] forbidding marriage with a girl reaching the age of puberty. But this evidence is somewhat modified by his detailed rules relating to courtship by or on behalf of a suitor and conjugal relations immediately after marraige. From these rules it appears that girls were married before as well as after puberty. Elsewhere the author declares himself definitely in favour of a man marrying a girl younger than himself by three years or more.[4]

It appears from Hiuen Tsang's statement[5] that, as in the preceding age, marriage was prohibited within certain degrees of relationship, and marriage within the same caste was preferred. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* declares that the blessings of (lawful) progeny, fame, and public approval are obtained by a man uniting

1. Vol II, pp 558 ff.
2. Vi *Pur.* III. 10 16 Angiras quoted in *Smritimuktāphala*, Part I. 125 (bride to be 2, 3, 5 or more years younger than bridegroom) For an exhaustive account of the Smriti law about age of marriage, see *KHDS*, II. 1. 438-45.
3. I. 3. 11.
4. *KS.* III. 1 2 (girl younger by three years); *ibid* 12 (girl reaching age of puberty). An anonymous text quoted by the commentator on the second passage definitely declares that a man should marry a girl who is younger than himself by three to seven years, neither more nor less
5. *HTW.* I. 168.

himself in love according to canonical rites with a virgin of the same *Varṇa*. The contrary practice of making love to girls belonging to higher *Varṇas* as well as to married women is forbidden. Love for women of inferior *Varṇas*, who are sufficiently pure not to have their dishes cast off after meals, like love with harlots and re-married widows (*punarbhūs*), is neither approved nor prohibited, as its object is only pleasure.[1] From this it follows that inter-marriages between different *Varṇas* were hedged round with even greater restrictions in the society of Vātsyāyana's time than those contemplated by the Smritis For, according to Vātsyāyana, not only is marriage in the *pratiloma* order absolutely forbidden, but marriage in the *anuloma* is put on the same low level as union with harlots.

Like the Smṛitis, Vātsyāyana contemplates marriage as being normally settled by the parents (or other guardians) of the parties Vātsyāyana, moreover, adds a detailed account of the methods of selection of the bride that were in vogue in his time. The parents and relatives of the bridegroom, as well as his friends to whom his wishes have been made known, are to move in the matter. Girls suffering from various defects, including defective names, are to be avoided. But according to the sensible view of an old canonical authority,[2] quoted anonymously by Vātsyāyana, happiness depends on the choice of a girl upon whom one's heart and eyes are set, and not on any other Accordingly the guardians of the girl are recommended to array her in gay clothes when giving her away, and to show her to advantage on occasions of festivities and the like. The ceremony of selection of the bride is to result in one or the other of four forms of marriage known to the Smṛitis, namely *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārsha* and *Daiva*.[3]

Vātsyāyana's testimony also shows how a young man could under special circumstances, apply himself to win the girl of his choice by courtship or even by trickery and violence. The courtship is to take different forms according as the girl is a child or a young woman or a woman of advanced age, and wooing, when successful, is to be followed by a gradual winning of the girl's confidence.[4]

The account of Vātsyāyana is also important as illustrating the Smriti rule allowing the girl in some instances to select her own

1 *KS* I 5 1-3. In the same context Vātsyāyana quotes (*ibid* 5-26) the opinions of five ancient authorities on Erotics successively allowing, in special circumstances, love with a married woman, with a widow, with a female ascetic, with an unattached daughter or female servant of a *gaṇikā*, and with a girl of high family past her childhood, and he concludes by expressing his agreement with these authors. The author's view of such unions is illustrated by his statement that connection with a married woman even belonging to a higher *varna* who is known to be a wanton (*svairiṇī*) with many lapses of conduct, like connection with a harlot, does not involve the breach of *dharma*.

2. *Apastamba Gṛihya-sūtra*, I 30, 20 f.

3. *KS* III. 1 4-21 See Vol II, p. 559

4. *KS*. III 3. 1-44.

husband.[1] Such a maiden is to pay court to a young man, handsome, virtuous and intelligent, with whom she had shared her affections from childhood, or to one whom she knows to be so deeply smitten with love as to be ready to marry her even against his parents' wishes. The methods of wooing, which show considerable knowledge of human nature, are given in some detail, but they need not be quoted here. In fine, says the author, the girl should marry one in whom she would find a haven of happiness, and who would be completely devoted to her. It is better to have a husband devoted to herself, though poor, or one supporting himself alone though without parts, than a husband who, though virtuous, has many to share his affections. Nor is marriage desirable with a man of humble birth, or who is too old, or addicted to dice, or with a wife and child, and so forth. Of several equally desirable suitors, the best is one with whom there is reciprocity of love.[2]

Vātsyāyana's account of the methods of courtship given above leads naturally to his description (drawn no doubt from life) of the three forms of marriage known to the Smṛitis, namely, *Gāndharva*, *Paiśācha* and *Rākshasa*.[3] More details are given of the *Gāndharva* marriage. Where the suitor cannot meet his beloved often in secret, he is to engage the services of his nurse's daughter who is to press his claims upon her. When the girl is so prepared, she should meet her lover at some appointed time and place. Then the marriage is to be solemnised by her walking thrice round a sacred fire, brought from a Śrotriya's house and fed with oblations according to Smṛiti rules. When this is done, the parents are to be informed of the matter, for as the teachers say, marriage performed before a fire as witness can never be annulled. After the consummation of the marriage the relatives are to be informed and made to bestow the girl in the formal fashion under the fear of social obloquy and punishment in law. Unlike the *Gāndharva* marriage, the *Paiśācha* and *Rākshasa* forms do not require to be confirmed by religious rites, and it is enough to inform the relatives after consummation of the marriage and induce them to give her away. Vātsyāyana's view of the relative merits of different forms of marriage is somewhat different from that of most of the Smṛitis. For in the first place he makes out the *Paiśācha* marriage to be superior to the *Rākshasa*, no doubt (as the commentator says) on the ground that the former is not accompanied with violence, though they are equally unrighteous. Again, he declares the *Gāndharva* marriage to be the most respected and the best, as it is attended with happiness, is not

1. Vol. II, p 561 2 KS III 4 36-59 3 Vol. II, p. 559.

accompanied by troubles and negotiations, and is the result of mutual desire.[1]

The literature of the Gupta Age contains repeated references to *Gāndharva* mariages between the leading characters, but these are concerned in general with ancient kings, or heroes, or with fictitious characters of princes and nobles. The popular attitude on this point is well expressed in the artful advice given by the wise nun Kāmandakī to the love-lorn heroine in the *Mālatīmādhava*. She says that generally fathers as well as destiny have authority over the disposal of maidens, the contrary examples of Śakuntalā marrying Dushyanta, Urvaśī marrying Purūravas. and Vāsavadattā marrying Udayana involve rashness and therefore do not deserve to be followed. In the historical example of the Princess Rājyaśrī of Thāneswar, her marriage was arranged by her father, king Prabhākaravardhana, the mother meekly acquiescing in the choice with the observation that 'the father is the judge in the bestowal of the daughter'. The literary works of the Gupta period themselves contain examples of marriage being arranged in advance by the parents on both sides in anticipation of a son being born to one couple and a daughter to another. Above all they illustrate the strong repugnance of high-born maidens, though themselves deeply smitten with love, to select their husbands by their own free will.[2]

IV. POSITION OF WOMAN

1. *Female Education*

Long before the Gupta times the Brahmanical sacred law had denied to women Vedic study and even the utterance of Vedic *mantras* on the occasion of their sacraments.[3] Nevertheless we have good grounds to believe that girls of high families had sufficient opportunities for acquiring proficiency in general learning. In Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* princesses and daughters of nobles are mentioned among instances of women whose intellect is sharpened by the knowledge of *śāstras*. In particular, Vātsyāyana gives us a long list of sixty-four subsidiary branches of knowledge (*aṅgavidyā*) which should be learnt by women. These include solving riddles of words, chanting recitations from books, completing unfinished verses, knowledge of lexicons and metres, and so forth. Vātsyāyana's

1 *KS* III. 5. 1-30. Contrast *Manu*. III. 34 (*paiśācha* marriage is most base and sinful), but cf. *Baudh*. I. 11. 16 (*gāndharva* marriage is the best).

2 *Śāk*. III (ref to numerous daughters of royal sages marrying in *gāndharva* form with approval of their parents). *Mālati* Act II (Kāmandakī's advice). *Harsha* IV (Rājyaśrī's marriage). *Daśa*. pp 109, 136 (NSP, 1951, pp. 148, 188) (marriage arranged by parents even before birth of parties). *Kād*. 249 f and *Mālati*. Acts II and VI (reluctance of high-born maidens to select their own husbands).

3. Vol. II, p 564.

picture of the good wife, again, shows how she was expected to be sufficiently educated to frame the annual budget and regulate her expenditure accordingly.[1] The literary evidence of the Gupta Age proves that girls of high families, as also those living in hermitages, read works on ancient history and legend, and were educated sufficiently to understand and even compose verses. What is more, girls of high families, and above all those living at the royal courts, were usually trained in the arts of singing, dancing, and the like.[2] Later evidence seems to suggest that there were regular institutions where girls could receive their training, sometimes in the company of male students.[3] Mention may be made lastly of the fact that the *Amarakośa*,[4] a work of the Gupta Age, refers to words meaning female teachers (*upādhyāyā* and *upādhyāyī*) as well as female instructors of Vedic *mantras* (*āchāryā*).

2. *The Ideal Wife*

Vātsyāyana draws a picture of the good wife, which carries into greater detail the account in the Smṛitis and may be taken as usual to be a faithful reflection of real life. The picture exhibits those qualities of service and self-restraint as well as sound household management which have remained the hallmark of Hindu wives down to the present day. Where the woman is the only wife, says the author, she is to devote herself to her husband as though to a deity. She is personally to minister to his comforts at table, on his reaching home and so forth. She shares in her husband's fasts and vows, not brooking a refusal. She attends festivities, social gatherings, sacrifices, and religious processions, only with his permission.

1. *KS* I, 3. 12 (knowledge of *śāstras* by princesses, etc). *Ibid*. 16 (knowledge of 64 arts) *Ibid* IV. 1 32 (wife's framing of family budget).
2 Historical ref—*Har* IV (Princess Rājyaśrī grows up with daily increasing knowledge of dancing, singing, and other arts). Other references—*Śāk* I (Anasūyā's knowledge of *itihāsa*, metrical love message composed by Śakuntalā and written by her on lotus leaf) *Ibid* IV (Anasūyā's knowledge of painting or drawing); *Megha* I, 23 (lute played by exiled Yaksha's wife); *Mālav* II (Mālavikā trained by paid dramatic master at royal court and made to exhibit her skill in song and dance in a musical contest with female ascetic acting practically as judge); *Ibid* I-II (work on the difficult *chhalika* dance composed by Lady Śarmishṭhā); *Ratnāvalī*. II (Sāgarikā draws picture of her royal lover); *Priya*. III (Āranyakā made to play the lute to the accompaniment of a song at performance of a mimic play): *Mālatī* II (Mālatī draws a picture of her lover and understands a difficult Sanskrit verse written by him in return) In *Priya* I singing, dancing and instrumental music are mentioned as the type of accomplishments in which a noble damsel should be trained
3 *Kād* 270 (Princess Kādambarī and Lady Mahāśvetā together learned singing, dancing and other accomplishments in their youthful days). *Mālatī* I (Kāmandakī sat at feet of same master with fathers of hero and heroine and with girls gathered from different lands for study). *Uttara* II (female ascetic Ātreyī studied with ascetic boys Lava and Kuśa at Vālmīki's hermitage and afterwards repaired to Daṇḍaka forest to learn Vedānta from sage Agastya and other teachers). These accounts (except the last) may have been drawn from contemporary life.
4. II. 6. 14.

She engages in sports approved by him. That the husband might not find fault with her, she avoids the company of disreputable women, shows him no signs of displeasure, and does not loiter about at the door-step, or in solitary places for a long time. She is not puffed up with prosperity, and she does not give charity to anyone without informing her husband. She honours her husband's friends, as is their due, with gifts of garlands, unguents, and toilet. She serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law and abides by their commands. When in their presence, she makes no replies, speaks few but sweet words, and does not laugh aloud. She engages servants in their proper work and honours them on festive occasions. Above all, when her husband is gone abroad she lives a life of ascetic restraint: she gives up wearing all ornaments excepting the marks of her married state: she engages in religious rites and fasts: she acts as bidden by her superiors: she does not go out to visit her relations except on occasions of calamities or fetsivities: when she visits them, she does so only for a short while and in the company of her husband's people. When her husband returns home, she goes forth immediately to meet him in her sober dress, and then she worships the gods and makes gifts.

Apart from attending to her husband and his parents, relations, as well as his friends, the wife has complete and comprehensive charge of the household. She keeps the house absolutely clean, adorns it with festoons of flowers, and polishes the floor completely smooth. She looks after the worship of the gods at the household shrine and the offering of *bali* oblations three times a day. In the garden attached to the house she plants beds of various vegetables, herbs, plants, and trees. She collects seeds of various vegetables and fruit-trees as well as medical herbs, and sows them at the proper season. She lays by a store of various provisions in the house. She knows how to spin and weave, how to look after agriculture, cattle-breeding, and draught animals, how to take care of her husband's domestic pets, and so forth. She frames an annual budget and makes her expenses accordingly. She keeps daily accounts and makes up the total at the end of the day. During her husband's absence she exerts herself in order that his affairs may not suffer; she increases the income and diminishes the expenditure to the best of her power. In case the woman has a co-wife she looks upon the latter as a younger sister when she is older in age, and as a mother when she herself is younger.[1]

The rule of life for the virtuous wife sketched above from the Smṛitis and the *Kāmasūtra* appears to have been generally followed

1. *KS*. IV. 1. 1-55; IV. 2 1-38.

in the Gupta Age. Following in the wake of the older Smṛitis, Kātyāyana declares that the wife must never live apart from her husband, she must always be devoted to him, she must worship the domestic fire, she must minister to her husband during his lifetime, and she must observe the vow of chastity after his death. Again, according to Kātyāyana and Veda-Vyāsa, the wife is to be associated with the husband in the performance of his religious acts, but all acts done by her to secure her spiritual benefit without his consent are useless. In thorough accord with the older Smṛiti rules is the direction in the *Matsya Purāṇa* to worship the husband as a god, as well as that of Veda-Vyāsa requiring a wife, whose husband is gone abroad, to emaciate her body and refrain from all personal embellishments [1] Further, in the admonition addressed to the king by the sage Kaṇva's disciple in the *Abhijñānaśakuntalam*, we have echoes of the Smriti rules deprecating long residence of the wife with her paternal relatives and admitting the husband's complete authority over her. Kanva's own summary of the duties of a wife, addressed to Śakuntalā on the eve of her departure for her husband's place, is based upon the Smṛiti and *Kāmasūtra* rules quoted above.[2] On the other hand the wife, says Daksha[3] after Manu and other authorities cited above, must be maintained by the husband, while the *Brihat-saṁhitā*[4] repeats Āpastamba's penance for the husband's desertion of his faultless wife. In the character of Dhūtā, wife of the hero in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* we have a typical instance of the good wife described in the Smritis. The belief in the extraordinary powers of the devoted wife (*pativratā*), which is expressed in the *Mahābhārata* and other works, is reflected in a story of the *Daśa-kumāra-charita*. The attitude of high-born ladies is illustrated in another story of the same work, where a woman, repudiated by her husband, declares it to be a living death for women of high birth to be hated by their husbands, for the husband alone is the deity of such women. Still another story shows how the qualities of economic house-keeping and absolute devotion to the husband were highly prized among wives.[5]

3. *Unchaste Wife*

As in the preceding period, side by side with ideal pictures of conjugal love and faith we come across numerous references to unhappy and even unchaste wives. Vātsyāyana's evidence confirms

1. *Kāt.* vv 835-37, Veda-Vyāsa, II. 12, 19; *Matsya P*, 210-18, Veda-Vyāsa, II. 15.
2. *Śāk* IV-V In the former Act Śakuntalā is admonished by her foster-father to serve her superiors, to behave towards her co-wives as towards her friends, not to turn against her husband even though angered by his fault, to be considerate towards her attendants, and not to be puffed up by pride; for thus do young women qualify for the position of the mistress of the house.
3. II. 36 4. LXXIV 13
5. *Daśa.* pp. 164 f, 159 f (NSP. 1951, pp 227 f, 220 f).

that of the Smṛitis about the prevalence of polygamy. This practice was not confined to kings, but extended also to other people. Indeed, it appears that rich men generally married many wives who were outwardly happy in the enjoyment of affluence but inwardly miserable. A woman suffered the misfortune of getting a co-wife if she was stupid, or incontinent, or barren, or if she repeatedly bore daughters, or if the husband was fickle by temperament.[1] There is a separate branch of Erotics dealing with illicit love with married women, and a number of occasions is mentioned, both in *Kāmasūtra* and *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*,[2] as offering opportunities for meeting between unchaste wives and their paramours. But the actual instances of seduction of married women, even in the contemporary literature of stories and fables, are limited in number.[3]

According to the Smṛiti law, adultery ranks among the Lesser Sins (*upapātakas*) which should be expiated by performances of appropriate penances. The guilty wife, so long as she does not perform the penance, is to be treated with studied scorn and neglect and given only a starvation diet. But after she has undergone penance (or according to some authorities passed her monthly period), she becomes pure and is restored to all her rights. Only in extreme cases, as when she commits adultery with a Śūdra or other low-caste man, or has conceived, or borne a child, or attempts to kill her husband, is she to be abandoned altogether The records of the Gupta Age point to the continuance of some of the above ideas and practices. Echoing the liberal views of Vasishṭha and Yājñavalkya, Veda-Vyāsa, Atri and Devala declare that a woman becoming pregnant by connection with a man of another *Varṇa* remains impure till her delivery and next period, when she regains her purity.

4. *The Widow*

The Smṛiti law of the pre-Gupta period requires the widow as a rule to live a life of strict celibacy and self-restraint, though Bṛihaspati[4] recommends, as an alternative, that she should burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The Smritis of the Gupta Age followed the older law in prescribing a life of vows and fasts as well as of renunciation for the widow and allowing her to inherit her husband's property.[5] But Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras as well as Hārīta strongly urge her to sacrifice herself on her husband's

1 *KS* III, 4 55-6, IV, 2. 1; IV, 4. 72-90.
2. *KS* I 5 33-4, *BS* LXXVIII. 10-11.
3. *Daśa* pp. 102 f, 167 f, (NSP, 1951, pp. 138 f, 231 f); *Tantrākhyāyikā* (story of cuckold artisan and his wife).
4. vv. 483-4.
5. *Kāt* 626-27, *Par* IV. 31, *Vriddha-Hārīta* IX 205-10 (widow's ascetic life) *Vrddha-Manu* and *Vriddha-Vishnu* quoted by Vij. on *Yāj.* II 135-36 (widow's right to husband's property).

pyre. In the case of Brāhmaṇa widows self-immolation on the fire was forbidden absolutely or conditionally by Paiṭhīnasi, Aṅgiras, Vyāghrapād, and Uśanas, while Veda-Vyāsa recommended it as an alternative course.[1] Literary references show that the custom of *satī* was extolled by some authors,[2] but strongly condemned by others in the Gupta period.[3] We have, again, a few instances, both in contemporary history and fiction, of actual or attempted self-immolation of women immediately before or after the death of their husbands.[4] But a wide-spread prevalence of this practice in the Gupta Age is disproved by the complete silence of the observant Chinese travellers on this point and frequent references to widows in the Smritis and other literature. On the whole we may infer, on general grounds, that widows in the Gupta Age, as in earlier times, usually lived the chaste and austere life prescribed by the Smṛitis.

But the re-marriage of widows, and of other women,[5] though gradually coming into disfavour, was not absolutely forbidden. Hiuen Tsang's evidence is definitely against the remarriage of women,[6] but *Amarakośa*[7] gives the synonyms not only for the *punarbhū* (remarried widow)[8] and her husband, but also for a twice-born man having a *punarbhū* as his principal wife. Kātyāyana[9] refers to the case of a widow betaking herself to another man regardless of her adult or minor son, and deals, under his law of partition and inheritance, with the share belonging to the son of a woman who has left her impotent husband

In so far as the *punarbhū* is concerned, Vātsyāyana gives us a somewhat different view of her status. The *punarbhū* is a widow who, being smitten with love through inability to control her passion, unites herself again with a man seeking pleasure and having excellent qualities In choosing her mate she follows, above all, the inclinations of her heart She possesses a degree of independence denied to the wedded wife She persuades her lover to spend money on drinking parties, garden parties, etc At her lover's house, she assumes the *rôle* of a mistress, being affectionate to his wedded wives, generous to his servants, and friendly with his companions Possessing greater knowledge of the arts of love than the wedded wife, she practises them on her lover in secret She joins in festive

1 *Par* III 32-33, Śankha, Angiras and Hārita quoted by Vij on *Yaj* I 86 Paithnasi, Angiras, Uśanas and Vyāghrapād quoted by Aparārka on Yaj I. 87. Veda-Vyāsa, II 53

2 *BS* LXXXIV 16

3 *Kād*. 64, *Mri* X

4 Historical references —(a) Widow of Goparāja (p. 33); (b) Queen Rājyavatī (p 82); (c) Queen Yaśomatī (p 98) Other references are: (a) *Daśa*. p. 132 (NSP, 1951, p 132 f), (b) *Priya*, I

5 Vol II, p 565

6 *HTW* 1 168

7 II. 6, 23.

8 Cf Vol. II, p. 565.

9 vv 562, 571, 574-77, 860

gatherings as well as in drinking and garden parties and other games. The *punarbhū's* connection, unlike that of the wedded wife, is not a permanent one. If she leaves the house of her own accord, she has to return to her lover all presents except those given out of affection, but if she is driven out, she need not give back anything. In other passages, the *punarbhū's* social status is correctly defined by placing her midway between the virgin (*kanyā*) and the harlot, and between the queens (*devī*) and the courtesans (*gaṇikā*).[1] It follows from the above that in the society of Vātsyāyana's time public opinion permitted a widow to live with the man of her choice, but she never enjoyed the social status of a wedded wife.

5. *The Courtesan* (*gaṇikā*)

It appears from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*[2] that because of their graces of form and manners and accomplishments, a class of courtesans enjoyed high social esteem as in the older times[3] We learn also from other contemporary literature that they were renowned for their beauty, wit, and other accomplishments, as well as their wealth and luxury Occasionally, as in the character of Vasantasenā in the *Mrichchhakaṭika* and those of Rāgamañjarī and Chandrasenā in the *Daśakumāra-charita*, there were courtesans of the better sort, who deliberately gave up their profession and, after braving persecution, united themselves with worthy men of their choice. But in general the courtesans were notorious for their greed and wiles. In the *Daśakumāra-charita* story, to which we have referred above, we have a very vivid account, no doubt drawn from life, of their up-bringing and training with the sole object of qualifying them for squeezing money from their dupes.[4] Allied to the institution of courtesans was that of girls maintained in the great temples for the worship of the gods. Such girls were kept at the great temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī in Kālidāsa's time, and at a shrine of the Sun-god in a city east of Sindh in the time of Hiuen Tsang.[5]

1 KS. IV. 2. 39-59; I 5. 4, IV, 4, 75-78

2 I. 3. 20-21. 3 See Vol. II, pp 568-70.

4. Cf. *Mri.* I and IV (Vasantasenā skilled in acting, singing, dancing and painting but not entitled to enter the inner courtyard of the hero's house), *Daśa* p. 65 f, NSP, 1951, p. 78 f (Rāgamañjarī gave a musical concert to the townsmen at a public place. Ordinary type of *gaṇikā* represented by Kāmamañjarī, elder sister of Rāgamañjarī). Description of upbringing and training of *gaṇikā* *Daśa* pp. 66-68 NSP, 1951, pp. 80-4); the *gaṇikā* is to be tenderly nursed by her mother from her birth; she is to be trained in the arts of singing, dancing, acting and painting, cooking, preparing perfumes, reading, writing and speaking with ready wit and in the elements of grammar, logic and astrology; she is to receive practical lessons in the science of Erotics; she is to appear with a large retinue at public festivals; her auspicious marks and accomplishments are to be advertised among townsmen and a high price set upon her favour.

5 *Megha*, I. 36, *HTW*. II. 254.

6. *The General Status of Women*

The disabilities and inferior status of the women, introduced in the previous period, continued more or less in the Gupta Age. Among the most striking changes during this period may be mentioned the increased recognition in Kātyāyana of the woman's right to her property, and the remarkable rule in Atri and Devala allowing women molested by robbers and others to regain their social status.[1] That women in the Gupta Age were not disqualified from the exercise of public rights is proved by the example of queen Prabhāvatī-guptā,[2] daughter of Emperor Chandra-gupta II, who ruled the Vākāṭaka kingdom as regent on behalf of her minor son in the fourth century, and that of princess Vijayabhaṭṭārikā[3] who acted as provincial governor under Vikramāditya I of the Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpi in the seventh century.

References in the general as well as technical literature of the early centuries before and after Christ seem to indicate that married women in high families did not usually appear in public without veils. This custom was probably continued in the Gupta Age.[4] The silence of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, however, indicates that the women did not generally observe the Purdah and remain in seclusion. For, such a peculiar custom, to which they were absolute strangers, would surely have been noticed by them. Besides, as noted above,[5] sculptured representations of female figures definitely negative the idea of a Purdah.

V. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

1. *General Character*

In a vast country like India the general character of the people must have varied in different localities and among various classes. Vātsyāyana has noted striking differences of temperament and habits among the people in different parts of the country.[6] In the seventh century the discerning Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, in the course of his travels extending almost over every part of India except the extreme south, recorded his opinion of the character of the people

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1. *Kāt.* vv. 921-27; *Atri.* 197-98; *Devala* 48-49.
2. See p 180
3. See p. 242
4. Older references· *Pān.* III. 2. 36 (*asūryampaśyā* applied to queens); *Rām.* Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 116 28 (women's appearance in public not blamable during calamities, troubles and wars as well as at *svayaṁvara*, sacrifice and marriage); *Pratimā* I (proper occasions for married woman being seen in public are marriages, calamities and residence in forests). Later references:—*Śāk.* V (Śakuntalā appears at royal court with a veil, but unveils herself when pressed to prove her identity); *Har.* III (practice of high born ladies to wear veil); *ibid.* IV (Princess Rājyaśrī wears veil of red silk when seen by bride-groom); *Mn.* X (heroine made to put on veil when given the status of legally married wife)
5. Vol II, p. 573.
6. *KS.* II, 5. 21-33; II, 7. 24-28.

in each region. From his account we learn that while the people of the Gaṅgā and the Brahmaputra basins were generally remarkable for their qualities of honesty, courage, love of learning, and so forth, those of North-Western India and of the Deccan plateau as well as the people of the extreme North, East, West and South were generally of a contrary disposition.[1] In general, however, the character of the people was marked by an exceptionally high degree of honesty. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas in particular were distinguished for the purity and simplicity of their lives.[2] The Indian love of charity and benevolence is proved by references in the records of the Chinese pilgrims to the endowments made by kings and private individuals for the free distribution of food and medicine to the needy and the sick and for similar objects.[3]

2. *Standard of Living*

The literature of the Gupta Age points to the continuity of the high standard of living attained in the preceding centuries. The evidence of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, which claims to be a compendium of works of previous masters, proves that clubs, umbrellas, elephant-goads, canes, bows, canopies, halberds, standards, and *chowries* were in general use.[4] The most costly of such articles, naturally enough, were reserved for the royal family and the officers.[5] We learn from the same work that sets of five mansions each were conventionally prescribed for kings and queens down to the ordinary

1. People praised by Hiuen Tsang are those of Nagar, Takshaśilā, Poonch, Śatadru, Śrughna, Matipura, Govisana, Ahichchhatra, Kānyakubja, A-yu-to, A-ye-mu-ka, Prayāga, Kauśāmbī, Viśoka, Vārāṇasī, Chan-chu, Vaiśāli, Magadha, Īranaparvata, Kajaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Kāmarūpa, Karnasuvarna, Dravida, Mahārāshṭra, Mo-la-p'o, Valabhī and Mūlasthānapura. People condemned by the pilgrim are those of Lampā, Gandhāra, Siṁhapura, Ṭakka, Jālandhara, Pāryātra, Brahmapura, Nepal, Andhra, Dhanakataka, Chola, Malakuta, Broach, Surat, Küche-lo, Ujjayinī and Maheśvarapura People having a mixed character were those of Udyāna, Kāshmir, Tāmralipti, Oḍa, Kongoda, Kalinga and Sindh
2. Describing the character of the Indian people in his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang says (*HTW*, 1, 171)—"They are of hasty and irresolute temperaments, but of pure moral principles They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires They fear the retribution for sins in other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and keep their sworn obligation." Elsewhere (I, 140, 168) he declares the Brāhmanas to be the purest of all the castes and he speaks admiringly of the continent lives of the Brāhmanas and the benevolent and merciful aims of the Kshatriyas In yet another context (I 151) he observes that the Kshatriyas and the Brāhmanas were clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in the lives, and very frugal.
3. *Giles* 47-48 *HTW* I 286, 328; II 286
4. *BS.* LXXII 4 (clubs etc. of different colours declared auspicious for the four *Varnas*), *ibid.* LXXIX 8-9 (couches and seats of diminishing sizes recommended for kings, princes, ministers, generals and priests).
5. *BS* LXXII 3 (King's *chowrie* to be made of favourable wood decked with gold and silver and ornamented with variegated gems); *ibid.* LXXIII. 1-4 (king's umbrella to be white, to be made of feathers or covered with silk-cloth, studded with pearls, to have pommel of crystal and stick of pure gold and to be adorned with jewels; umbrellas of others to be decorated at top with gold fillets, to be furnished with wreaths and jewels and to be made of peacock's feathers).

court-officials, while four, three, two, and one mansions were reserved successively for the four *Varṇas*.[1] Other evidences also illustrate the wealth and luxury of the people of that time. The gorgeous description of the splendours of Vasantasenā's palace at Ujjayinī in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* conveys to us in a general way the lavish magnificence of women of this class in real life.[2] Kings and nobles adopted extraordinary rich dress and modes of living which set the fashion for the rest. In the *Śikshāsamuchchaya*, a Mahāyāna Buddhist work probably of the seventh century A.D., the author vividly describes the luxurious life of kings in contemporary society.[3] Other works indicate acquaintance with the luxury of summer-houses surrounded by water (*samudragṛiha*) and of fountain-houses (*dhārāgṛiha*).[4] We have a vivid description of the luxury of a king's bath and toilette in the *Kādambarī*[5] Literary evidence also shows that jewels were habitually worn not only by members of royal family but also by their attendants.[6] The wearing of jewels is recommended by the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* not only for kings and queens and court-officials, but also for those engaged in religious performances[7] The *Amarakośa* gives a long list of words signifying ornaments for the head, forehead, the ears, the neck, the arms and the forearms, the fingers, the waist (both for males and females), and the legs. The same authority gives technical terms not only for the upper and the lower garments, but also for women's bodices and petticoats, for a winter cloak, and for a cloak reaching down to the feet. Women's dresses known by the same

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1 *BS* LIII. 4-13
2 *Mṛi* Act IV (lofty gateway had ivory portal and doors of gold thickly set with diamonds of its eight courts the first consisted of rows of rooms with gem-encrusted, golden stairways and crystal windows, the third had a gaming table with dice of gems, the sixth was crowded with workers in gold and gems and the eighth was occupied by Vasantasenā's brother and mother in suitable dress)
3. *Śikshā* p 208
4 *KS* V. 5 17 *Svapna*. V 194 (*samudragṛiha*), *Raghu* XVI. 19, *Megha* I 61 (*dhārāgṛiha*); *Ṛitu* I 2 (*jalayantramandira*, meaning a summer-house or fountain-house, used during summer).
5 *Kād*. 31-33 (the king after taking exercise at palace-gymnasium (*vyāyāma-bhūmi*) went to the bathing place (*snānabhūmi*) This was covered with a white canopy and it contained a crystal seat for bathing as well as golden water-vessel and other pitchers filled with scented water The king, after being besmeared with fragrant *āmalaka*-fruit, stepped into a water-trough Rising up from the trough, he sat on a crystal slab where he was bathed by courtesans with water-jars of emerald, crystal, silver and gold After the bath the king put on a pair of white garments and wrapped his head with a piece of silken cloth He then went to the toilette-room (*vilepabhūmi*) where his body was anointed with sandal-paste, perfumed with musk, camphor and saffron. Then he took his meal and after smoking fragrant drugs and chewing betel-leaves, he repaired to the retiring hall)
6 Cf. e g *Har* I, II, IV, VII and *Mālatī*. VI
7 *BS* LXXX. 11, 17, LXXXIII. 1, VLIX. 2-3.

and other terms are mentioned in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa.[1]

The description of the life of the people during different seasons of the year in the *Śṛiṅgāra-śataka* (a work attributed to Kālidāsa and evidently of early date) throws some further light upon the manners of the times. In the spring season the people delighted in shrubberies (*latā-maṇḍapa*), vocal with the songs of cuckoos, and they assembled in social gatherings (*goshṭhīs*) attended by good poets.[2] In the summer seasons the girls wetted their hands with very pure sandal paste, the fountain-houses were patronised, the upper portions of the mansions were cleansed up for use, fine garments were worn, and very fragrant sandal dust was applied to the bodies.[3] In autumn the men enjoyed drinking wine at dead of night, while in the *hemanta* season they put on clothes dyed with madder, and painted their bodies thickly with sandal juice.[4]

The authority of Hiuen Tsang proves that in the seventh century not only did kings use rich dresses, couches and the like, but their example was followed by the people down to the rich merchants. The clothing of the people was made of silk, muslin, calico, linen and fine wool of two varieties. In particular the people of Ṭakka (tract between the Sindhu and Beās) wore glossy white clothing made of silk and muslin, and those of Kānyakubja were dressed in glossy silk. I-tsing, in the same century, implies that a piece of silk cloth formed, not unoften, a part of the equipment of the Buddhist monks.[5] To judge from Bāṇa's description of a king of Vidiśā sitting in state in his council-hall, the king's public appearance was marked by lavish display of luxury and magnificence.[6] Equal pomp attended the processions of kings and princes as well as highborn ladies [7]

3. *Toilette and Personal Hygiene*

The high standard of cleanliness and comfort formed in the older times was maintained during the Gupta period. The *Amarakośa*[8] has a whole set of synonyms for bodily embellishments. The extensive use of tooth-sticks is proved by the

1 *Amara* II 6 102-9 (terms for ornaments), 115-19 (terms for clothes); Ṛitu. IV. 16, V 8 (*kūrpāsaka*); *Har* I and III (*chandātaka*, *gātrika* and *kañchuka*)· *Ritu.* (I. 4-7, II. 19-25, III 19-20, 25, IV 2-4, V 8, VI. 4-6, 13-24) mentions various ornaments and dresses worn by women at different seasons of the year.

2 *Śriṅgāra-śataka*, v. 28

3. *Ibid*. vv. 31-32

4 *Ibid* vv. 40-41

5 *HTW*. I. 147, 148, 151, 287, 340; *Record*, pp 67-8.

6 *Kād*. 18f

7. Historical ref:—*Har*. VI (Prince Graha-varman's marriage procession). Other refs·—*Har* I (Prince Dadhīcha going to his father's hermitage); *Mālatī*. Act I (Mālatī visiting the city-garden); *ibid*. VI (Mālatī visiting a temple).

8 II. 6. 129-36.

Bṛihat-saṁhitā references to the supposed auspicious (or inauspicious) qualities of sticks made from different kinds of trees. We are introduced in the same work to a recipe for dyeing the hair and formulas for preparation of different kinds of incense, scented hair-oils and hair-lotions, and other perfumes.[1] The variety of coiffure practised by men and women is illustrated by the terracotta figurines.[2] It is also illustrated by a striking reference in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*.[3] The literature of the period contains repeated references to the use of sandal-juice, camphor, and the like as unguents, and specially as sedatives. References are also made to the use of camphor with betel, and of aloe-wood incense for perfuming drinking water.[4] In the first part of the seventh century Hiuen Tsang, while introducing his general account of India, mentions various sanitary rules observed by the people for their personal cleanliness as also the general use of unguents and flowers. In the latter part of the seventh century, I-tsing gives a detailed account of the sanitary practices and personal comforts of the people.[5]

4. *Food and Drink*

References in the Smṛitis and the general literature of the period do not indicate any noticeable change in regard to food and drink.[6] The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*[7] gives in a list of approved foods the names of *śāli* rice, wheat and barley, pulses of three kinds, clarified butter, oils, molasses as well as raw and coarse sugar. But there is no doubt that the people took fish and meat and were addicted to intoxicating liquor. It is remarkable that in the contemporary dramas and prose romances even the queens and other high-born ladies are repeatedly described as drinking wine.[8] It is in the ob-

1 *BS* LXXXV 1-7 LXXVII 1-37

2 See *ASI* 1903-4 (terracottas of Basārh), *JUPHS* (1941), 1-8, *JISOA*, IX (1941), 7-10 (terracottas of Rājghāt)

3. Act IX

4 *Raghu*. VI 60, *Kum* V 69, *Daśa* pp. 41, 45, 48 (NSP, 1951, pp 44, 48, 52), *Ṛitu*. I 6, II 21, 24, III 19, IV 5, etc *Kād* 245, 320

5 *HTW* I. 147 (floor of Indian houses purified with cow-dung and strewn with season flowers), I 148 (garlands worn on head by Indians), I 152 (Indians wash before every meal, throw away or polish utensils after use, chew tooth-sticks after meals, smear bodies with scented unguents like sandal and saffron). *Record*, IV-VI (utensils not used again after meals, washing mouth before and after meals, chewing tooth-stick after meals, clean water for drinking to be kept in earthenware or porcelain jar while water for cleaning purposes to be kept in jar of copper or iron), VIII (use of tooth-sticks every morning), XVIII (daily personal purification), XX (bathing at proper times), XXII (floor cleansed with cow-dung, pillow covers made of silk or linen, pillows stuffed with wool, hemp, cotton, etc. and made high or low according to season).

6 Paithīnasi and Angiras quoted by Vij on *Yāj*. III 253 (ban against drinking wine). *BS* XLVIII, 30 (meat offering to Manes) *Uttara* IV (canon law requiring householder to offer heifer, big bull or big goat to *Śrotriya* guest)

7 *Laṅkāvatāra Sū*. p 250

8 *Mālav*. Act. III (Queen Irāvatī drinking wine); *Kum* VII. 62, *Raghu* VII 11, IX. 36; *Ṛitu* V 10, VI. 10-12, *Nāg*. Act III, *Kād* 136, 149

jective descriptions of the Chinese Buddhist travellers that we get the most faithful account of the habits relating to food and drink of the people in their time. In the fourth century Fa-hien declared, doubtless with some exaggeration, that killing animals, drinking wine, and eating onions or garlic were unkown throughout Madhyadeśa. More detailed and accurate is the account of Hiuen Tsang in the first half of the seventh century Introducing his general account of India, he says that while cakes and parched grain, milk and sugar with their preparations, as well as mustard-oil formed the common articles of food, fish along with the flesh of goats and sheep was occasionally taken, and some kinds of meat were forbidden. Eating onions and garlic was visited with loss of caste. On the other hand, different kinds of beverages and wines were drunk by the respective castes—syrup of grapes and of sugar-cane being drunk by Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monks, wines from vine and sugar-cane by Kshatriyas, strong distilled spirits by Vaiśyas, and unspecified kinds of drinks by the low mixed castes The above account is partly confirmed and partly supplemented by the shorter notice of I-tsing in the latter part of the same century. The Indians, says this authority, did not eat onions, while the Buddhist monks in India, unlike those of 'the islands of the Southern Sea', abstained from eating even the three pure kinds of meat on the Uposatha (weekly sabbath) day.[1]

5. *Popular Superstitions*

The use of magical incantations and spells of various kinds may be traced back in Indian literature to the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā*. In later times the popular belief in charms and spells as well as Astrology and Divination attained such proportions as to give rise to technical treatises on the subject which were afterwards utilised in the compendiums of Varāhamihira called the *Brihaj-jātaka* and the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*. By the fourth century A.D. there arose a class of works called *dhāraṇīs* (Protective Spells) within the fold of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and they quickly acquired immense popularity not only in India but also in the countries influenced by its culture[2] The literature of the Gupta period contains repeated references to the belief in omens, portents and the like, prevalent among the people in all walks of life.[3] But deep and widespread as was the

1. *Giles*, 21 *HTW*. I 178, *Record*, p 46
2. See Winternitz, *HIL* II 380-87 for an excellent summary of the literature on *dhāranis*.
3. Cf. *Mri* IX (astrologer's prophecy of kingship of cowherd), *Har* IV (Queen's dream presaging birth of two sons and one daughter, astrologer's prediction of Harsha's greatness at his birth), *ibid*. V (Prince Harsha's dream and omens foretelling king's death, *mahāmāyūrī* charm being recited at palace to avert king's calamity; wide-scale portents on eve of king's death); *ibid*. VI (Harsha's

popular faith, it could not but provoke a reaction among the intelligent people. Literary evidence belonging to the Gupta times proves that kings and princes often rose above the popular superstitions[1] and, what is more, unscrupulously exploited them for their own ends.[2]

6. *Town-life*

In conclusion, we may delineate a typical picture of the fashionable man of the town, called *nāgaraka*. Such a type was not, of course, a novelty of the age, and may be traced back at least as early as the time of Pāṇini who defines him,[3] significantly enough, as a man skilled in the arts as well as knavery characteristic of a great city. In the account of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* not only is the *nāgaraka's* way of life described with considerable fullness, but it is held up as a model for others to follow.[4] The picture is one of indulgence in refined Epicureanism by an accomplished young man with ample wealth and leisure at his disposal. When a man has finished his education, says the author, and entered the life of a householder with the help of self-acquired or inherited property, he has to betake himself to a large or small town, which is the abode of many good men, and adopt the life of a *nāgaraka*. He first builds a house and furnishes it in a manner indicating elegance and taste. The house consists of two parts, an outer one reserved for his amorous enjoyment, and an inner one meant for the residence of his wife. The garden attached to his house has a swing, shaded by trees, and raised seats strewn with flowers. The outer house is fitted with a pair of couches provided with soft pillows and white sheets. At the head of the couch is a stand for a divine image as well as a raised seat containing the requisites of the *nāgaraka's* morning toilette (unguents, garlands, small pots of bees' wax and scents, skin of citron, and betel-leaves). On a bracket fixed into the wall are deposited his lute, picture-board, and box of painting-brushes, as well as a book and a garland of the yellow *amaranth*. On the floor, not far from his couch, is spread a carpet with pillows as well as boards for chess and dice-playing. Outside the room are the cages of his sporting birds, and at a secluded place lies the spot where he takes his recreation with the lathe, the chisel and so forth.

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dream on eve of Rājya-vardhana's murder, evil portents at courts of hostile kings on the eve of Harsha's conquering expedition), *ibid.* VII (auspicious day fixed for Harsha's expedition).

1 Cf *Har* VII (Harsha reproves courtiers for taking the incident of his dropping an engraved seal on the ground as an evil omen)

2 *Daśa* pp 39f, 82f, 116f, 178f, 204f, etc (NSP, 1951, pp. 42f, 106ff, 158ff, 243f, 273 ff, etc).

3 VI. 2. 128

4 Such as one without friend or associate, one without wealth, one who has run through his fortune, one skilled in only a few arts, and one forced by his occupation to live in a village

The daily life of the *nāgaraka* is in keeping with the above. Rising in the morning and attending to his physical needs, he arranges his toilette. He uses unguents, moderately perfumes his clothes with the smoke of burnt incense, and wears a garland. He applies collyrium to his eyes and lac-dye to his lips. He looks at himself in a mirror and chews perfumed betel-leaves. After finishing his business he takes his bath every day, getting his limbs massaged every second day and cleansed with soap-lather every third day. He shaves every fourth day, and undergoes a more extensive tonsorial operation every fifth or tenth day. He takes two meals a day—one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon (or according to an old authority, in the evening). After his mid-day meal he amuses himself in various ways (such as listening to the talk of parrots, watching the fights of quails, cocks, and rams, engaging in exhibition of artistic skill, and conversing with his companions), or else he enjoys a *siesta*. In the afternoon he goes out fully dressed to attend his social gathering (*goshṭhī*) and in the evening he enjoys music. Then while his room is dressed up and made fragrant with incense, he awaits the arrival of his beloved ones. In the alternative he sends a female messenger to bring them or goes out himself to seek them.

Besides his daily round of pleasures, the *nāgaraka* has his periodical entertainments. such as the *samāja* and the *ghaṭā* (assemblies connected with worship of deities), the *goshṭhī* (social gathering), *āpānaka* (drinking party), *udyānayātrā* (garden party), and *samasyā-krīḍā* (public sports) The *samāja* takes place on an appointed day every fortnight, or every month, when the actors and others employed by the *nāgaraka* are gathered together at a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of learning and the arts. On such occasions other actors coming from outside also exhibit their skill and receive rewards. On special occasions actors of both classes co-operate with one another and the *gana* (guild or club), to which the *nāgaraka* belongs, entertains the guests. The *goshthī* takes place when the *nāgaraka*, with his associates of the same age, wealth, learning, and temperament meet together for pleasant talk at the house of a courtesan or in a public hall, or at the residence of one of themselves. There they engage in poetical contests as well as exercises in arts, and end by presenting one another with bright fine dresses and the like At the *goshṭhī* it was considered proper to speak neither too much in Sanskrit nor too much in the spoken language. Wise citizens were to avoid *goshṭhīs* which were hated by the people, or were harmful to them, or were given over to license, and attend only those which were meant to amuse, instruct, and divert the people The *nāgarakas* also met at one another's houses to hold drinking bouts where the courtesans supplied them with

liquors of various kinds which they afterwards drank themselves Similar scenes took place at the garden parties as well as at the water-sports during summer. On these occasions the *nāgarakas*, richly ornamented and mounted on horses, went out in the forenoon in the company of courtesans and attendants, and having spent the day in various diversions, returned home in the evening with some token of the entertainment. Lastly the *nāgarakas* joined with the common folk in various festivals prevailing in dfferent parts of the country, and on such occasions they attempted to win the greatest distinction.[1]

The standard type of a *nāgaraka* is illustrated in the character of Chārudatta in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. In the inner portion of his house lives his devoted wife, while he himself spends the day and night, with his companions and servants, mostly in the outer portion, to which is attached a garden. The slender furniture of his outer house consists of a large and a small drum (*mṛidaṅga* and *paṇava*), a flute (*dardura*), a lute (*vīṇā*), reed-pipes (*vaṁśa*) and manuscripts. Though reduced to poverty he wears a perfumed upper garment. He also attends a musical concert in the evening, and returns late at night with sweet memories of the song and music. Although he does not go out on horse-back and in company, he sends his mistress in a covered bullock-cart to meet him in a garden outside the city.

Other references in the contemporary literature point to the gay life of townsmen in the Gupta Age[2] In the works of poets and prose writers of the period we have glowing descriptions of the splendour and magnificence of many well-known cities of that time.[3] We can check these accounts by means of matter-of-fact notices of the observant Chinese travellers. We can conclude from this conjoint evidence that India was studded with a large number of towns which really attained a high level of wealth and prosperity In point of splendour the royal palace towered over all other buildings in the city. References in the literary works, both of this and an earlier period, show that the palace contained many wonders such as the jewel-house (*maṇibhūmi*), the room paved with mosaic of coral (*pravālakuṭṭima*), the vine pavilion (*mridvīkāmaṇḍapa*), the summer-house, the fountain-house (*dhārāgriha*), the concert-house

1. *KS* I 4 1-52
2 Cf. *Megha*. I. 23 (amorous sports of young gallants with harlots at Vidiśā city in stone-houses of adjoining hill); *Kum* IV 11 (girls going out at night to meet their lovers); *Mud* Act III (harlots expected to crowd streets of capital on occasion of festival proclaimed by the king); *Kād* p 252 (love-messengers sent by women crowding highways and girls veiled in silk-garments going out to meet their lovers at moon-lit night)
3 *CII* III 74f, 81f, *Megha* 1 24, 31, 33, *Kād* 84f, *Mālatī*. Act IX.

(*saṅgītaśālā* or *prekshāgṛiha*), and the picture-gallery (*chitraśālā*).[1] The contemporary description of Prabhākara-vardhana's palace at Thāneswar by Bāṇa shows that the palace area was an extensive one and comprised several courts and chambers with appurtenances.[2]

The high level of Gupta urban culture evolved also a high and refined, delicate and elegant art of toilets and cosmetics. A cross section of Vātsyāyana's *nāgaraka* ideal and of the dramas and romances of the period vividly presents a picture of highly sophisticated toiletting—not only by women but by men-folk as well—which included painting of long nails, scenting the body, face, and the hair with *aguru* incense and other perfumes, powders and pastes, massaging the body and the face with scented oils and pastes, elaborate arrangements of the hair in elegant curls and coiffures, etc. Female *Prasādhikās* and male masseurs, expert in toiletting and applying cosmetics, were employed by the royalty, the nobility and the well-to-do. Indeed, whatever was done to beautify the body and the soul during this period was raised to the standard of *lalitakalā* or fine art in which simplicity, delicacy, refinement and elegance were the main watchwords.

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1. Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang refer to a large number of towns and the latter gives their area as 20, 30, or 40 *li* in circuit, one *li* being about one-sixth of an English mile. Cf. *KS* V. 17, *Svap* III and V *Mālav*. Act II, *Priya*. Act III (*prekshāghara*), *Uttara*, Act I
2. Entering the palace through the royal gate Prince Harsha passed in due course to the third court where lay the White House with its vestibule, its saloon, its moon-chamber, its screened balcony for ladies and the sick-chamber of the king with jewelled pavement (*Har* V) In the camp of king Harsha, Bāna saw crowds of elephants, horses and camels at the royal gate and, passing through three successive courts, was ushered into the fourth court where the king sat in state with all his retinue (*Har*. II).

CAPTER XXI

EDUCATION

1. *General View*

There is no appreciable change in the system of education prevailing in the preceding age.[1] But a few contemporary records throw interesting light upon it. We learn from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing (seventh century) that the four Vedas were studied by the Brāhmaṇas, the term of studentship terminating, according to the former authority, at the thirtieth year. Hiuen Tsang speaks with high praise of the learning and zeal of the Brāhmaṇa teachers. He also refers to a class of wandering teachers who deliberately adopted a vow of life-long poverty for the purpose of study and instruction.[2] The practice of young Brāhmaṇas residing with their teachers is illustrated by an incident in the early life of Bāna, the celebrated author of the *Harsha-charita*, who speaks of his returning home from his teacher's house when about fourteen years of age Lastly we have seen above[3] how the Brāhmana Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, before taking up the rôle of a warrior, had entered a *ghaṭikā* at Kāñchī with the object of studying the sacred lore The *ghaṭikā* in this case probably means a permanent educational establishment founded by a king or a great noble [4]

2. *Teachers and Pupils*

In the Buddhist works on monastic discipline the rule of life of the pupil (*saddhivihārika*) in relation to his teacher (*upādhyāya*) is laid down on lines very similar to the one sketched above on the basis of Brahmanical texts We have the testimony of I-tsing to prove that these rules were closely followed by pupil and teacher alike in the Buddhist monasteries during the latter part of the seventh century

Describing the manner of the pupil waiting on his teacher in India in his time I-tsing says [5] 'He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch in the night. . The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior On the other hand in case of a pupil's

1 Vol II, Ch XXII 2 *HTW*, I 159-61 3 See p 271
4 For a different view, see above, p 271
5 *Record*, pp 117-20

illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed, and pays attention to him as if he was his child.' In another context I-tsing speaks of how the pupil in accordance with the *Vinaya* law enquired every morning about his teacher's health, and then going forth to salute his seniors in their apartments, studied the scriptures and waited for the teacher's permission to take his meals.

I-tsing further observes in the same connection: "The teacher bids him sit down comfortably. (Selecting some passages) from the *Tripiṭakas*, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects the pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupil faulty he makes him seek remedies and repent." In another context I-tsing says that every morning the pupil after his salutation to his seniors studies a portion of the canon and reflects on what he has learnt. Thus the instruction was sufficiently thorough and embraced training in the canon as well as in moral discipline

According to the same authority the pupil could live apart from his teacher after five summers when he was expected to have mastered the *Vinaya*, but he had still to place himself under the care of some teacher wherever he went The pupil's tutelage ceased after ten summers, but if he still did not understand the *Vinaya* he had to live under the care of another teacher or sub-teacher during the rest of his life.

To I-tsing we owe the further information that monastic schools had, besides the novices, two classes of lay pupils The former, called *māṇavas* (children), chiefly read the Buddhist scriptures with the intention of receiving ordination at some future date, while the latter, called *brahmachārin* (student), read the secular books alone without any intention of quitting the world. Unlike the novices who were maintained by the common fund of the *Saṁgha*, the lay pupils had to provide for their own expenses [1]

3 *Advanced Centres of Learning*

Among the Buddhist monasteries of the late Gupta period none became so famous as that of Nālandā in Magadha, which was renowned alike for the magnificence of its establishment and the intellectual as well as moral pre-eminence of the inmates. Owing its foundations to six successive generations of Gupta kings, it housed a population of several thousands who were maintained out of the revenues of a hundred (or more) villages specially endowed for its upkeep. The resident monks were esteemed not only for their learning but also

1. *Record*, pp 105-106 In the alternative the lay pupils received food from the monastery in return for some service

for their high character, so much so that they were, according to Hiuen Tsang, looked up to as models all over India. Because of its fame, Nālandā attracted students from abroad, but so strict was the examination test that only two or three out of ten succeeded in getting admission. The monks spent their time wholly on study and debates and the monastery had a long line of distinguished alumni to its credit.[1] The ruins of the Nālandā monastery recently unearthed by excavations testify to its grandeur and vouch for the substantial correctness of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. The only rival of Nālandā as a centre of learning in India in the seventh century was Valabhī in Kāthiāwār According to the imperfect account of I-tsing Nālandā and Valabhī were the two places in India where advanced students generally repaired to complete their education. The eminent men who crowded to these places discussed possible and impossible doctrines and, after the testing of their views by wise men, became renowned for their wisdom.[2]

4 *Curriculum of Studies*

Reference has already been made above[3] to the long list of subjects of study which embraced various branches of sacred and secular learning extending from the four Vedas and the Itihāsa-Purāna down to snake-charms and the arts of singing, dancing and preparing unguents The different *vidyās* were held by some later authorities to be fourteen, and by others, eighteen in number In the eighteen branches of learning were included the four Vedas, the six Vedāngas,

1 *HTW*, II 164-65 *Beal* 110-113 I-tsing, *Record* pp 65, 154-155, *Mémoire*, 85-98 (Condition of Nālandā monastery in the seventh century) *EI*, XX, 43 (ref to pre-eminence of Nālandā monastery and accomplishments of its scholars in the middle of the seventh century) Names of successive royal donors of monasteries at Nālandā according to Hiuen Tsang (*loc cit*) are Śakrāditya his son Buddhagupta, his successor Tathāgata-gupta, his successor Bālāditya, his son Vajra and an un-named king of Mid-India Number of resident monks given by Hiuen Tsang (*Beal* 112) as 10,000 but by I-tsing (*loc cit*) more reasonably as more than 3000 or 3500 (*Mémoire* 97) The buildings consisted of 8 halls besides the great college according to Hiuen Tsang (*Beal* 111) and, of 8 halls with 300 apartments according to I-tsing (*Record* p 154, *Mémoire*, 87) Revenues of about 100 villages endowed by the local king for upkeep of Nalandā according to Hiuen Tsang (*Beal* 112), more than 200 villages bestowed by former kings upon Nālandā according to I-tsing (*Record* p 65) Names of distinguished teachers of Nālandā are given by Hiuen Tsang (*HTW*, II 165) and I-tsing (*Record*, p 184) Teachers of later date were Chandrakīrtti, Śāntideva, and Śāntarakshita (refs in Winternitz, *HIL*, II 363, 366 375) Hiuen Tsang notes the unique fact that since the establishment of the monastery there was not a single case of breach of its discipline

2 I-tsing, *Record* p 177 Of the 60 foreign Buddhist pilgrims visiting India in the latter half of the seventh century, whose lives are described by I-tsing, many stopped at Nālandā for advanced studies in Buddhist texts (cf *Mémoire* 17-18, 29-30, 32, 34, 40, 137, 145, etc) I-tsing himself lived at Nalandā for 10 years for study (*Mémoire* 125) A late ref to Valabhī as a centre of learning is found in ***Kathāsaritsāgara*** (XXXII 42 43), which tells us how a Brāhmana of the Antarvedī country (tract between the Gangā and the Yamunā), after completing his 16th year, prepared to proceed to Valabhī town for education

3 Vol II, pp 585-589

Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Dharmaśāstra, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthaśāstra.[1] The records of the Gupta Age prove that the fourteen (or the eighteen) *vidyās* were regarded as not being beyond the achievements of learned Brāhmaṇas.[2] A long list of *vidyās*, with the year of commencement of each by the aspiring student, is given by Brihaspati, who may not be the famous Smṛiti authority of that name quoted above so often. The list comprises the arts of acting, painting, soothsaying, the knowledge of cocks, horses and elephants, the sciences of politics, astronomy, grammar and mathematics, the knowledge of the supreme soul and so forth.[3] The accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in the seventh century throw valuable light upon the curricula of studies in vogue in Buddhist as well as in Brahmanical circles at that time. In his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang observes that the children, after finishing a work called 'the Twelve Chapters', are introduced in their seventh year to a group of five sciences, *viz.* (a) the science of sounds or grammar, (b) the science of arts and crafts, (c) the science of medicine, (d) the science of reasoning and (e) the science of the Internal. Elsewhere Hiuen Tsang mentions the grammatical treatises in use in his time as comprising Pāṇini's Sūtras (in 8000 *ślokas*), an abridgement of the same by a South Indian Brāhmana (in 2500 *ślokas*), a still shorter summary (in 1000 *ślokas*), and special treatises called Maṇḍaka(?), Unādi and Ashtadhātu.[4] We have a more complete and accurate account in the work of Hiuen Tsang's junior contemporary I-tsing. The children, we are told, began the work called '*Siddha*-composition' (otherwise called '*Siddhirastu*') in their sixth year and mastered it in six months. In the eighth year they took up Pānini's Sūtras and the Dhātupātha which they completed in eight months' time. In their tenth year they began and finished within three years the three *Khilas*, namely (i) the *ashtadhātu* dealing with cases and numbers of nouns, as well as the tenses and endings of verbs, (ii) the *manda* (or *munda*) and (iii) the *Unādi* dealing with the suffixes of verbal roots. In his fifteenth year the young student began the *Kāśikāvritti* on Pānini's grammar which he finished in five years' time. For the complete mastery of grammar four other works were studied by monks and laymen alike. These were (i) the *Chūrṇī* (otherwise called

1 *Chh Up* VII 1 2, *ibid* 4, *ibid* 7 1 (*vidyās* studied by learned Brāhmanas) *Vāyu Pur* 1, 61-70, *Garuda Pur* CCXXIII 20, *Naishadha-charita* I 4 (14 and 18 *vidyās*)

2 *Raghu* V 21 (14 *vidyās* taught by Brāhmana teacher Varatantu) *Tantravārttika* I 3, 6 (14 or 18 *vidyāsthānas* regarded as authoritative for the knowledge of *dharma*) EI, VIII, 287 (ins of A D 517-18 referring to proficiency of Brāhmana ancestor of king Samkshobha in 14 *vidyāsthānas*)

3 *Bri* p. 264

4 *HTW*. I. 154 f *Beal*, 122 The work called 'Twelve chapters' by Hiuen Tsang is, as Watters notes, a Sanskrit primer containing letters of the alphabet with their combinations.

Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, (ii) Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Chūrṇī*, (iii) his *Vākyapadīya*, and (iv) his unidentified work called the *Pei-na*. After studying the *Kāśikāvṛitti*, I-tsing continues, the students learnt the *hetuvidyā* (logic), the *abhidharma* (metaphysics) and so forth, while the monks learnt in addition all the *Vinaya* works as well as the *Sūtras* and the *Śāstras*.[1]

The detailed account of I-tsing makes it clear, even more than the meagre sketch of Hiuen Tsang given above, that grammar formed the major part of the course of studies in India in the seventh century A D. During the same period advanced courses were provided by such centres of learning as Nālandā in Magadha and Valabhī in Kāthiāwār. At the former monastery the course of studies comprised, as we learn from Hiuen Tsang, not only the works of all the eighteen schools of Buddhism, but also the *Vedas*, the *hetuvidyā* (logic), the *śabdavidyā* (grammar), the *chikitsāvidyā* (medicine), the *Atharvavidyā*, the *Sāṅkhya* and so forth [2]

If the course of studies sketched above, evidently meant for the higher intellectual classes, appears to be sufficiently comprehensive, it was not less so for the agricultural and mercantile class. A different course of study was prescribed for them even in the early period. Thus, according to Manu,[3] the Vaiśya was to have knowledge of the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth, perfumes, and condiments, of the manner of sowing seeds and the qualities of soils, of weights and measures, of the varieties of merchandise and the probable profit and loss in its traffic, of the means of rearing cattle, of the wages of servants, of different languages and different countries. The *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of Buddhist stories, probably belonging to the fourth century A.D., contains two stories indicating the subjects supposed to have been learnt by the sons of rich merchants at that time The list comprises knowledge of writing and arithmetic as well as coins, debts, and deposits examination of gems and houses, of elephants and horses, of young men and women, and so forth.[4] We have unfortunately no means of knowing whether any, and if so which, of these branches of knowledge were actually learnt by the Vaiśyas in the Gupta Age

The rise of the science of *Arthaśāstra* led at an early date to the concentration of attention upon the education of the Prince who was regarded as the key-stone of the political arch. In consideration no doubt of the multifariousness of the Prince's duties, the Smritis and the *Arthaśāstra* prescribed for him a comprehensive course of intel-

1 See *Record*, p. 170 f with Takakusu's remarks The 'Siddha-composition' of I-tsing is identical with the 'Twelve Chapters' of Hiuen Tsang.
2 *Beal* 112 3 IX 329-332 4 *Divy* 26, 99-100

lectual training combined with moral discipline.[1] Unfortunately we have little direct knowledge of the education of princes in the Gupta Age. The prose romances of the late Gupta period indeed occasionally give us glimpses of the education of the young prince. But the accounts are so exaggerated as to border on the grotesque.[2] We can, however, draw some inference from the known literary as well as artistic attainments of some famous kings of this period. Of emperor Samudra-gupta we are told by his panegyrist that he was skilled in music and song, and he earned for himself the title of king of poets because of his poetical accomplishments. To a later date belong the royal poets Pravarasena, Harsha, Mahendra-varman and Yaśo-varman, not to speak of the mysterious Śūdraka, author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* [3]

1 Cf Vol II, p. 586

2 In *Daśa.* pp 21-22 (NSP, 1951, pp 23-24), the subjects learnt by the princes at the court of king Rājavāhana comprised all scripts and languages, the Vedas with their auxiliaries, poetry and the dramatic art, law, grammar, astrology, logic, *mīmāṁsā*, political science, music and poetics, the art of war and (strangest of all) gambling, thieving and such other crooked arts. In *Kād.* 125f prince Chandrāpīḍa at the age of six is sent by his father to a specially built and closely guarded school-house (*vidyāmandira*) outside the city There he lives for 10 years under the guidance of teachers versed in all branches of learning. The author may have drawn this part of his description from life, but he surely indulges in fancy when he says that the royal pupil acquired during this period supreme proficiency 'in grammar, in *mīmāṁsā*, in logic, in the science of law, in the various branches of political science. . in the use of all the difficult weapons....in playing on various musical instruments . in all the alphabets, all the dialects of the country, all the mechanical arts, in the Vedas and in many other different accomplishments.'

3 Cf respectively pp. 182ff, 116f, 259f and 128ff above, for Śūdraka, see Vol. II, p 264f. Reference may also be made to the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena (c A.D. 336-355) who has been plausibly identified as author of the Prakrit *kāvya Haravijaya* (*IHQ*, XXI. 193f); see above, p. 187.

CHAPTER XXII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It has been shown in the preceding volumes that long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas, India had developed an advanced system of agriculture, industry and trade. This progress was maintained during the Gupta period. The conquest of almost the whole of the Ganges Valley by Samudra-gupta and that of Mālwa, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār by his son and successor Chandra-gupta II ensured the blessings of a strong well-organized government for the richest and most populous regions of India. The prestige of the newly founded empire rose so high by the time of Samudra-gupta as to secure respect for the imperial authority from local rulers up to India's natural frontiers in the east as well as the west. The crisis of the decline and fall of the Gupta empire during the latter half of the sixth century could not but produce an inevitable setback But the way was prepared for a fresh economic revival by the subsequent rise of a succession of able rulers in Northern India and of powerful dynasties in the Deccan and South India which ensured for the three great geographical zones of India the blessings of a sound administration.

1 AGRICULTURE

The development of agriculture during the period under review seems to have been continued on the traditional lines.[1] The age-long dependence of Indian agriculture upon rainfall in spite of richness of the soil and abundance of natural supplies of water in selected areas is reflected in the sixth century work, the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*. The author, Varāhamihira, gives numerous references to rains and rainfall and, in particular, careful forecasts of excessive, scanty and sufficient rainfall in the light of astronomical and meteorological data as well as observations of omens and portents. Varāhamihira in this connection even gives us statistics of quantities of rainfall in the current (*droṇa*) measure, and refers to a standard rain gauge for measuring the same.[2] A concrete illustration of State care for agriculture is furnished by the Junagarh Rock inscription of Emperor Skandagupta belonging to the years 455-58 of the

1. On the condition of agriculture in the preceding period, see Chapter on Economic Conditions (Post-Mauryan) (Chapter XIV) by the present writer in *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol III (Orient Longmans, 1956)
2 See *Brihat-Samhita*, English Index s v Rain Rainfall, Rainy season Ibid XXI, 32, 34, etc, XXIII 6-9 (Statistics of Rainfall); XXIII, 2 (Rain-gauge)

Christian Era. It records the restoration of the historical Sudarśana lake at Girnar by the local governor of Skandagupta.[1] The agricultural implements and lines of agricultural operations appear likewise to have been of the traditional type. The *Amarakośa*, a work of the sixth century A.D., gives synonyms for the plough and its component parts, the harrow for loosening the soil, the hoe and the sickle. From the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* we further learn that there were two principal harvests, namely, for the summer and for the autumn crops, although a minor spring crop was also known.[2]

The variety of agricultural crops and products of trees and plants during this period was as remarkable as in the preceding centuries. The *Amarakośa* and the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* refer to rice of several varieties (one ripening in the course of 60 days), wheat, barley, peas and lentils, oil-seeds of many different kinds (such as sesamum, linseed and mustard), ginger and other vegetables, pepper and other spices, medicinal and other herbs. Sugarcane trees were grown for the production of raw as well as refined sugar.[3] The care for the growing of trees and plants is reflected in a chapter (Chapter 55) of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* relating to the treatment of trees (*Vṛikshāyurveda*)—a science which is sufficiently ancient for mention in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. In this chapter Varāhamihira gives rules for preparation of the soil, for grafting a tree-branch on another tree and for watering the trees at the proper season. Rules are also given for spacing the trees, for treating their diseases and for promoting the growth of fruits and flowers of the trees, creepers and shrubs. Elaborate directions are given for treatment of the seeds and for digging the pit for sowing the same. Tree-growing was to be practised as well for its aesthetic effect as for piety. For we are told that gardens should be laid out on the borders of watering places, as these would not be lovely without shading on the borders. Auspicious trees, again, are required to be grown in gardens and near dwelling houses.

We may notice in the present place some of the chief agricultural regions of this period along with their products. Saffron was a native product of the lands on the banks of the Sindhu according to the *Raghuvaṁśam*, while the *Amarakośa* more specifically mentions Kashmir as its place of origin. Sandal-wood is stated in the *Amarakośa* to be a product of Malaya (southern part of the Western Ghats below the Kāveri). From some allusions in the *Raghuvaṁśam* we learn that pepper, cardamom and sandal-wood were native to

1. Fleet, CII, III, p. 56
2. *Amara*, II, 9, 6f. BSV 21f, IX 42, X 18, XXV 2, XXVII 1, and XL
3. *Amara*, III, 9 6f; BS English Index s v

the Malaya hill in the Pāṇḍya country in Kālidāsa's time.[1] In the first half of the seventh century Hiuen Tsang in his general account of Indian products observed that much rice and wheat were grown, while ginger, mustard and pumpkins were also cultivated. Among the most prized fruits were mango, melon, cocoanut, jackfruit, plantain, tamarind, and wood-apple, as well as pomegranate and sweet oranges, these last being grown in all tracts. This general account is supplemented by the pilgrim's detailed notices of the different regions that he visited. Udyāna, Darel and Kashmir, we are told, produced saffron, while Kashmir and Kuluta produced medicinal plants. In Poonch and Mathurā, fruits were grown in orchards adjoining the homesteads Pāriyātra (Bairat) produced a variety of rice which in sixty days was ready for cutting, while Magadha grew another variety with large grains of extraordinary fragrance which was called 'rice for grandees'. 'Oṭa' (Oḍra) produced fruits larger than those of other lands Sandal-wood, camphor and other (fragrant) trees grew on the Malaya hill in the south of the Malakuṭa (Pāṇḍya) country near the sea coast.[2]

The account of Hiuen Tsang is partly confirmed and partly supplemented by the much shorter notices of his junior contemporary, I-tsing. From this later writer we learn that non-glutinous rice, sweet-melons, sugar-canes and tubers were abundant in the country and that the fruits were too numerous to mention, but millet was scarce. We further learn that wheat flour was abundant in the North-West, rice or barley in the West, and rice in Magadha In so far as the Sthāṇvīśvara tract is concerned, Hiuen Tsang's brief reference to its abounding fertility is supplemented by Bāṇa's detailed, if somewhat poetical, account of the same area. The products of the Śrīkaṇṭha region (comprising the Sthāṇvīśvara tract) according to Bāṇa, consisted of rice and wheat, sugar-cane of the Puṇḍra variety, beans of different varieties, as well as vines and pomegranates We have a glimpse of the technical advance of agriculture in the author's statement that vines and pomegranates were grown in orchards, while the cumin was watered by means of Persian water-wheels.[3]

We may notice here a few clauses of the late Smṛiti law for the encouragement of agriculture A heavy fine of a hundred *panas* was the penalty for destroying or otherwise injuring agricultural implements, dams, roots, fruits and flowers A smaller fine was imposed for obstructing the flow of water along the water channels

1 *Raghu*, IV. 6, *Amara*, II 6f, 124 (saffron) *Amara*, II, 6, 131; *Raghu* IX 46-48 VI 64 (Pepper etc)

2 *HTW*, I 177-78, (India's general agricultural products); ibid, 261, 298 (products of Kashmir etc), ibid, I, 283, 301 (Of Poonch and Mathurā), ibid I, 300, II. 81 (of Pāriyātra and Magadha); ibid, II 193, 228 (of Malakūṭa)

3 *Records*, pp. 43-44 *Harsha*, III

Cultivators, taking leases of fields were fined on a sliding scale for neglecting cultivation. On the other hand, a person turning fallow into arable land, or cultivating a field when the owner was unable to do the same, or was dead or was unheard of, was entitled to the enjoyment of its produce (less an eighth part) for a period of seven or eight years.[1]

2. INDUSTRIES

The branches of industry were maintained at the same high level as in the preceding period no doubt, because of abundance of the raw materials and the skill and enterprise of the artisans and the craftsmen Beginning with the very ancient textile industry, we have to mention that the literary works of our period mention a large variety of our clothing materials. These consisted of cotton, silk, wool and linen as well as of barks of trees[2] These data are corroborated by the testimony of contemporary writers in the seventh century In Bāna's *Harshacharita* we are told that there were displayed on the occasion of Princess Rājyaśrī's marriage garments of *kshauma* (linen) *badara* (cotton) *dukūla* (bark-silk), *lālā-tantu* (spider's silk?), *aṃśuka* (muslin), and *netra* (shot silk). In his general account of India Hiuen Tsang classifies the clothing materials of the Indians under the heads silk, cotton, linen, wool and goats' hair (?) This is confirmed by his detailed notices of the dressing materials of the people in different parts of the country[3]

The textiles were of various types From the *Amarakośa* we learn that different terms were in use for finer and coarser varieties of cloth, as well as for unbleached and bleached silk and the like In the *Harshacharita* we find mention of *pulakabandha* (gaily coloured cloth) and *pushpapaṭṭa* (flowered silk), not to speak of barks for the use of ascetics A close examination of the Ajantā frescoes has revealed four distinct weaving techniques, namely, gold or silver brocade, "tie and dye work", weaving after separate dying of the warp and the woof, and the spotted muslin.[4]

We may form some idea of the famous centres of the textile industry from the records of this time From a passage in Śānti-deva's *Śikshā-samuchchaya* (a work of the seventh century) we learn that Banaras (Vārānasi) retained its ancient reputation as the

1 *Nar* XIV, 4, *Bri* I 235 (fines for destroying dams) *Bri*, I 19, 53-55 (fines for neglect of cultivation) *Kāt* vv 764-67 (seven or eight year's enjoyment)
2 *Amara* II 6, 110-11 (cloth made of bark of trees, cotton and cocoon of silk-worms wool from hair of animals). *BS*, 412, 51, 19 (clothes made of goat's hair, silken cloth)
3 *Harsha*, I *HTW* I 148 II 151 287 340 etc
4 *Amara*, II, 6, 115-16, *Harsha* I for textiles in Ajanta frescoes see the paper of K de B Codrington in *IA*, 1930 pp 162-69 The translation of *pulaka-bandha* is after Motichandra in *JISOA* XII, p 11

producer of the best silk garments. A slight reference in the *Harshacharita* proves that the *kshauma* cloth of the Puṇḍra country was sufficiently well-known to find its way into the author's village home. More specifically we are told by Hiuen Tsang that Mathurā produced a fine striped variety of cotton cloth in his time. Indirect evidence of the advanced condition of the textile industry in Kāmarūpa in the same century is found in the list of presents sent by its King to Harsha according to *Harshacharita*. The list comprised bundle of *kshauma*, *jātipaṭṭika* (woven silk) and *chitrapaṭa* (figured textiles)[1]

Among the industries dealing with animal products there are two deserving special mention. As regards the leather industry the *Amarakośa* has synonyms for leather-fan, leather-bottle for containing oil, leather shoes and boots. Representations of human or divine figures in leather boots or shoes are found in the contemporary sculptures and paintings. As regards ivory work, repeated references are found in the literary works of this period to the use of this material by the people for a variety of purposes. Ivory seals have been recovered from Gupta levels on the site of Bhita near Allahabad.[2]

We have little or no clue to the sources of the supply of metals in the Gupta period properly so-called It would seem that copper and probably tin and lead as well had to be imported from abroad as in earlier times The abundant supplies of gold which provided materials for the Imperial Gupta coinage were probably derived from the gold coins of the Byzantine Emperors obtained in exchange for Indian products By contrast we have both general and particular references to the working of mines for metals in the work of Hiuen Tsang. In his general account of India he informs us that gold and silver were products of the country and were very abundant. From his detailed notices we learn that the regions of Udyāna and Darel in the extreme North-west, Ṭakka between the Beas and the Sutlej and Sindhu produced gold and silver, while copper and iron were found in the tract between the Beas and the Sutlej just mentioned Copper was found in Nepāl as well as in Kuluta (the Kulu country).[3] The location of the mines in the areas cannot be determined at present.

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1 *Śikshāsamuchchaya*, p 208 (Banaras silk) *Harsha*, IV (kshauma of Puṇḍra country and textiles from *Kāmarūpa*) *HTW*, I (Mathurā cloth)

2 *Amara*, II 6, 110-11 (cloth made of bark of trees cotton and cocoon of silk-frescoes see *IA*, 1930, p 160 Also see *Raghu*, XVII, 21 (ivory-throne used at King's coronation); *Harsha*, VII (ivory boxes and rings of hippopotamus ivory presented to Harsha by King of Kāmarūpa); *Kad* 96, 113 (ivory-fan and bedstead with ivory legs); *ASI* 1911-12, pp. 47f, 93 (ivory seals from Gupta levels at Bhita)

3 *Amara*, II 9, 97 (copper from Mlechchha countries) *HTW* I, 178, 225, 239, 286, 501 (gold and silver) Ibid, I, 280, 298, II, 83 (copper).

As in the earlier centuries the technical sciences were utilised for the manufacture of metals. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* includes *rūpa-ratna-parīkshā, dhātuvāda* and *maṇirāga-kara-jñānam* (meaning probably the testing of precious stones, the smelting of metals and the technology of jewels and so forth) in his list of sixty-four fine arts (*kalās*). According to Hiuen Tsang's testimony brass (*tou-si*) was extensively produced in the country. A colossal copper image of the Buddha, attributed to King Pūrṇavarman, and a brass (*tou-si*) temple which was then being built by King Śilāditya (Harsha) were found by the pilgrim at Nālandā at the time of his visit. The former was more than 80′ in height, and the latter was expected to reach a height of 100′ or more. A copper statue of Buddha, 7′ 1/2″ in height, which belonged to this period, was discovered in modern times at Sultangunj in Bhagalpur district and is now preserved in the Birmingham Museum. The famous iron pillar of Emperor Chandra (Chandragupta II?) at Meḥerauli in old Delhi is over 23′ high and 16′ 4″ in diameter, and has undergone no corrosion in spite of centuries of exposure to the weather. The representations of metallic mirrors have been traced by a competent scholar among the Ajanta frescoes. It remains to mention that the literary works of the Gupta period contain numerous references to the use of gold and silver ornaments by the people.[1]

The art of the jeweller seems to have been in the same advanced condition as in the preceding period. The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, in one of its chapters (Chapter 80), mentions no less than twenty-two jewels The list includes diamond, sapphire, emerald, ruby, beryl, amethyst, crystal, moon-gem, azure, topaz, opal, pearl, and coral, besides agate, conch-shell and other less precious substances. Synonyms for emerald, ruby, pearl and coral as well as conch-shell are found in the *Amarakośa*[2] In the working of gems use was made of *ratna-parīkshā* (the science of testing gems). Vātsyāyana, in his *Kāmasūtra*, includes it in his list of sixty-four arts, while Varāhamihira's chapter, quoted above (Chapter 81), bears the above title In this and the two following chapters Varāhamihira deals successively with varieties of diamond, pearls, rubies, and emeralds. Of the seven sources of diamond mentioned by Varāhamihira in this context, all the names are Indian, some being identifiable with the sources of diamond given by Ptolemy in the former period.[3] Varāhamihira's list of eight

1 *Kamasūtra* I 3 16 (sixty-four arts) *HTW*, I 178 (*tou-si*), ibid 171 and *Life* 119 (copper image and brass temple at Nālandā) Fleet, *CII*, III, 139 (Meherauli pillar inscription) *ASI*, 1911-12 pp 89-93 (Bhita) K de B Codrington in *IA*, 1930, p 172 (metallic mirrors in Ajanta frescoes) For copper seals in Rajghat see above p 553. The translation of *tou-si* as brass is after Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp 511-12

2 *BS*, 80 4-5; *Amara*, II. 9 92f.

3 Thus Kosa of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 17) which has been identified with Berar up

sources of pearls contains the well-known names of fisheries of Ceylon, Persia and the Pāṇḍya country. Hiuen Tsang, in the early part of the seventh century, noted white jade and crystal lens among the products of the country which were very abundant [1] Precious substances, he further observed, were found in Draviḍa. Literary evidance proves that jewels were used at the period for a large variety of purposes,—for being set in gold ornaments and seals, for adorning dresses, for covering couches and seats as well as mirrors and lamps, for decorating doorways, and for inlay of the floor of a house. Jewels were also worn as good omens [2] The characteristics of gems were sufficiently well-known to the poets of this period to be drawn into similes in their works We have a vivid picture of jewellers at work in a rich household in a famous description of the heroine's palace in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* drama.[3]

No branch of the jeweller's art appears to have been followed at this period with such industry and success as that of the worker in pearls The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* gives a long list (recalling that of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*) of the names of pearl necklaces which range from those of one thousand and eight strings to one string, and comprised other varieties with gem or gold globules set in the centre A shorter list is found in the *Amarakośa* Some of the varieties, e.g., of the pearl-necklace of a single string (*ekāvalī*) and of twenty-seven strings (*nakshatramālā*) are mentioned in the great literary works of this period. Pearls were also used for inlay work in the manufacture of ornaments, sword-handles and drinking vessels, as also for ornamentation of ladies' dresses.[4]

The art of the worker in semi-precious stones which may be traced back to the prehistoric Indus culture was practised in Gupta times Beads and other small objects of jasper, agate, carnelian, quartz, lapis lazuli and the like have been recovered from Gupta strata on the sites of Basarh and Bhita [5]

3 INLAND TRADE.

Although direct evidence on this point is somewhat scanty, we can infer that the benefits of peace and order established throughout

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to the Vara river corresponds to Kosala or Mahākosala of *BS* 81 31f Mouth of the Adams river in Ptolemy (loc cit) corresponds to Kaliṅga of *BS*

1 *HTW*, I 178 II 226

2 *Sak*, Act V, *Raghu*, XVI, 43, XVII, 13, *Dasa* p 41 (NSP 1951, p 43f), *Harsha*, IV, *Kad*. 296, 313, *BS* XLIV 25-6 (ornamental use) *BS* LXXX, 2 15-17, LXXI, 30, LXXXII 6, LXXXIII (auspicious diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds)

3 *Raghu*, XVIII 32 (topaz), ibid, 42 (sapphire), ibid, XIII 48, 54; XVI 69, *Megha* I 47 (pearls necklace set with sapphire), *Kum*, III. 53 (ruby, gold and pearl ornaments), *Raghu*, XII 13 (coral)

4 *BS* LXXXI 31-36; *Amara* II 6, 105-06 (lists of pearl necklaces) *Harsha*, IV and VIII, *Kad* 142 *Malati*, Act I (*nakshatramālā* and *ekāvalī*); *Harsha*, II, IV and VII (uses of pearls)

5 *ASI*, 1903-04 pp 99-100, ibid 1911-12 p. 94

Northern India by the strong arm of the Guptas helped the expansion of internal trade. This process was helped by the issues of abundant gold and silver coinage of excellent quality by the Emperors The merchants must have travelled more or less along the well-known land- and water-routes. The *Amarakośa* has synonyms not only for markets and shops but also for merchants travelling by boats. Discoveries have been made on the Gupta site at Bhita of rows of shops along what have been called 'the High Street' and "the Side-Street."[1]

The sea-ports mentioned in the records of this period must have served as the natural outlets of the import and export trade borne along long-distance routes from the interior. A number of the most important trading stations of India is mentioned by Cosmas writing in the early part of the sixth century The list comprises 'Sindu', 'Orrhotha' (unidentified), 'Calliana' 'Sibor' and no less than five marts of 'Male' (Malabar) on the west coast, as well as 'Marallo' (unidentified) and 'Caver' along this coast[2] Among other ports flourishing during this period, may be mentioned Tāmralipti at the head of the Gaṅgā delta Because of its happy geographical position at the meeting place of land and water communications, as Hiuen Tsang observes, it became the emporium of the vast trade of Eastern India across the seas It was the true successor of the great sea-ports of Gange and Tamalitis mentioned by the classical writers It was the port of call for voyagers from China, Indonesia and Ceylon to Eastern India and back We have direct evidence of the great trade carried from it into the interior I-tsing was accompanied on his journey from Tāmralipti to Bodh-Gayā by many hundreds of merchants Journeys of merchants from distant Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti are recorded in the eighth century inscription of Udayamāna. In Oḍra country there was, according to Hiuen Tsang a famous sea-port called Chāritra, while Kongoda (modern Ganjam district), according to the same authority, grew very rich because of its maritime trade. That the people of the Gaṅgā delta had the overwhelming share in the trade from Tāmralipti is proved by reminiscences of their maritime activities in the *Raghuvaṁśam* and the *Daśakumāracharita*[3]

1. *Amara*, II 20 2, *ASIAR*, 1911-12 p 38
2. Cosmas, 366-67 (list of Indian ports) In the above Sindu is evidently the port of the Indus delta, Calliana is Kalyana on the eastern coast of Bombay harbour; Sibor is Chaul situated 25 miles south of Bombay, Caver is Kaveri-paddinam at the mouth of the Kaveri river For the lists in the *Periplus* and in Ptolemy's Geography, see *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol II. p 438
3. *HTM*, II 190, 194, 196 (Tāmralipti, Chāritra and Koṅgoda) *EI*, II 95 (Udayamāna's inscription) *Raghu*, IV (maritime activities of the people of Suhma). *Daśa*. (NSP ed) pp 215f (story of sea-fight between Indian galley by Prince of Suhma and Yavana vessel with a Magadha Prince on board).

The late Smṛitis, like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, contain clauses of law relating to traders under such heads, as 'Sale by one who is not an owner' and 'Repentance after purchase and sale'. Comparison of these clauses reveals one striking contrast. According to Manu and Yājñavalkya, prices of commodities should be periodically fixed by the King, Manu adding that arrangement should be made for official stamping of the weights and measures and their periodical inspection. These provisions are conspicuous by their absence in Nārada and his successors. On the other hand, we have a remarkable clause in Kātyāyana, declaring what is fixed by the knowledgeable and honest body of neighbours to be the proper price. This is followed by the emphatic statement that what is more or less than this price even by one-eighth is deemed as the improper price and that what is sold for an improper price may be annulled even after a hundred years.[1] This clause is another index of the strong reaction characteristic of this period against the policy of administrative centralisation in the preceding centuries. For the rest, the late Smriti clauses repeat those of the earlier works Under the title 'Sale without ownership' we read that sale by a person, not the owner, should be annulled and that the property should be restored to the original owner Under the head of law 'Repentance after purchase and sale', we are told that a period of examination varying according to different articles should be allowed to the buyer or the seller for returning or taking back the article if he repents of the transaction.[2]

4 FOREIGN TRADE.

The most important event in the economic history of Eastern and Southern Asia during this period is the development, by the third decade of the sixth century, of an inter-oceanic trade reaching from China through Indonesia and the east coast of India up to Ceylon, and extending thence along the west Indian coast to Persia and the Homerite country (in Arabia) and Adule (the port of Assum, capital of the Ethiopian Kingdom). We learn from Cosmas that merchandise from China and Indonesia and South India was carried to Ceylon, whence it was exported to the western lands just mentioned It would appear that India had a fair share in this trade, for we are told that Ceylon was much frequented by ships from all ports of India as well as from Persia and Ethiopia. The carrying trade in silk seems to have been monopolised by the Persians, who exported it to the Byzantine Empire. The sea-route from Tāmralipti was used by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims from Fa Hian downwards on their outward or return journeys or both. Besides the overseas routes just men-

1. *Kat* 705-06. Contrast *Manu*, VIII, 401-03 and *Yā*, II 251
2. *Bri.* I 12, 3f and *Kat* 612f after *Manu* VIII and *Yā*, II 168.

tioned a number of overland routes connected India with China. From the itineraries of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang we learn that a great North-western route ran by way of Central Asia and Bactria to the passes of the Sulaiman range and thence to the interior of India. A more difficult route connected China with India directly across the Karakoram range and Kashmir. In the north-east a route ran from Tonkin through Kāmarūpa across Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) to Magadha and the regions further beyond.[1]

5. OBJECTS OF TRADE.

We may begin with a list of India's principal objects of trade with the outside world during this period. Among agricultural products the first place belongs to spices. We know from Cosmas that spikenard among other articles was gathered at Sindhu (no doubt, from the Upper Himālayas) for export, while pepper was exported from no less than five ports of Malabar. In the list of articles forming the subject of Justinian's regulations on customs duties are included such typically Indian spices as cinnamon, long pepper, white pepper, costus, cardamom and other aromatics. Among the products of useful and fragrant trees sesame logs, we are told by Cosmas, were exported from Kalyāna, while the *Annals of the T'ang Dynasty* state that Indian sandal-wood and saffron were exported to the Roman Orient (Ta'tsin), Fu-Nan (the predecessor Kingdom of Cambodia) and Kiaochi (unidentified). We have an interesting testimony to the high value of Indian products in eastern lands, for we are told that Rudravarman, king of Fu-Nan, sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor in 519 A. D with the present of a Buddha image made of Indian sandalwood. From the *Amarakośa* we learn that *māshaparni*, a medicinal plant, was acquired from Kāmboja, beyond Gandhāra, in extreme north-west, while *silhaka* (a kind of incense) as well as asaphoetida was supplied by Turuska Bāhlīka and Ramaṭha (lands of Western Asia) It remains to mention that aloes, cloves and sandalwood are included by Cosmas in the list of products reaching Ceylon from South-East Asia by way of the Coromandal ports.[2]

As regards the trade in animals, the best breeds of horses, as before, were imported from Arabia, Persia and modern Afghānistān. But a local breed, reputed to be of dragon stock, was found by Hiuen Tsang in Kashmir Among animal products the most important

1 Cosmas 365-66 (inter-oceanic trade) For maps of Fa Hian's and Hiuen Tsang's itineraries see Legge and *HTW* respectively For the route from Tonkin *via* Kāmarūpa to Magadha see Pelliot in *BEFEO*, IV. 131f.

2 Cosmas 366-67 (list of exports from Indian ports) *Corpus Juris Civilis* Vol I, p 606 (Justinian's list) Laufer *Sino-Iranica* p 45 (Indian exports to Roman Orient etc.) *BEFEO*, 270-71 (Rudravarman's embassy to China). *Amara* II, 4. 138 (*māshaparni*), ibid, II, 6, 128; II, 3, 9 (*silha* and *silhaka*); ibid, II. 9, 40 (*hingu*).

were pearls, corals, silk, and ivory. Pearls from the junction of the Tāmraparṇī river with the sea formed the most precious product of the Pāṇḍya country in the time of Kālidāsa, while Hiuen Tsang knew the same land (under the name of Malakūṭa) as a depot for sea-pearls. To judge from the extensive references to the use of pearls in the Gupta Age, the pearl trade of the Pāṇḍya country must have been very important at that period. Pearls as well as raw silk, silk yarn and silk robes, partly at any rate of Indian origin, are included in Justinian's list of imported articles above mentioned. Corals were obtained from the sea, separating India from Ceylon, in Kālidāsa's time according to an allusion in the *Raghuvaṁśam*. The literature of the Gupta period contains occasional references to Chinese silk, while Cosmas not only mentions silk as a product of China but also includes it in the list of articles sent through Indonesia and the East Indian coast to Ceylon for export to the West. Silk from China must have likewise been brought down by the great land-routes to Central Asia. Ivory was exported from Ethiopia to India in the time of Cosmas, who adds that Ethiopian elephants were numerous and had larger tusks than the Indian elephants. An additional article of trade was musk, which according to Cosmas was procured at Sindh (no doubt, from the Upper Himālayas) for export.[1]

As for the trade in mineral products copper was obtained from Mlechchha countries (of the Western Mediterranean) according to the *Amarakośa*. The copper which as Cosmas informs us, was exported from Kalyāna was probably likewise imported from abroad. For Kalyāna was one of the principal marts of Western India at that time. We know from the last-named authority that sapphire was imported into India from Ceylon, while emerald was imported by the Ethiopians who secured it from the Blemmyes (natives of Nubia). On the other hand, 'Indian iron not liable to corrosion' (Indian steel?) is comprised in Justinian's list of imported articles above quoted. Diamonds are included in the list of exports from India to the Roman Orient, Fu-Nan and Kiaochi in the passage of the *Annals of the T'ang Dynasty* cited above.[2]

As regards textiles, Cosmas tells us that cloth for making dresses was exported from Kalyāna. A variety of fabrics called po-t'ie ('cotton brocade' or 'cotton stuffs') is mentioned in the authoritative Chinese works as an Indian product which was exported to China from Ho-Lo-Tan or Java.[3]

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1 *Amara*, II 8 45, *Raghu*, IV 70 *Harsha*, II *Raghu*, IV 50 *HTW* II 228 (pearls) *Raghu*, 3 (corals) *Śak* Act I, *Kum*, VII 3 *Mālatī* Act VI *Dasa*. p 129 (Chinese silk) Cosmas, 366 (musk)

2 Amara, II. 9 97, Cosmas 364, 366-71 Also see references under f n 29

3. Cosmas 366, Laufer in *Sino-Iranica* pp 490-91 The translation of *po-tie* is after Laufer, *loc cit*

6. CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

It is needless to point out that capitalistic methods of production and distribution were prevalent during this period along with the age-old domestic system. The extreme form of capitalism involved the employment of forced labour and slave labour. While the use of forced labour belonged, as before, almost exclusively to the State, slaves were commonly employed by the public mostly as personal attendants.[1] The later Smritis enumerate the kinds of impure work reserved for slaves unlike the pure work for hired labourers.[2]

Hired labour was employed for agriculture, animal rearing, industry and trade as well as for domestic service. We may summarize the description of the status of hired labourers according to the late Smṛiti authorities under the following heads:—

(i) *Law of Wages.*

Hired labour was divided into three grades, the first grade comprising soldiers, the second grade consisting of cultivators, and the third grade comprising bearers of loads as well as domestic servants. The terms and conditions of service were various. The labourers were employed by the day, fortnight, three months, six months and one year. They were paid in cash or in a share of the grain. Nārada allows one-tenth of the grain-produce to the agricultural servant. According to the more liberal clause of Bṛihaspati one-fifth of the produce with food and clothing, or, else, one-third of the crop without the same, should be paid to the servants of cultivators. I-tsing, in the latter part of the seventh century, after stating how the Indian Buddhist monasteries had their lands cultivated by servants and others, observed that the *Saṅgha* provided the bulls and the fields and normally received one-sixth share of the produce. These shares were sometimes modified according to seasons. It would, therefore, seem that the share of the cultivating tenants amounted in the case of monastic lands to as much as five-sixth of the produce.[3]

(ii) *Law of mutual relations of labour and capital*

The late Smṛitis following the lines of Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down clauses for enforcement of reciprocal obligations of the master and the servant. On the one hand, the hireling committing the slightest treachery in the performance of work for his master forfeits his wages and is liable to be sued in a court of law: the hireling

1 The subject is treated in the Smritis under three heads of law, namely, *Vetanasyānapākarma*, *Abhyupetyāśuśrushā* and *Svāmipālavivāda* (non-payment of wages, non-rendition of service, dispute between master and herdsman). For an exhaustive treatment of the above subjects see Kane, *History of Dharmashastra* Vol III Chap XX

2 *Nār.* V. 5-7, *Bri* I 15 16-18 (work for slaves)

3 *Bri* I. 15, 15-16, *Kat* 657f, 173f *Record* pp 61 f

receiving his wages but failing, though able to perform his work, is to pay twice as much as fine to the King and give back his wages: one not carrying out his work after giving an undertaking is to be forced to complete the same and, in case of failure, to pay a heavy fine. On the other hand, the master not paying wages after completion of the work is to be compelled by the King to pay the same, and is, besides, liable to a proportionate fine. A servant, says Kātyāyana, is not liable to pay for the value of the article in his keeping which is carried away by thieves or burnt or swept away by flood: a master abandoning on the road a servant, who was hired or afflicted with disease, is liable to a fine.[1]

7 UNSECURED AND SECURED LOANS

The late Smṛitis develop the clauses of Manu and Yājñavalkya relating to the loans.[2] We may summarise their account under the following heads:—

(i) *Types of Loans.*

As in the early Smṛitis, the loans are held to be of different types, namely, those without security, those with security (*pratibhū*), and those with security or pledge (*ādhi*). Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana classify pledges under four heads, while three, four, and five classes of securities are mentioned by Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana. This is accompanied by a detailed statement of the law relating to pledges and sureties But it is not possible here to go into these details.[3]

(ii) *Law of Interest.*

Nārada and Bṛihaspati describe several types of interest, namely, what is used by the creditor for his own purpose, what is paid periodically, what is interest on interest (in other words, compound interest), what is stipulated interest, what is paid by the day, and what is paid by engagement As in other respects, the late Smṛitis follow the lines of their predecessors regarding the rates of interest. Manu and Yājñavalkya had declared the legal interest to be 1¼% per month, but allowed extra rates in special cases. According to Nārada and Kātyāyana, while no interest is due on loans made for friendship and without agreement, the interest should be as high as 5% when the money is not paid on demand Vyāsa's rates are 1¼% 1½% and 2% per month for loans with security, with surety, and without security, respectively. According to Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana the debtor is

1 *Bri* I. 15, 3-7, 9-11, and *Kat* 657-60 after *Manu*, VIII 215 and *Yāj*, II 193.
2. See Kane, *op. cit.* pp 418f.
3 *Bri*, I 10, 38 f, ibid 73, *Kat* 516f, 530f

liable to pay the stipulated interest in excess of these legal rates, if the same was promised in a time of difficulty, but not otherwise. The late Smṛitis likewise deal with the laws against usury. Manu and Yājñavalkya, while laying down the general rule that the interest accumulating at any time must not exceed the principal, had allowed extra interest on the loan of selected articles. The provisions in the late Smritis are on the same lines. The rates are 2, 3, 4 and 8 times the loan in the case of gold, grain, cloth and fluids respectively (Nārada), 4 times the loan in the case of copper and some other articles (Bṛihaspati), 2 times in the case of jewels, pearls, corals, gold and silver, fruits, silken cloth and woollens, 5 times the same in case of metals other than gold and silver, and 8 times the same in case of oils, liquors, clarified butter, molasses, salt and land (Kātyāyana) The above differences evidently reflect the changes in the relation of demand and supply concerning a large number of consumer goods.[1]

(iii) *Relations between creditor and debtor*

The late Smṛitis provide for full security of the creditor's title. According to Bṛihaspati the creditor is to grant the loan after taking full pledge on a good security or a written deed attested by witnesses. Bṛihaspati likewise declares mortgage by means of documents and witnesses to be of superior authority over oral evidence Kātyāyana gives elaborate accounts of disqualifications of sureties, of the requirements of written documents, and of the qualifications and disqualifications of witnesses[2] Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana repeat the older clauses regarding the process of recovery of debt by the creditor from the debtor The approved methods are declared to be by trickery, by force, by performance of works, by public pressure and by suit in public There is, however, the saving clause that the creditor would lose his claim and pay an equivalent fine if he harasses the debtor desiring investigation in a court of law.[3]

8. GUILDS AND PARTNERSHIPS

It remains to notice two other types of economic organisation, namely, guilds and partnerships. The late Smṛitis from Manu downwards have title of law called 'violation of Compacts' (*samvit-vyatikrama*), or non-performance of agreements (*samayayānapā-krama*), which relate to groups (*samūhas* or *vargas*). In this last category are included the *śreṇī*, the *pūga*, and the *naigama* Now *śreṇī* is the familiar term for guilds of artisans and traders from the period

1 *Nar* I 98; *Bri*, I 10, 4f; *Kāt*; 505f and Vyāsa quoted by Śūlapāṇi on *Yāj*, II. 37.
2. *Bri*, I 10, 5f and *Kat*, 114f (disqualification of witnesses). *Kat* 215f. (requirements of written documents). ibid 549f (qualification and disqualifications of witnesses).
3 *Bṛi* I 10 9f and *Kat*. 477, 580 (process of recovery of debt).

of the early Buddhist literature. *Pūga* is defined differently by different authors, but Kātyāyana takes it to mean a group of merchants and so forth: *naigama* is explained by Kātyāyana in the colourless sense of a group of various inhabitants of the same town, but it is more particularly applied in the *Amarakośa* to a merchant.[1] The general tendency in the late Smṛitis is to improve the status of guilds and associated bodies. We may discuss this point under the following heads.—

(i) Constitution of guilds.
(ii) Operation of their conventions or compacts.
(iii) Rights and duties of the individual members.

(i) *Constitution of guilds.*

The *śreṇis* and other bodies are contemplated in the late Smṛitis to be headed by high executive officers (*adhyakshas* or *mukhyas*) who are assisted by committees of two three or five persons called advisers for the public good (*samūhahitavādins*) or for public business (*kārya-chintaka*). A high degree of administrative decentralisation is implied in the clauses relating to the authority of executive officers over their constituents. According to Bṛihaspati, the *adhyakshas* are permitted to punish wrong-doers by reprimand and censure as well as by excommunication. Their judgements in the discharge of their duties are required to be respected by the King, for, as the author says, 'such powers are regarded by the sages as delegated to them.' The opinion of the advisers, according to Nārada is to be followed by the guilds and similar bodies. On the other hand, the King is to settle disputes between the chief executive officers and the groups.[2]

(ii) *Conventions or Compacts of guilds*

Nārada and Bṛihaspati give various examples of conventions or compacts made by the groups. Kātyāyana calls such compacts by the title of *sthitipatras* which he defines as a deed of convention made by the *śreṇīs* and other bodies for preserving their usages intact. The corresponding title in Bṛihaspati is *samvitpatras*. The conventions of the *naigamas*, the *śreṇīs*, the *pūgas*, and other bodies, says Nārada are to be enforced by the King the only exceptions being made against these which are adverse to the King's interest, or are disapproved by the people or are harmful to the public good. The members of the groups says Kātyāyana, are bound to follow their respective conventions or rules in all their acts, subject to their obli-

1 *Kat*, 678-79 (*pūga* and *naigama*), *Amara* II. 9 98 (*naigama*) For an exhaustive study of the whole subject of the Smṛiti law of groups see Kane op. cit, Chapters XVIII and XXI
2 Bri pp 151 vv 8 A

gation of performing their individual duties (as laid down in the scriptures) and to obey the King's order not conflicting with the same. The extreme penalty of confiscation of property and banishment is prescribed by Bṛihaspati for a member who fails to perform his share of the convention, though he is capable of the same.

(iii) *Rights and duties of the individual members.*

Nārada prohibits mutual combination and unlawful wearing of arms as well as mutual conflicts among the groups.[1] Bṛihaspati lays down the extreme penalty of banishment for one who injures the common interest or insults those who are learned in the Vedas. According to Kātyāyana, one committing a heinous crime, or causing a split, or destroying the property of the groups, is to be proclaimed before the King and 'destroyed'. On the other hand, all members, we are told by Bṛihaspati, have an equal share in whatever is acquired by the committee of advisers or is saved by them, whatever they acquire through the King's favour as well as whatever debts are incurred by them for the purpose of the group.[2]

The evidence of the late Smṛiti law of guilds is corroborated in part by a certain type of clay-seals, which have been recovered from the excavations of Gupta sites at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) and Bhita (near Allahabad). These seals bear the legend *nigama* in Gupta characters (Bhita) and more particularly the legends *śreṇī-kulika-nigama* and *śreṇī-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama* (Basarh) These names are often joined with those of private individuals.[3] We have here a probable reference to the conventions or compacts made by local industrial and trading groups with private individuals or individual members. Such documents would be called *sthitipatras* or *samvit-patras* in the technical sense of the late Smṛitis.

We may quote in the next place the concrete example of the working of a guild in the time of the Gupta Emperors The Indore copper plate inscription of the Emperor Skandagupta[4] records the endowment (perpetual gift) of a sum of money by a Brāhmaṇa donor to the local guild of oilmen for the purpose of (daily?) provision of a fixed quantity of oil for a Sun-temple No doubt, the guild invested the sum in its own or other business for meeting the necessary expense out of the resulting income. The Gupta record is in line with a number of historical inscriptions of the earlier period

1. *Nār*, X, 3-4, 7; *Bṛi*, p 150, vv 5ff; *Kāt*, 668-70
2. *Nār*, X. 5-6; *Bṛi* p 154 vv 23ff *Kāt* 671-72, 677
3. For ref see *ASI* 1903-4., pp. 101f and plates (excavations at Basarh by T Bloch); ibid 1910-11 pp 56ff (excavations at Bhita by Sir Joshn Marshall) See also writer's paper entitled *On the working of village assemblies economic, guilds, religious congregations and other assemblies during the Gupta period*' (Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol I, 1959, No. 2)
4. *CII*. p. 70f.

recording endowments by princes and private individuals in favour of guilds for regular performance of acts of piety or charity. The above illustrates the function of the guilds in the capacity of bankers receiving private endowments for pious and charitable trusts.

The subject of partnership is treated in the Smṛitis under a separate title of law called *sambhūya samuthāna* (business in partnership). The topics are treated in the later works on the lines of the early Smṛitis. Thus in the first place, as regards the assets and liabilities, we are told that the income of each member should be in proportion to his share or according to agreement. According to Kātyāyana the partners should share, in accordance with their agreement, the cost of merchandise, the food and other charges, the losses, the freight and the charge for supervision of valuable property. The shares of the partners dealing in cash (gold), grain or liquids shall be the same as their shares in the joint capital. In the case of artisans there are special rules evidently because of the difference of skill required from the partners. According to Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana the four grades of artisans, namely, the apprentice, (*śikshaka*), the advanced student (*abhijña*), the expert (*kuśala*) and the teacher (*āchārya*) shall divide the profit in the proportion of 1 2 . 3:4. In the case of builders of palaces, continue the same authorities, the head architect shall receive two shares of the profit. In the second place, as regards the rights and duties of the partners we read that one-tenth of the property is to be given to one who has saved it from danger and the rest is to be shared by all. A property given or a document passed by a partner with the approval of the rest is binding upon them all. On the other hand, a partner causing loss through negligence by acting without consent or against the assent of the rest is to make good the loss A partner who is found to have practised deceit in the matter of purchase or sale is to clear himself by an oath. In the case of suspected deceit the partners themselves are to be witnesses and examiners provided they are not prejudiced against the accused A partner, unable to do his work himself, may have it done by an agent, but if he pursues crooked ways he is to be deprived of his profit and expelled.[1]

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The high standard of living and the luxury of town-life, to which the literary records of the Gupta Age bear witness, tell their own tale of economic prosperity at least among the upper classes of the people. Direct evidence of the material condition of the Indians is provided by the matter-of-fact accounts of the contemporary Chinese

1 *Nār* VI. 1f *Bri*, I. 13, 1-39; *Kat.* 624f On the whole subject see Kane, op. cit. II, pp 466-70.

travellers. In the beginning of the fifth century the people of the 'Middle Kingdom,' according to Fa-hien, were prosperous and happy. Fa-hien in particular refers to the high prosperity of the people of Sāṅkāśya and Magadha. In the first part of the seventh century, according to Hiuen Tsang, the towns and villages of Gandhāra (no doubt owing to the ravages of the Hūṇas in the previous century) lay desolate, while a belt of country lying along the foot of the Nepāl hills and comprising the ancient cities of Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Rāmagrāma and Kuśinagara lay deserted and was the haunt of robbers and wild beasts. A tract of country along the east coast comprising Kaliṅga, Dhanakaṭaka and Choḷa was thinly populated, the last region being covered with jungle. Great forests extended over the territory to the east of Ṭakka as well as south-east of Mahārāshṭra. But the greater part of the country undoubtedly enjoyed high prosperity. This is proved indirectly by the pilgrim's reference to the luxurious dresses of the people in certain tracts and the number of rich families in other regions. It is also demonstrated by Hiuen Tsang's positive testimony to the affluence of the people in many areas [1] Above all the general prevalence of peace and prosperity is indicated in an unmistakable manner by the rich and varied specimens of architecture, sculpture and painting described in Chapter XIX.

1 *HTW*, I. 286, 340 (luxurious dress of people in Takka and Kānyakubja), ibid, 316 (rich families in Sthānvīśvara), ibid, I, 296, 299, 329, 330, 340, ibid II. 47; 59, 184, 190, 191, 200, 243, 245-50 (affluence in Jālandhara, Śatadru, Brahmaputra, Goviśana, Kānyakubja, Vārānsi, Chan-chu, Puṇḍravardhana, Tāmralipti, Karnasuvarṇa, South Kosala, A-ta-ti, Cutch, Valabhī, Ānandapura, Surat, Gurjjara and Ujjayinī) On the richness of the people of Tāmralipti see *Record*, general introduction by Takakusu p. XXXIV.

CHAPTER XXIII

INTERCOURSE WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

1 *China—up to the T'ang Period*

It has been described in a preceding chapter[1] how, during the first three centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, had spread over Central Asia and obtained a definite footing in China. As centuries rolled by, the power and influence of Buddhism gradually increased in China and, as before, Buddhist monks of Central Asia, of sundry nationalities, took part in the missionary activity

The monks of Kuchi took a leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China from the fourth century A D The greatest of them was Kumārajīva whose life remarkably illustrates the wonderful religious and cultural internationalism of the period

Kumārāyāna, the father of Kumārajīva, was born in a respectable family of hereditary ministers to an Indian state He, however, abdicated his rights to this high office in favour of his relatives and went to Kuchi. The king of Kuchi cordially welcomed him, and he shortly rose to the high position of *Rājaguru* or royal preceptor He married Jīvā, a princess of the royal family who had fallen in love with him. Soon after the birth of her son Kumārajīva, Jīvā became a Buddhist nun and, when her son was nine years old, took him to Kashmir Here Kumārajīva studied Buddhist literature and philosophy under a teacher named Bandhudatta and attained great proficiency in a variety of subjects After completing his studies, Kumārajīva, with his mother, visited a number of renowned Buddhist institutions in Central Asia, and obtained high reputation as a Buddhist scholar. He then returned to Kuchi Shortly after, hostilities broke out between Kuchi and China A Chinese force besieged Kuchi which surrendered after a brave fight As was customary in those days the victorious Chinese general took the renowned scholar Kumārajīva to China This happened in A D. 383. Kumārajīva remained with the ruler of Ku-tsang in Kan-su for nearly fifteen years. The Chinese emperor repeatedly invited him and he proceeded to the capital in A D. 401 From that date till A.D. 412 Kumārajīva worked and stayed in the Chinese capital He devoted his whole energy to translating Buddhist texts and interpreting Buddhist religion and philosophy He translated more than

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one hundred Sanskrit texts and was the first to interpret Mahāyāna philosophy in China. His great command over both Sanskrit and Chinese, and vast erudition in different branches of philosophy, made him eminently fit for this task. His translations were a great improvement upon those of his predecessors. Many scholars from different parts of China became his disciples and he may be justly regarded as having ushered in a new epoch in the history of Buddhism in China.

The fact that Kumārajīva was taken all the way from Kuchi to Kāshmir by his mother for purposes of education shows the high position held by that region in the then Buddhist world. It was, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that learned Buddhist monks of Kāshmir should play the leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China. It is said that the Buddhist scholars who went to China from Kāshmir during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. far exceeded in number those who went from the other parts of India taken together. Among these Kāshmirian scholars special mention may be made of Saṅghabhūti (A.D. 381-384),[1] Gautama Saṅghadeva (A.D. 384-397), Puṇyatrāta (A.D. 404), Vimalāksha (A.D. 406-413), Buddhajiva (A.D. 423), Dharmamitra (A.D. 424-442), and Dharmayaśa (c. A.D. 400-424). Two of them, Puṇyatrāta and Vimalāksha were collaborators of Kumārajīva, while Dharmayaśa was a pupil of Puṇyatrāta. They all engaged themselves in translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and expounding Buddhist philosophy, and received high honours from the people as well as the officials.

More importance attaches to another Kāshmirian scholar Buddhayasa. He was born in a Brahmanical family but became a Buddhist monk. After completing his studies he proceeded to Central Asia. The king of Kashgar had invited three thousand Buddhist monks to a religious ceremony and Buddhayaśa went with them. He made a profound impression on the king and was invited to live in the palace. Kumārajīva met him there and studied some sacred texts with him. When, after Kumārajīva's return to Kuchi, this kingdom was invaded by the Chinese, its king appealed for help to the king of Kashgar. The latter started with his army for Kuchi leaving the young prince in charge of Buddhayaśa. Buddhayaśa was very much upset by the news of the fall of Kuchi and the deportation of Kumārajīva. He stayed in Kashgar for ten years more and then went to Kuchi. A year later he went to China and worked with Kumārajīva. After the latter's death he returned to Kāshmir. He

1. The dates put within brackets refer to the known period of residence in China. The account of the Indian and Chinese missionaries and the progress of Buddhism in China, unless otherwise stated, is based on Dr. P. C. Bagchi's *India and China* and his articles in *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 1-17, 65-84.

was a man of strict principles and never accepted any present even from the Emperor on the ground that it was unbecoming for a monk to do so.

Reference may also be made to another noble son of Kāshmir, namely Guṇavarman. He was born in the royal family, but became a Buddhist monk. When he was thirty years old, the king of Kāshmir died and he was invited by the ministers to ascend the throne. Guṇavarman refused and retired to a forest life. He then went to Ceylon and preached Buddhism. Later he proceeded to Java and converted the king and his mother to the Buddhist faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops and the king asked Guṇavarman whether it would be contrary to the Buddhist law if he fought against the enemy. Guṇavarman replied that it was the duty of everyone to punish the robbers. The king then fought with his enemy and won a great victory. Gradually, through the efforts of Guṇavarman, the Buddhist religion spread throughout Java. The name and fame of Guṇavarman had now spread all over the Buddhist world In A.D. 424 the Chinese monks of Nanking requested their emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese Emperor sent messengers to Gunavarman and the king of Java. Guṇavarman embarked on a vessel owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin, and after visiting different places on the way, reached Nanking in A.D. 431 The Chinese Emperor himself went out to receive him and put him up in a monastery called Jetavana-vihāra after the famous monastery of that name in Śrāvastī associated with the hallowed name of Buddha. Gunavarman died there within a year, but so great was his industry that even during this short period he translated no less than eleven Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

A number of learned Buddhist monks from other parts of India also carried on missionary activity in China. Among these may be mentioned Gunabhadra (A.D. 435-468) of Madhyadeśa (Central India), Prajñāruchi of Banaras (A.D. 516-543), Upaśūnya of Ujjayinī (sixth century), and three monks Jñānabhadra, Jinayaśas and Yaśogupta (sixth century) from Eastern India (*i.e.* Bengal and Assam. Three others, Buddhabhadra, Vimokshasena and Jinagupta hailed from the North-Western frontier. The first two claimed descent from the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. It is said that when Kapilavastu was attacked by Viḍūdabha,[1] king of Kosala, four members of the Śākya clan disobeyed the Buddha's law of non-violence and fought with the enemy. For this offence they were expelled, and two of them, proceeding west, became rulers of Uḍḍi-

1. See Vol. II, p. 6.

yāna (Swāt Valley) and Bāmiyān (near Kābul). Vimokshasena claimed to be the descendant of the first, while Buddhabhadra, who was born at Nagarahāra (Jelālābād), was probably a descendant of the second. When Buddhabhadra was in Kāshmir, a Chinese monk, who accompanied Fa-hien to India, came there and requested the Buddhist community to send a learned scholar to China. Buddhabhadra, who was selected for this purpose, went to China *via* Burma and Tonkin and collaborated with Kumārajīva [1]

The third, Jinagupta, was born in Gandhāra and was the pupil of Jñānabhadra and Jinayaśas, mentioned above. They reached Ch'ang-ngan (A.D. 559) where a monastery was built for them by special orders of the Emperor. Owing to political troubles they were forced to leave China (A.D. 572). On their way home they stopped in the country of the Turks at the request of their king. Jinagupta's teachers died there, but he stayed on till 581 doing missionary work and translating Buddhist texts. He returned to China in 585 and died in A.D 600.

We may refer, in some details, to a few other Indian monks who did missionary work in China, as their lives offer special points of interest.

Dharmakshema, born in Central India, went through Kuchi to Western China which was then an independent principality. He was engaged there from A.D. 414 to 432 in translating Buddhist texts. He wanted then to return to India, but the local ruler refused him permission lest he might go to other Chinese kingdoms. Dharmakshema, however, defied the order and proceeded on his journey, only to be murdered by the ruthless king in A.D. 433 This is a strange, though fortunately a solitary, instance of barbaric cruelty, untempered by Buddhist piety.

Of all the Indian monks who went to China, probably no name is better known in India than that of Paramārtha. Born in Ujjayinī he became proficient in all branches of Buddhist learning and probably settled down at Pāṭaliputra. At that time a Chinese mission sent by the emperor Wu came to the king of Magadha and requested him to send a renowned Buddhist monk to China. The king was probably the last Imperial Gupta ruler Vishnu-gupta He selected Paramārtha who took with him a large number of Buddhist texts and reached China in A.D 546. Although political troubles interrupted his work in A.D. 557, he stayed on till his death in A.D. 569 and translated no less than 70 Buddhist texts.

1. According to Anesaki Buddhabhadra arrived in China in A.D. 398, *i.e.* two years before Fa-hien entered India (*JRAS*, 1903, p. 368)

Dharma-gupta, another famous monk, was born in Lāṭa (southern Gujarāt) and studied with some learned teachers in the Kaumudī-saṅghārāma at Kanauj. He stayed in the royal monastery named Devavihāra in Ṭakka (N. Punjāb) for some time, and then proceeded towards China. He followed the overland route through Afghānistān, staying on his way at Kapiśā (Kāfiristān), Badakhshan, Wakhan and Tash Qurghān. He spent two years at the royal monastery of Kashgar and proceeded by the northern route. He passed through Kuchi, Agnideśa (Qara Shahr), Turfan and Hami. These were all flourishing seats of Buddhism and their monks were eager to profit by the learning of the great Indian monk. So after staying a year or two in each of these places Dharmagupta reached Ch'ang-ngan in A.D. 590. In addition to the usual activity of translating Buddhist texts, he is said to have composed a treatise giving minute geographical details of all the countries visited by him, and even noting down such topics as their system of government, social and economic condition, including food and drink, dress, education, manners and customs. Such a book from an Indian author would have been a unique literary production, but unfortunately no copy has survived.

The Indian monk who obtained the greatest celebrity in China was Bodhidharma. He was the third son of an Indian king (probably the Pallava king of Kāñchī). He is almost a semi-mythical figure, and various miracles are attributed to him. He was received by the Emperor Wu, and is credited with the introduction of the contemplative form of Mahāyāna into China. He visited China in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. Reference may also be made to Vinītaruchi, a Brāhmaṇa of South India, who reached the Chinese capital in A.D. 582 and translated two works into Chinese. He then proceeded to Tonkin and founded the Dhyāna School there.[1]

The activities of Indian missionaries in China during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D., which have been briefly described above, had a great effect upon the Chinese. In the first place, it aroused greater interest than before among the Chinese for Buddhism and Indian culture. Secondly, it whetted the desire of the Chinese to know Buddhism at first hand and come into direct contact with Indian culture by visiting India.

The career of the great Chinese scholar Tao-ngan, who flourished in the second half of the fourth century A.D., illustrates this new

1. According to Dr. P. C. Bagchi Vinītaruchi was a Buddhist monk of Uḍḍiyāna (*India and China*, p. 228), but cf. *BEFEO.* XXXII. 235, which also gives an account of his activity in Tonkin. For an account of some other missionaries, specially those from Ceylon, who visited China, cf. *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 368-70.

spirit in China. Born in a family famous for its erudition in Chinese classics and strong devotion to Confucianism, Tao-ngan became a staunch Buddhist and read Buddhist literature with the help of able teachers. He studied critically the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, corrected them, and compiled a series of commentaries in order to explain the true meaning of Buddhist philosophy and doctrines. His scholarship and mastery over the sacred texts attracted a number of Chinese from all over the country. He trained them thoroughly and sent them to different parts of the country to preach Buddhism.

Tao-ngan also wrote a book on India in order to encourage the Buddhist monks of China to visit the Holy Land. This bore fruit and quite a large number of them undertook the long and perilous journey Their main objects were not only to learn at first hand the true doctrines of Buddhism and the correct principles of conduct to be observed by the monks and the laity, but also to collect Buddhist texts and sacred relics, and acquire merit by visiting the holy places associated with the Buddha.

A party of five monks under the leadership of Fa-hien started for India in A D. 399. They met on the frontier another group of five monks who had started a little earlier, and travelled together for some time. At Tunhwang the district officer supplied them with the means for continuing the journey Fortunately Fa-hien has left a detailed record of his travels, and this gives us an insight into the objects of their journey, the difficulties of the road, and the condition of Buddhism and Indian culture in Central Asia. The objects of the journey have been stated above. As regards the difficulties of the road, we may quote the following extract describing vividly the perils of the desert—"(Travellers) who encounter them perish all to a man. There is not a bird to be seen in the air above, nor an animal on the ground below. Though you look all round most earnestly to find where you can cross, you know not where to make your choice, the only mark and indication being the dry bones of the dead (left upon the sand)."

We are further told that "the difficulties which they encountered in crossing the streams on their route, and the sufferings which they endured were unparalleled in human experience."

Fa-hien entered India through Kāshmir and travelled all over North India. He stayed at Pāṭaliputra for three years, learning Sanskrit, reading Sanskrit books, and writing out the Vinaya rules. At Tāmralipti, again, he stayed for two years writing out his Sūtras, and drawing pictures of images.

Of Fa-hien's companions, one died on the way and several went back to China at an earlier stage. Another was so deeply impressed by the dignified conduct of the Indian monks that he resolved to stay in India "He sadly called to mind the imperfections of the monks in China and prayed that in future births he might be born in India alone."

Fa-hien, however, whose original purpose had been to secure the introduction of the complete Vinaya rules into China, returned there alone. He embarked on a large merchant vessel from Tāmralipti and after fourteen days reached Ceylon Having stayed here for two years and collected a number of Sanskrit works not available in China, he took his passage in a merchantman bound for China. Fa-hien has vividly described the perils of the sea and how he narrowly escaped a watery grave. At last he landed in China in A.D. 414.

After his return to China Fa-hien, along with the Indian monk Buddhabhadra, mentioned above, translated some of the works he had brought from India. He died at the age of 88

Of the monks of the other group who joined Fa-hien, Pao-yun studied Sanskrit in India and translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts on his return to China.

Soon after Fa-hien and Pao-yun, another group of fifteen monks led by Che-mong started for India in A.D. 404. Nine returned from the Pamirs, and one died of fatigue. The remaining five visited India and made a collection of Buddhist texts. Three died on the return journey and Che-mong reached China in A.D. 424 with only one companion.

In A.D. 420 Fa-yong started with 25 Chinese monks along the northern route of Central Asia and reached India through Kāshmir After having travelled all over Northern India they returned by the sea route.

Names of several other Chinese monks who visited India during this period have also been preserved, but no details are known.

Simultaneously with the new enthusiasm for visiting India, we notice a growing practice of inviting Buddhist scholars to China. In this matter also the initiative was taken by Tao-ngan, the great leader of the new movement in China. He invited a large number of scholars from Central Asia. His example was followed by others, and as we have seen above, in connection with Paramārtha and Guṇavarman, even the Emperors sent envoys and formal invitations for bringing the renowned Buddhist teachers from India to China.

Reference may be made in particular to two instances of royal solicitude for the cause of Buddhism. In A.D. 518 Sung Yun, an envoy, with a Chinese monk, was sent on an embassy to the western countries by the Empress Dowager of the Great Wei dynasty to obtain Buddhist books. Fortunately we have a detailed account of this embassy. They passed through Central Asia to the Hūṇa kingdom and visited Udyāna and Gandhāra. They procured altogether 170 volumes, all standard works of the Mahāyāna sect. Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 605-617) also sent a mission to Central Asia and India.

These facts and the high honours shown to Indian teachers on their arrival in China by all ranks of people, from the Emperor downwards, reveal the great hold that Buddhism and Indian culture had over China.

This is confirmed by what we know of the development of Buddhism in China. The kings of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, like their predecessors, were great patrons of Buddhism. Two of them built four large monasteries, each accommodating one thousand monks. During the rule of this dynasty (A.D. 317-420) 17,068 Buddhist institutions, great and small, were founded all over China, and 263 volumes of Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese. Under the foreign Wei dynasty, which ruled over the northern part of China from A.D. 386 to 534, Buddhism made rapid progress. Even before this period one of their chiefs had issued an edict in 335 in which he said: "As Buddha is a foreign god it is in the fitness of things that I should worship him. When a thing is found perfect and faultless why should they still stick to the customs of the ancient dynasties? My people are called barbarians. I grant them the privilege to worship Buddha and adopt the Buddhist faith if they like to do so."

Such an attitude on the part of the ruling family naturally gave great impetus to Buddhism. Many Wei kings were themselves devout Buddhists and copied, recited, and explained sacred texts The first ruler Wu-ti (A.D. 386-407) is said to have founded 15 *chaityas* and two monasteries, erected 1,000 golden images, and entertained every month 3,000 Buddhist monks in a religious assembly. Altogether 47 big monasteries were built by the Wei Emperors and during the period of their rule more than 30,000 temples were constructed by private families. The number of monks and nuns exceeded two million.

The rulers of the Northern Ts'i dynasty, which succeeded the Wei in A.D. 550. were also great patrons of Buddhism. One of them copied 12 Buddhist texts with his own hand and regularly maintain-

ed 3,000 monks. Another erected a *chaitya* in gold. Another ruler sent in A.D. 575 a Buddhist mission to the Western countries in search of Sanskrit books, and it brought back 260 texts, though the dynasty was overthrown by that time. It was during their rule (A.D. 550-577) that Buddhism was introduced among the Turks. A Chinese monk took courage to go to the chief of the Western Turks, named To' po Kaghan (A.D. 572-581), and told him that China was prosperous and mighty for having favoured Buddhism. Thanks to his teachers the Kaghan adopted Buddhism, observed its rules of conduct, and made regularly the *pradakshiṇa* (circumambulation) of the *stūpas*. He built a monastery and sent an ambassador to the Ts'i emperor for securing Buddhist books. At his request the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra* was translated into Turkish by a Chinese scholar.

Buddhism was equally favoured by the ruling dynasties of South China, *viz.* the Song (A.D. 420-479), the Ts'i (A.D. 479-502), and the Leang (A.D. 502-557). The Chinese official history gives details of the personal activities of various rulers by way of copying Sanskrit texts and reciting them, founding monasteries to accommodate monks, and erecting golden statues. One of them lived like a monk, and prohibited the killing of animals either for sacrifice or for food. As usual, the work of translating Buddhist texts into Chinese was continued throughout this period with the help of Indian scholars.

An important landmark in the history of Buddhism in China was the foundation of a monastery at Lu-shan by Hui-yuan, a disciple of Tao-ngan. This attracted numerous Buddhists from all over China and their number is said to have exceeded one thousand. Hui-yuan selected 17 disciples including two Indian scholars—Buddhayaśas and Buddhabhadra—and founded a school known as "The School of White Lotus." It introduced the 'cult of Amitābha,' based upon the Mahāyāna philosophy. This new doctrine plays an important role in the modern Buddhism of the Far East. The Lu-shan school made a positive contribution to Buddhism which may henceforth be regarded as a living force in the life and culture of the Chinese.

The meditative form of Mahāyāna was introduced in China by Bodhidharma, as noted above. One of his disciples, Chi-k'ai, founded a new school, called T'ien-t'ai according to the name of Chi-k'ai's place of residence. He made a new classification of Buddha's teachings and Buddhist literature, and attempted a syncretism of the different forms of Buddhism. His views were accepted by all and henceforth the Chinese respected and studied both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna without being troubled by any sense of

contradiction. Chi-k'ai's teachings met with great success in Japan which follows his syncretism even today.

During the rule of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-534), whose patronage of Buddhism has been referred to above, no less than eight embassies from North-Western India were sent to the Imperial court in China. The Chinese official history gives the following list:

Country	Date of Embassy A.D.
Ki-pin	451, 502, 508, 517
Kia-pi-sa (Kapiśā)	503
Pu-liu-sha (Purushapura or Peshāwar)	511
Kan-ta (Gandhāra)	511
Kia-shih-mi (Kāshmir)	511

The identification of Ki-pin is a matter of dispute among scholars. Pelliot, in agreement with S. Lévi, held that prior to A D. 600 Ki-pin denoted Kāshmir, and after that date it designated Kapiśā Rapson and Sten Konow, however, identified it throughout with Kapiśā. Dr. P. C. Bagchi endorses the views of Pelliot after an elaborate discussion of the problem, giving full reference to previous writings on the subject. Dr. L. Petech, the latest writer on the subject, thinks that Ki-pin was used by Chinese historiographers, from the very beginning, to denote Kapiśā and the adjacent country politically associated with it, though the Chinese Buddhists applied the name to Kāshmir from the second to the early seventh century A.D. In his opinion "the two traditions run for centuries parallel to each other, and to a great extent ignoring each other."[1]

If Ki-pin denoted Kāshmir, the separate mention of the two countries is difficult to explain. If, on the other hand, it means Kapiśā, similar difficulty arises with regard to the second name in the above list. The third and fourth names also denote politically the same region. Petech thinks that "perhaps the local governors or tributary princes had sent embassies of their own".

Embassies were also sent from other parts of India. A king of South India, for example, sent an ambassador to China during the period A.D. 500-516.[2]

2. *China—T'ang Period*

The T'ang dynasty ruled in China from A D. 618 to 907. This period constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in the history of China. The whole of China came under one political authority

1. Cf. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, II. 42; L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu* (Rome, 1950), pp. 63 ff. The list of embassies during the Wei period is given on p. 74 of this work.
2. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, 83.

whose power once more extended over Central Asia. The intercourse with India and the influence of Buddhism and Indian culture reached the highest peak in China during the period. Thousands of Indians—missionaries, merchants and others—thronged the principal cities in China, and more Chinese monks and royal embassies came to India in the seventh century than during any other period.

The fame of the Nālandā University[1] was now at its height and it came to be the great international centre of Buddhism which attracted Buddhist monks from all over Asia The Chinese Buddhists also shared the general enthusiasm for studying at Nālandā, not merely Buddhist philosophy and literature, but also other subjects like Brahmanical philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. They were encouraged by the Emperors who gave them all facilities to undertake the journey.

The first Chinese monk to visit India during this period was Hiuen Tsang who played the most distinguished part in establishing Buddhism on a solid footing in China, and improving the cultural relations between that country and India Born in A D. 600 of an orthodox Confucian family, he became a Buddhist monk at the age of 20. Not being content with the existing translations of Buddhist books in Chinese, he decided to visit India. He started in A D. 629 by the northern route in Central Asia. He reached Kapiśā (Kāfiristān) in A.D. 630 and during the next fourteen years travelled all over India. He stayed two years in Kāshmir and for shorter periods in other places, for studying the Buddhist texts. He also resided in Nālandā, on different occasions, for a total period of two years, and learnt the Yogāchāra system from Śīlabhadra, the famous monk who presided over the institution. Hiuen Tsang was highly honoured by the great Indian rulers Harsha-vardhana a[illegible] [illegible]āskara-varman, as noted above.[2] He left India with a large [illegible] of books and images at the beginning of A D. 644 and, proceeding along the southern route in Central Asia, returned to China in A.D. 645.

Hiuen Tsang has left a long account of his travels, giving details of the various Indian kingdoms visited by him. This book, *Si-yu-ki*, forms an invaluable source of ancient Indian history, and has been frequently referred to in this volume. It also gives us a graphic picture of the condition of Buddhism in India and all the territories outside it through which the traveller passed.

Hiuen Tsang left India almost in a royal procession. Harshavardhana gave him a big elephant with 3,000 gold and 10,000 silver pieces for defraying his expenses, and his numerous books and images were entrusted to the military escort of king of North India

1. See p. 580f. 2 See pp. 118f, 139f.

called Udhita. As the elephant was drowned on the way, and he could not secure means of transport for his books, he halted at Khotān and sent a memorial to the Chinese Emperor. After referring to the extreme hardships of the journey over more than 50,000 li, he returned, he said, with a mind satisfied with the accomplishment of his vows. "I have beheld the Gṛidhrakūṭa mountain, worshipped the Bodhi tree; I have seen traces not seen before; heard sacred words not heard before; witnessed spiritual prodigies, exceeding all the wonders of Nature." This passage from the petition shows the devout spirit with which Hiuen Tsang regarded Buddhism and everything connected with it.

The Emperor sent a gracious reply "I pray you come quickly," he said, "that we may see each other." He also sent instructions to his officials at Khotān and other places on the way to help Hiuen Tsang with guides and conveyances. As Hiuen Tsang approached the border of China, the Emperor asked the Governor of the western capital to send proper officers to receive him Hiuen Tsang arrived in a boat by way of a canal and received a unique welcome The news of his arrival spread fast and the people came in large numbers to behold and pay homage to him The streets were so crowded that when he wished to disembark he could not advance and had to pass the night in the canal.

On his arrival at the capital Hiuen Tsang received a royal ovation. According to his biographer, "the Emperor and his court, the officials and the merchants, and all the people made holiday. The streets were crowded with eager men and women who expressed their joy by gay banners and festive music." Such an honour is usually reserved for kings and generals on their return from a victorious military expedition That Hiuen Tsang was thought worthy of it on account of his prolonged visit to India speaks volumes not only for the great veneration which the Chinese had for Buddhism, but also for the new angle of vision which contact with Indian culture had inspired among the Chinese.

Hiuen Tsang spent the remaining years of his life in translating Buddhist texts, and training his pupils. He founded a new school of Buddhist philosophy in China which carried on his work after his death. His book *Si-yu-ki* or 'Record of the Western countries' gave a strong impetus to the love of Indian culture in China His personal influence with the Emperor was probably at the root of the new policy of establishing political relations with the Indian rulers.

Hiuen Tsang translated altogether 74 different works consisting of 1,335 chapters. He had, moreover, drawn a vast number of

pictures, and written out with his own hands copies of various texts. He died in A.D. 664 and was buried in the Western capital. But in A.D. 669 his remains were removed by order of the Emperor to another place where a tower was constructed in his memory.

The noble example of Hiuen Tsang induced the Chinese monks to visit India in large numbers. Chinese texts have preserved the biographies of sixty monks who visited India during the latter half of the seventh century A.D. The greatest among these later pilgrims was I-tsing. He left by the sea route in A.D. 671 and having passed several years at Śrī-Vijaya, an important centre of Buddhist learning in Sumatra, arrived in A.D. 673 at the port of Tāmralipti in Bengal. He stayed at Nālandā for ten years (c. A.D. 675-685), studying and copying Buddhist texts. He returned to China with a collection of 400 Sanskrit manuscripts containing more than 50,000 *ślokas*. He translated a number of texts and compiled a Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary. Fortunately we still possess his book entitled "*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*" In this he has noted in detail the rules of monastic life as practised in India, a subject in which he evidently took a special interest. He also wrote a biography of about sixty Buddhist monks who visited India Almost all of them were associated with China, though many of them were natives of other lands such as Korea, Samarkand and Tushāra (Turk) country This biography shows the international position of Buddhism in Asia and indicates its influence in outlying countries like Korea. The fact that about sixty Buddhist monks came to India from China in one generation, shows the frequency of such pilgrimages in these days, though most of them have not been probably recorded.

The seventh century A.D., which saw the arrival of so many distinguished Chinese monks in India, also witnessed the journey of noted Indian Buddhists to China. The earliest was Prabhākaramitra, a famous scholar of Nālandā. Born in a royal family of Central India, he took to the life of a Buddhist monk and studied at Nālandā. He was later appointed a Professor there and his disciples became famous scholars in course of time. Starting with ten disciples, he reached the country of the Western Turks and taught Buddhism to their Chief. The Chinese ambassador at the Turkish court invited him to China, but the Turkish chief would not let him go. At last, at the request of the Chinese Emperor, the Turkish ruler accorded the necessary permission, and Prabhākaramitra reached China in A.D. 627. He was engaged in translating Buddhist texts there, and 19 scholars were appointed by the court to assist him in his work. Some translated his words into Chinese, some verified this

translation, while others wrote it down. Another group copied it and high officials, under the orders of the Emperor, examined the final redaction and supervised its execution. Prabhākaramitra died in A.D. 633.

Another Indian scholar, Bodhiruchi, went to China in A.D. 693 at the request of a Chinese envoy, probably at the court of a Chālukya king. A regular Board was set up to help Bodhiruchi in translating Buddhist texts. It consisted of both Chinese and Indian scholars. The latter included Brahma, an ambassador of the king of Central India, and Īśvara, a chief of Eastern India. The Emperor himself was occasionally present when the translation was being made and took down notes with his own hand. Sometimes the queen and other ladies of the palace and the high officials of the court were also present Bodhiruchi translated fifty-three volumes. and died in A D. 727

Vajrabodhi, son of Īśāna-varman, king of Central India, was a famous scholar at Nālandā He was the teacher of the Pallava king Narasiṁha-varman II[1] at Kāñchī for some time and then proceeded to Ceylon. The king of Ceylon sent a mission to China for presenting a sacred Buddhist text and other objects to the Emperor. Vajrabodhi accompanied it and reached China in A.D. 720 Vajrabodhi propagated the mystic doctrines of Buddhism known as Tantrayāna and translated a number of texts on the subject. This had great effect and the cult was popularised in China. Vajrabodhi died in A.D. 732. His work was continued by his disciple, Amoghavajra, who was with him in China. In 736, Amoghavajra came back to Ceylon but returned to China ten years later with 500 texts. Between A.D. 746 and 771, he translated 77 texts. He died in A.D. 774.[2]

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the visits of other individual monks; and we may now refer to the development of political relations between India and China as evidenced by the despatch of embassies from one court to the other. Mention has already been made above[3] of Harsha-vardhana's embassy to China in A.D. 641 and of three other Chinese embassies, the first under Liang-hoai-King, the second under Li-y-piao and Wang-hiuen-tse in A.D. 643, and the third under Wang-hiuen-tse in 646. Wang-hiuen-tse was sent a third time in A D. 657. A Brāhmaṇa thaumaturge (probably a Tantrik named Nārayaṇa-svāmin), who claimed that he possessed the secret of prolonging life, was sent to China by an Indian king at

1. See p. 280f.
2. For a different version, cf. Sastri, op. cit, p. 17.
3. See pp. 120f, 124ff.

the request of the Chinese Emperor.[1] As the Emperor was not satisfied with his skill, he was sent back with Wang-hiuen-tse. The envoy also carried presents offered by the Emperor to various Buddhist shrines in India. He was sent a fourth time to India in A D. 664 in order to bring back a Chinese pilgrim whom he had previously met in India. Wang-hiuen-tse wrote an account of his travels in India, but the book has been lost and only a few extracts from it have been preserved in other works.

Reference has already been made to an embassy to China sent by Yaśovarman, and the exchanges of envoys between China and Kāshmir have also been related above.[2]

Many other embassies are also referred to in the T'ang history which has preserved a systematic account of the political relations between China and different parts of India. This may be summed up as follows:[3]

In A D. 717 the Emperor awarded the title of "king of Pu-lu (Bolor)" to the local chief Su-fu-sho-li-che-li-ni (Śubhaśrī). In 719 the king of Bolor, Śubhaśrī, sent an ambassador to the Emperor to express his gratitude for the award. In 720 the title of "the king of Bolor" was awarded by the Emperor to the local chief Su-lin-t'o-i-che (Surendrāditya?). In 731 the title of "the king of little Bolor (Yasin)" was awarded to Nan-ni by the Emperor. In 733 the king of (little) Bolor, Mo-kin-mang, sent a noble named Cha-cho-na-se-mo-mo-sheng to thank the Emperor for the award In 741 the title of "the king of little Bolor" was awarded to Ma-hao-lai. In 745 the king of little Bolor sent a Buddhist teacher named Kia-lo-mi-to (Kālamitra) to pay respects to the Emperor.

The political condition of Kapiśā Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna was uncertain in this period. The two latter kingdoms were certainly dependent on Kāshmir We know from the Chinese official history that in 720 the title of the "king of Wu-ch'ang (Uḍḍiyāna)" was given to the local chief by the Emperor. The king of Gandhāra sent an ambassador to China in 758 with presents to the Emperor. The title of "*tegin*" was awarded to the chief of Kapiśā in 720.

The king of Kapiśā sent an embassy to China in 710 and again about A D 750. In A.D. 751 the Chinese Emperor sent a mission under Wu-K'ong to escort back the Indian ambassador from Kapiśā.

1 According to Bagchi, the Brāhmana thaumaturge accompanied Wang-hiuen-tse to China in A D 648 He "failed to give long life to the Emperor who died in A.D. 649" Hence the new Emperor sent him back to India (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 69)

2. See pp 130, 132ff.

3. This summary is based upon Chavannes, *Documents Sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *Occidentaux* (Notes Additionelles). Cf. also Dr. P. C. Bagchi's account (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 70)

On his arrival in India, Wu-K'ong was converted to Buddhism. He spent several years in Kāshmir, visited the holy places and returned to China in A.D. 790. No less than six embassies were sent from Ki-pin to China between A.D. 619 and 750. Ki-pin has been identified with both Kapiśā and Kāshmir,[1] but as already noted above,[2] it referred to Kapiśā from the seventh century A.D

As early as 692 a representative of king Ti-po-si-na (Devasena) of Central India came to pay respects to the Emperor. The envoy must have been the same as Brahma (Fan-mo) who assisted Bodhiruchi in 693 in the work of translation. In 741 the son of the king of Central India came to pay respects and he was given a Chinese name Li Ch'eng-ngan.

In 692 representatives of the king of Eastern India, Mo-lo-pa-mo (Mālavarman ?), and the king of Western India, Sha-lo-yi-to (Śilāditya), came to China to pay homage We do not know who Mālavarman was but the other king was certainly Śīlāditya III of Valabhī who reigned at the end of the seventh century In 692 the king of Northern India, Na-na, the king of Central India, Ti-mo-si-na, and the king of Southern India, Che-lu-ki-pa-lo (Chālukya Vallabha), sent ambassadors to the Emperor.[3] The Chālukya king, reigning in 692, was Vinayāditya. The king Sha-li Na-lo-seng-kia-pa-to-pa-mo (Śrī Narasiṁha Potavarman) proposed to the emperor in A.D. 720 to send elephants and cavalry to fight with the Arabs and the Tibetans. Narasiṁha Potavarman was the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī He sent two embassies to China, in A D. 710 and 720, and the Chinese Emperor sent him an embassy in the latter year. The details of these embassies[4] show an intimate and cordial relation between the two.

It appears from the Chinese chronicles that China maintained diplomatic relations with Kapiśā, Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Magadha and Kāshmir for more than a century since the first political mission was sent by Harsha-vardhana in A.D. 641. Many envoys were sent by China as well as by these kingdoms, but the details have not been preserved in all cases. Even so late as A.D. 787 we hear of the Chinese Emperor forming alliance with Indian princes against the Tibetans.

The increased intercourse with India naturally led to a further advancement of Buddhism in China, and ushered in what may be called its most glorious period in that country. The rapid growth

1. *JA*, 1895, p 376 2 See p. 617
3 According to Ma-twan-lin, "the Five Indians (or five kingdoms of India) sent ambassadors to the court of the Emperor" in A D 667. (Sastri, *op. cit*, p 117). Probably Ma-twan-lin refers to the same embassies as are mentioned in the text above, and confused the date Otherwise, we have to presume that the five Indian kings also sent embassies earlier, in A.D 667.
4. Sastri, *op. cit*, 116-7.

of this new foreign religion alarmed the orthodox section who carried on an active and vigorous campaign against it almost throughout the T'ang period. In a memorial submitted to the Emperor in A.D. 624, the leader of the campaign attributed to Buddhism almost all the ills the country was suffering from—even the foreign invasions, the tyranny of the government, and the treachery of the ministers. But there were more legitimate grievances too. Apart from the neglect of religious sacrifices, the memorialist drew pointed attention to the deterioration in civic life caused by Buddhism, as the following passage shows: "The result is that the monks and the nuns now count by tens of thousands. I request you to get them married so that the country may have a hundred thousand families. They will then bring up children to fill the ranks of your army."

The campaign had some success at first, and for a time the T'ang Emperor withdrew his patronage of Buddhism. But whatever might have been his personal feelings, the issue was really decided by political considerations. All the important political powers and the petty states surrounding China—the Turks, the Tibetans and the various peoples of Central Asia—had adopted Buddhism, and the newly founded T'ang empire could hardly dare to oppose what was now a great international power in Asia. Accordingly the T'ang emperors, after a brief interval, again adopted a pro-Buddhist policy, and the triumph of the new religion was assured.

The close contact with India established by Hiuen Tsang must be regarded as another important factor in this change of policy, and the success of Buddhism in China was phenomenal. New monasteries were built in all the important cities, and increasingly larger numbers were attracted to Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang introduced a new era in the translation of Buddhist works. Numerous Buddhist texts were translated and, as we have seen above, regular boards were set up to organise and expedite the work of translation.[1] Owing to this work of translation, undertaken on a colossal scale, the voluminous body of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, now almost entirely lost in India has been preserved in Chinese translation. An idea of the bulk of this literature may be had from the various catalogues compiled in China from time to time. The oldest catalogue, compiled by a Chinese scholar in the sixth century A.D., mentions 2,213 works and the official catalogue, prepared about the same time at the orders of the Emperor, gives a list of Buddhist texts numbering about 5,400 volumes. An authoritative catalogue of the Buddhist

1. For a detailed account, cf. B C *Law Volume*, I. 66ff.

canon prepared in the T'ang period mentions in the first section 2,487 works in 8,476 *fasciculi*, and in the second, 799 works in 3,364 *fasciculi*. There were many other catalogues to which it is not necessary to refer in detail. The printing of these texts by wooden blocks began as early as A.D. 972.

Hiuen Tsang, to whom the Buddhist literature in China owes so much, was also instrumental in establishing two new schools of Buddhism, *viz*. Yogāchāra or the Vijñānavāda and the Sarvāstivāda school. The former belonged to the Mahāyāna and the latter to the Hīnayāna sect, and this shows the syncretising spirit in China, referred to above. A disciple of Hiuen Tsang founded the Vinaya school. The mystic or Tāntric school, introduced by Vajrabodhi in the eighth century,[1] paved the way for the decline of Buddhism as in India.

We need not pursue further the history of Buddhism in China, but may conclude this review by a brief reference to the other aspects of Indain culture which Buddhism brought along with it. The most important of these was art, which exerted a great influence on the native traditions and produced a new school of art that may be called Sino-Indian. The Wei period saw a great development of this art. A number of rock-cut caves at Tunhwang, Yun-kang and Long-men, colossal images of Buddha, 60 to 70 ft. high, and fresco paintings on the walls of the caves illustrate this art. It was inspired not only by the images and pictures and the reports and models of sanctuaries carried from India by Buddhist monks (both Indian and Chinese), but also by the Indian artists who visited China. We know the names of at least three Indian painters—Śākyabuddha, Buddhakīrti and Kumārabodhi—who worked in China in the Wei period. The different early schools of sculpture in India, such as the Gandhāra, Mathurā, and the Gupta, are all represented in the Chinese art. The best statues of the Wei period, which have justly received very high praise from modern European scholars, recall, and seem to have been inspired by, the elegant Buddha images of Ajaṇṭā and Sārnāth.

A further development of this art is noticed in the T'ang period. The construction of cave-temples was continued at Tunhwang, and these are known collectively as "Grottos of the thousand Buddhas," as there were one thousand images of Buddha in them. The later caves here show the art of the T'ang period at its best and "a progressive Chinese adaptation of the Gandhāra, Gupta, and Iranian models." Gradually the Chinese artists absorbed the Indian art tradition and gave it an increasingly Chinese character. Apart from sculptures, paintings, and rock-cut caves, the Indian influence is manifest in the peculiar type of temples with superimposed storeys

1. See p. 621.

whose origin may be traced to India. In fact the name 'Indian style' was given to a class of temples in China in the Song period. This style was very much in use in the province of Shan-si and found its way to Japan.

Among the fine arts, Indian music also seems to have exerted a great influence upon China. It was introduced by Indian musicians settled in Kuchi, and soon became very popular. A musical party went direct from India to China in A.D. 581. While the Emperor Kaotsu (581-595) vainly tried to proscribe it by an imperial decree, his successor encouraged it and got a number of new tunes composed. According to the traditions current in Japan in ancient times, two principal types of music called Bodhisatva and Bhairo were taken from China to Japan by an Indian Brāhmana named Bodhi in the T'ang period.

Indian astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were also popular in China. Indian astronomers were appointed on the official boards set up to prepare the calendars. There were three Indian astronomical schools, known as Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra, in the capital city in the seventh century. The Indian system of nine planets was adopted in China, and the translation of a Sanskrit astronomical work, *Navagraha-siddhānta*, is still to be found in the collection of the T'ang period. A number of Indian mathematical and astronomical works were translated at an earlier date, but they have been lost.

Indian medical treatises were also in great favour in China. A Chinese work, composed in A.D. 455, is either a translation of a Sanskrit text or a compilation from several Sanskrit texts. A number of medical texts are found in the Chinese Buddhist collection, and *Rāvaṇa-Kumāra-charita,* a Sanskrit treatise on the method of treatment of children's diseases, was translated in the eleventh century.

The Chinese emperors and nobles were fond of Indian thaumaturges who professed to possess the secrets of longevity. On more than one occasion the emperors had them fetched from India in order to prolong their lives Sometimes they sent an official to India in order to collect rare medicines.

The T'ang period also witnessed a great development of the sea-borne trade between India and China. An account written about A.D. 749 refers to the numerous merchantmen belonging to the Polomen, *i.e.* Brāhmanas of India, and other countries, on the river of Canton. The same account refers to three Brāhmaṇa monasteries at Canton where Brāhmaṇas were residing. It is evident that Hindu merchants sailed in large number to this Chinese port, and had built temples there for worship during their stay. According to *Harsha-*

charita, Chinese cuirasses were used by the chiefs of Harsha's army.[1] The discovery of coins of the T'ang Dynasty in South India may also be regarded as an interesting relic of the commercial relations between India and China during this period.[2]

The foreign ships in Canton are said to be 60 to 70 ft. deep. Another Chinese work says that the foreign ships visiting Canton "were very large, and so high out of the water that ladders, several tens of feet in length, had to be used to get aboard."

3. *Central Asia*

It will appear from what has been said above in regard to China that Central Asia continued to be a strong centre of Indian culture and influence, and could justly be regarded as Ser-India. As in the earlier period, we have remains of ancient *stūpas,* temples, monasteries, images, and paintings, and also a large number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and translations in different languages. Fortunately, we have no longer to depend upon mere archaeological finds in reconstructing the history and culture of this region, as the detailed accounts of the Chinese travellers to India, notably those of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, have thrown a flood of light on this subject.

Shen-shen, the first kingdom visited by Fa-hien on leaving China, was situated near Lop Nor at the eastern extremity of Central Asia. The king was Buddhist and there were more than four thousand monks in the country. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the vitality of Indian culture at this period all over Central Asia than the following observations made by Fa-hien in reference to Shen-shen:—

"The common people of this and other kingdoms, as well as the *śramaṇs* (monks), all practise the rules of India, only that the latter do so more exactly, and the former more loosely. So (the travellers) found it in all the kingdoms through which they went on their way from this to the west, only that each had its own peculiar barbarous speech. The monks, however, were all students of Indian books and the Indian language."

This general picture is fully borne out by the details given by Fa-hien of the two kingdoms through which he passed before reaching India. Hiuen Tsang supplies further particulars of Agni (Qara Shahr), Kuchi, Bharuka (Aqsu), Kashgar, Khotān, and one or two other localities which cannot be exactly identified. In all these places, Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, and Indian scripts and books were used. Buddhism was also flourishing in Turfan in the extreme eastern part of this region. There were several hund-

1. *HC.*, p. 202.
2. *Sino-Indian Studies*, I. 60.

reds of monasteries in Kashgar. As in the earlier period, Khotān in the south and Kuchi in the north were two powerful centres of Indian culture in the Tarim basin.

Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang refer in glowing terms to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Khotān. In Fa-hien's time the monks amounted to tens of thousands, who strictly followed the rules of discipline and possessed a high sense of decorum. The royal family and people were all Buddhists, and each family had a small *stūpa* in front of its door, the smallest of which was twenty cubits high. There were four great monasteries of which the most distinguished was the Gomatī Vihāra, containing three thousand monks. These took precedence in the big annual religious processions of images carried in lofty chariots (like Rathayātrā processions of modern India) of which a detailed account is given.[1] These processions, attended by the king and queen, were continued for fourteen days, each monastery being allotted a separate day for the procession of its own chariots. Fa-hien gives the following description of another big monastery —

"The king's New Monastery, the construction of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns, is about 250 cubits in height; it is rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, and covered above with gold and silver The Hall of Buddha is of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, venetianed doors and windows being all overlaid with gold-leaf. The apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated beyond the power of words to express." Fa-hien states that six kings of Eastern Turkestān gave all their valuables as offerings to this monastery keeping only a few things for their own use.

Hiuen Tsang also refers to the various sanctuaries and sacred sites in Khotān, and narrates the traditions connected with them.

Reference has been made above[2] to the Tibetan account of the royal family of Khotān up to the reign of Vijita-kīrti. No information is available about the next ten or eleven generations during which Khotān was oppressed by foreigners. These probably refer to T'u-yu-hun (A D. 445), the Juan-Juan (c. A.D. 470), the Hephthalites (A.D. 500-556), and the Western Turks (A.D. 565-631), who conquered Khotān.

We are next introduced to king Vijita-saṁgrāma who evidently freed the country from the Turks. In A.D. 632 he sent an envoy, and three years later his son, to the Chinese court. The next king Vijita-siṁha sent his son to China in A.D. 648 and later went there himself. He was probably ruling when Hiuen Tsang stayed at Kho-

1. See p. 376.   2. Vol. II, p. 640.

tān during his return journey. The dynasty continued to rule for at least another century, and the Tibetan annals mention Vijita-kīrti, Vijita-saṁgrāma, Vijita-vikrama, Vijita-dharma, Vijita-sambhava and Vijita-bohan. The last of them ruled in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and is probably to be identified with Viśavāhaṁ, whose name occurs in two documents, found somewhere in Central Asia, which are written in Indian alphabet and an Iranian language.

Like Khotān, Kuchi was also an important centre of Buddhism, as noted above.[1] The people of Kuchi spoke a language belonging to the Indo-European family (called by various names such as Kuchean, Tokharian, Arsi, etc). The intimate intercourse between India and Kuchi as early as the fourth century A.D. will be evident from the story of Kumārajīva.[2] According to Chinese records, there were nearly 10,000 *stūpas* and temples in this kingdom at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The History of the First Tsin Dynasty gives a detailed account of Buddhism in Kuchi in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. There were numerous monasteries and also several convents for nuns. Four of these monasteries and three convents were in charge of Buddhasvāmin, the teacher of Kumārajīva. The nuns in these convents were mostly the daughters and wives of kings and princes. They received regular training and obeyed strict rules of discipline and decorum.

Kuchi was a flourishing seat of Buddhism in the days of Hiuen Tsang. It had one hundred monasteries housing more than five thousand monks. They followed Indian doctrines and rules of discipline, and studied the original Indian texts. Outside the capital city were two standing figures of Buddha, 90 ft. high, in front of which a religious assembly was held every five years for a period of ten days. These were observed as public holidays, and the king and all classes of people attended the assembly. There were also religious processions as in Khotān.

According to Hiuen Tsang the people of Kuchi excelled in their skill in playing on the lute and the pipe. We get more interesting information about it from other Chinese sources. There is no doubt that Kuchean skill in music was due to Indian influence. Not only did the Indian musical system spread to Kuchi, but Indian musicians actually went there and some even settled down in the country The Chinese annals refer to a Brahmanical family called Ts'ao (Jhā or Upādhyāya?) in Kuchi who were hereditary musicians. A member of that family visited China between A.D. 550 and 577. Another musician named Sujīva went from Kuchi to China about the same

1 Vol II, p. 641. 2. See pp. 608f

time. These Indo-Kuchean musicians were so skilled that they could reproduce a tune after hearing it only once. The Chinese accounts leave no doubt that the musical system followed in Kuchi was essentially Indian, and that it was long in favour in the Chinese court. Besides music, other arts and sciences of India flourished in this region. The famous Bower Manuscript, found near Kuchi, contains seven texts of which three are medical treatises. This manuscript is written in Gupta characters, and the language is Sanskrit mixed with many Prakritisms. These texts prove the study of Indian medical science in Kuchi. Reference may also be made to the caves of thousand Buddhas excavated on the southern slopes of the Tien Shan mountains. They were decorated with mural paintings belonging to the period from seventh to tenth century A.D., and some Sanskrit manuscripts were also found in them.

Regarding the influence of Indian culture in the region to the west of the Tarim basin, our knowledge is more limited. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhism was widely prevalent all over the hilly region between the Tarim basin and the valley of the Upper Sindhu. Fa-hien, who followed the short and direct route between Khotān and N. W. India, has given a graphic description of the dominance of Buddhism all over the region through which he passed. The condition was more or less the same even in Hiuen Tsang's time. From the valley of the Upper Oxus, almost all along the route to Hindu Kush and back, Hiuen Tsang found abundant traces of Buddhism. Balkh (old Bactriana), to the south of the Oxus, was a great centre of Buddhism. Its capital was called little Rājagṛiha, evidently after the famous city in ancient India. It had one hundred monasteries containing three thousand monks. Hiuen Tsang found here many relics of Buddha and old sanctuaries. The convent called Navasaṅghārāma was a renowned Buddhist institution.

We learn from Arab chronicles that Khālid, the Vizier of Caliph al-Manṣūr, was the son of a *Barmak*, *i.e.* chief priest in a Buddhist monastery in Balkh called Nawbahar. This is evidently the Arabic form of Navavihāra, *i.e.* Navasaṅghārāma. The Arab conqueror of Balkh captured Khālid's mother in A.D. 705. The son was converted to Islam and founded the famous Barmaki family. Khālid ibn-Barmak came to occupy the highest office under the Caliph, and his son and two grandsons practically ruled the Abbassid Empire from A.D. 786 to 803. They were instrumental in introducing Indian astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other sciences into Arabia.

Among other localities where Buddhism flourished in the time of Hiuen Tsang may be named Tsau Kuta (Ghazni), Hwoh (Kunduz), and various places between Badakshān and Kashgar. Rulers of two

of these localities are said to have been descended from the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. Brahmanical religion also flourished in some of these places and specially at An-ta-lo-po (Andarab).

There was, however, a considerable decline in the influence of Buddhism in the land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. On his way to India, Hiuen Tsang passed through various localities in this region. He does not mention any trace of Buddhism in the large stretch of territory between Lake Issiq Kol (immediately beyond Tarim basin on the other side of the mountain passes) and the valley of the Oxus. The people were fire-worshippers and Buddhism had no hold on them. But the influence of Buddhism was not altogether absent. The Great Khan of the Western Turks, who lived west of Issiq Kol, had a high reverence for Buddhism. He received Hiuen Tsang hospitably and asked him to expound the religious teachings. At the conclusion of it, "the Khan raising his hands bowed and gladly believed and accepted the teaching." The Khan detained Hiuen Tsang and wanted to keep him permanently. But when he could not dissuade Hiuen Tsang from continuing his journey, he sent a reliable guide with the pilgrim to conduct him up to Afghānistān. As stated already, the Indian monk Prabhākaramitra of Nālandā stayed with the Turkish chief and taught him Buddhism. This must have deeply impressed the latter and paved the way for the great welcome that Hiuen Tsang received at his hands. Thus Buddhism had begun to exercise its influence over the Western Turks who were the dominant power in this region. Some time before the middle of the eighth century A.D., a Turkish king visited India with his queen and son, and built two temples in Kāshmir and two in Gandhāra. Saṅghavarman, an inhabitant of Samarkand, became an eminent Buddhist monk and visited the Mahābodhi temple at Gayā. I-tsing makes some incidental references to the influence of Buddhism in Turkestān and its contact with India. He refers to the temple which the people of Tukhāra (*i.e.* Turks) formerly built in India for the monks of their own country.' "The temple is rich and opulent and surpasses others in respect of endowments and good management." We are further told that "when the monks of northern countries come to India they live in the temple of which they are considered Vihārasvāmin." I-tsing elsewhere informs us that the Vihārasvāmins formed the community proper in a monastery to whom belonged in common all its property.[1]

4. *Afghānistān*

The testimony of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang leaves no doubt that a considerable portion of Afghānistān was still regarded as a part of

1. *JBRS*, XXXVIII, p. 411.

India. Referring to Udyāna or the Valley of the Swāt river, Fa-hien remarks: 'It is indeed (a part) of North India. The people all use the language of Central India. The food and clothes of the common people are the same as in that Central kingdom. The Law of Buddha is very flourishing.' Hiuen Tsang also includes Lamghan, Jelālābād, and the regions further east including the Swāt valley within India proper.

Hiuen Tsang, however, notices that the people of Bamiyan and Kapiśā were considerably influenced by the rude civilisation of the Turks. As regards the former we are told that 'their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of Tokhāra, and they resembled the people of that country in appearance but differed from them in their spoken language.' They had harsh rude ways, though they were honest. The written language of Kapiśā was also very like that of Tokhāra, but it differed in other respects. The people were rude and coarse. The change was undoubtedly due to the large influx of Huns and other Turkish hordes in this region in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Nevertheless, Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition in both these places.

The Bamiyan valley lay at the foot of the Hindu Kush mountains. It was surrounded by hills, and commanded one of the most important passes which connect the Kābul valley with Balkh (Bactria). It was an important halting place on the overland route from India to the West. According to local traditions the royal family had migrated from Kapilavastu. Whether this is true or not, Bamiyan was an important centre of Buddhism from very early times. Caves were hewn out of the surrounding hills for the residence of monks, and Buddhist texts, written in Kushāṇa and Gupta alphabets, have been found in these caves.

In Hiuen Tsang's time, Buddhism was very powerful in Bamiyan. There were numerous monasteries with several thousands of monks, and many sacred relics. The king was a Buddhist and performed a quinquennial festival like Harsha-vardhana. Hiuen Tsang found here many caves and colossal figures of Buddha, carved on the hill-sides, many of which exist even today.

Kapiśā (Kāfiristān) was a large and powerful kingdom exercising supremacy over ten neighbouring states extending as far as the Sindhu. The king was a Kshatriya by caste and was a devout Buddhist. There were 100 monasteries, with 6000 priests, and many sacred relics and sites associated with the early history of Buddhism. There were also some Brahmanical temples. I-tsing says that there was a 'Kapiśā Temple' in Bodh-Gayā where priests from the north dwelt.

Recent archaeological excavations have revealed the strong influence of Indian culture over the whole of Afghānistān, as far as and even beyond the Hindu Kush. The artistic remains unearthed by these expeditions show the existence of Indian art traditions, which had their full development in Khotān, Kuchi, Turfan, Tunhwang and the other Indian Colonies in Central Asia. The site of Hadda, visited both by Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, has been explored. Ruins of 531 *stūpas* have been excavated and about 500 sculptures, mostly stucco heads, have been found. These stucco figures display artistic skill of a very high order. The important site of Bamiyan has also been explored, and a number of valuable fresco paintings and Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered. In addition to the colossal figures of Buddha and numerous caves, which were hitherto well known, some old caves, with decorative paintings, have come to light. These paintings show some Iranian influence. A Sūrya image and the remains of a temple of the Gupta style have been found at the hill of Khair Khaneh, north-west of Kābul. Begram, the site of Kāpiśi, has yielded a large number of ivories with designs recalling the Mathurā art of the Kushāṇa period. At another site, a little to the east, have been found a number of clay modellings and mural paintings of Indian type resembling those of the Gupta and Pāla periods

5. *Tibet*

According to the Tibetan chronicles of mediaeval ages the founder of the Tibetan royal dynasty was the son of an Indian king. The kings of Ladakh or Western Tibet also traced their descent from the Śākya family of India. While these traditions prove the strong influence of India on the history and culture of Tibet, they cannot be regarded as historical facts.

There is no definite information about any contacts between India and Tibet prior to the sixth century A.D. In the last two decades of that century one of the local chiefs, who were hitherto ruling in different parts of Tibet, subjugated the rest and set up a powerful kingdom. This king, named Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan[1], is said to have led a victorious campaign to Central India.[2] This statement is very doubtful, but there is no doubt that his kingdom touched the frontier of India and he might have had some relations with a few border-states.

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1 The Tibetan names are written in different ways by different authorities. The system of spelling, adopted by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*), has been followed here.

2. According to the Chinese sources relied on by Lévi (*Nepal* II, 147) But the *Chronicles of Ladakh* says that 'some kings who dwelt in the west of India were subdued' (Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 82). Cf also Petech, *op. cit*, pp. 35-6.

The son and successor of this king was the famous Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po who occupied the throne of Tibet during the first half of the seventh century A.D. He is said to have conquered Assam and Nepāl and exercised suzerainty over half of Jambudvīpa (*i.e.* India). In spite of obvious exaggeration, there is no doubt that this Tibetan ruler exercised suzerainty over Nepāl, and probably also over Assam and some other regions.[1]

With Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po begins the influence of Buddhism which was soon to transform the whole culture of Tibet. He married a daughter of king Aṁśuvarman of Nepāl and also a Chinese princess. Both the queens were devout Buddhists, and the king, under their influence, adopted the religion. He had temples and monasteries built, and a number of Buddhist texts translated. Images and sacred relics were also brought from India and China.

But the most notable contribution of the king to the cultural development of Tibet was the introduction of Sanskrit language and the system of writing from India. The following account of it is culled from Tibetan sources[2]:—

"The king clearly saw that a written language was most essential to the establishment of religion, and more particularly to the institution of laws for the good of the people. He therefore sent Sambhoṭa, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists He also instructed them to devise means for the invention of a written language for Tibet by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. He furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to the Professors.

"Sambhoṭa and his companions reached India and acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit language, Buddhist scriptures, and Indian scripts. After returning to Tibet they framed the system of Tibetan characters and composed a grammatical work. The king ordered the intelligent class of people to be taught the art of reading and writing and many Sanskrit Buddhist books to be translated into Tibetan. He then required all his subjects by royal edicts to observe the ten virtues besides a code of sixteen moral virtues specified by him."

Whatever we might think of the details in the foregoing account, there is no doubt that the Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Indian Gupta script current from fifth to seventh century A.D. The gram-

1. See above, pp. 86, 141. 2 *JASB*, 1881, pp. 218-19

mar composed by Sambhoṭa is practically the same which is in use in Tibetan schools even today.[1]

Thus the foundation of Buddhism was laid and Tibet started on her way of cultural evolution under the guidance of India. Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who initiated the new movement, naturally loomed large in the eyes of the people when, in a later age, Buddhism became the dominant force in Tibet. He was regarded as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokita; the Nepalese queen was considered the incarnation of Bhṛikuṭī, and the Chinese queen, that of Tārā. No less than 900 monasteries, including the famous Ra-mo-che, are said to have been built by this king. He also invited to his court the Indian teacher Kumāra, the Nepalese teacher Śīla-mañju, the Kāshmiri teachers Tabuta and Ganuta, the Brāhmana Li-byin and the Chinese teacher, Ha-śaṅ-Mahādheva.[2]

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po died about A.D. 650. For the next half a century we do not hear much of the new religion or of Tibetan contact with India. Some time about A.D. 702 Nepāl and the border states of India threw off the yoke of Tibet and the Tibetan king died in the course of a campaign against them (A.D. 704). The next king was Khri-lde-btsug-brtan, more commonly known by his surname Mes-'ag-tshoms (A.D. 705-55). In order to avenge the defeat of 704 he led frequent raids into India. The North Indian rulers Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman, harassed by these frequent aggressions, even applied to China for help [3]

The renewed contact with India promoted the cause of Buddhism in Tibet. The new king erected temples and monasteries, and arranged for the translation of sacred texts. But soon there was a reaction. During a pestilence in A.D. 740-41 all the foreign monks were expelled from the country in order to appease the irritated gods. Thus when king Mes-'ag-tshoms died in A.D. 755 the prospects of Buddhism were not very bright in Tibet.[4]

6. *Other Countries in the Far East*

Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, spread from Central Asia, China, and Tibet to other parts of Northern and Eastern Asia Mongolia, Korea, and Japan were the most important countries to be affected in this way. Korea and Japan were, no doubt, greatly influenced by Chinese Buddhists, and in a later age, Tibet was an important centre for propagation of Buddhism, especially in Mon-

1. Francke, *op. cit*, p. 84.
2. Thomas, *op. cit*, pp. 62, 83, 84.
3. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 117; also see above, pp. 130, 134.
4. According to some version of the *Chronicles of Ladakh* the reaction against Buddhism commenced in the next region. (Francke, *op. cit*, p. 86).

golia. But we have also evidence of direct intercourse between India and some of these countries.

As regards Korea, we know from I-tsing that five Korean monks visited India in the seventh century A.D. Two of these set out in A.D 638, and lived and died at Nālandā. A third, Sarvajñadeva came through Tibet and Nepāl in A.D. 650. The fourth monk Prajñā-varman stayed for ten years in India. Another Korean monk died in India, and two more died on their way to India.

There was also direct intercourse between India and Japan. The Indian monk who is best known in this connection is Bodhisena whose history has been preserved in Japanese chronicles.[1] Bodhisena was a Brāhmaṇa of South India and his family name was Barachi (Bharadvāja gotra?) He set out for China by sea, and met on the way a ship-wrecked priest of Champā named Buttetsu. They arrived together in China in A.D. 733.

Bodhisena went to China to meet Mañjuśrī, who was generally believed in India to have lived there. Bodhisena could not find him there, but was told that he had left for Japan An imperial Japanese envoy at the court of China, who was just leaving for his country, invited Bodhisena to accompany him. Both Bodhisena and Buttetsu joined him and reached Japan in A.D. 736. On their arrival at the port of Naniwa (Osaka) they were received with great honour by the imperial messenger, the chief priest accompanied by a hundred others, masters of ceremonies, musicians, and high dignitaries of the foreign office.

It appears that both Buddhism and Sanskrit were already well-known in Japan. For Bodhisena carried on conversation with the Japanese priest 'both in Sanskrit and Japanese' as if they were old friends. He was lodged in a Buddhist monastery, and the imperial court furnished him with clothes and other necessaries of life.

When in A.D. 749 a colossal image of Buddha Vairochana was installed, Bodhisena was asked to perform the consecration ceremony, and Buttetsu took charge of the musical arrangements.

In 750 Bodhisena was appointed the head of the Buddhist order in Japan and he came to be popularly known as the Baramon Sojo (Brāhmaṇa Bishop). He taught Sanskrit and the Mahāyāna doctrine of Gandavyūha in three different monasteries and died in 760 at the age of 57. A *stūpa* was erected over his remains, and one of his disciples composed an inscription for it in A.D. 770.

The arrangement of Japanese syllabary in fifty phonetic sounds, closely following the Sanskrit alphabet and undoubtedly based upon

1 *BEFEO*, XXVIII 24-26.

it, is attributed by some Japanese scholars to Bodhisena, though others relegate it to a later period. The use of the Indian alphabet in Japan, however, dates probably from even an earlier period. It is interesting to note that fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts written in Indian alphabets of the fourth century A.D. have been found in some monasteries of Japan.[1] There is also good evidence to show that the palm-leaf manuscript at the Horiuzi monastery, which cannot be later than the sixth century A.D., was brought to Japan in A.D. 609.[2]

Buttetsu was not only a scholar but was highly proficient in music and dance. He spent a number of years in the famous Nara University of Japan and gave lessons and demonstrations in Indian music and dance. The Indian system of seven musical notes (Shaḍja, Ṛishabha, etc) was highly admired and in great demand, both in religious assemblies and at the imperial court. Buttetsu taught Sanskrit and wrote a manual for teaching this language.

7 *Western Countries*[3]

(i) *Trade and political intercourse*

Although Indian trade with the Roman empire declined to a considerable extent after the third century A.D. there is no doubt that it continued for at least two or three hundred years more. This is clearly demonstrated by the finds of Roman coins in Southern India. At Madura, for example, were found a large quantity of copper coins of Arcadius, Emperor of the East (A D. 395-408), and Honorius, Emperor of the West (A D 395-423), one gold coin of Constantius II (337-361), one of Theodosius II (408-450), one of Zeno (474-491), and one of Anastatius (491-518) Coins of Theodosius II, Marcian (450-457), Leo (457-474), Zeno, Anastatius, and Justinus I (518-527) have been found in Travancore. Coins of Theodosius I (379-395), Valentinian (364-375) and Eudoxia (401-404) have been found in various places in South India. These coins as well as the Indian embassies to Roman Emperors mentioned above[4] prove the continuity of trade between India and Rome down to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Another evidence of the flourishing nature of this trade is furnished by the fact that when Alaric 'spared Rome in A D. 408, he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper.'[5]

1. *IA.*, 1885, pp. 228-9.
2. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*—Aryan Series Vol. I, Part III, p. 64.
3. The following may be cited as general references for this section:—
   (a) Rawlinson: *Intercourse between India and the Western World.*
   (b) M. Hamidulla: Ancient India from Arabic Sources (*PIHC.*, V. 246-48).
   (c) P. K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs.*
4. Vol. II, p. 625.
5. *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 307 ff

Trade relations with Western Asia were also flourishing throughout the period treated in this volume. We learn from Amianus Marcellinus[1] that Indian wares were sent to the great annual fair at the mart of Batne, not far from the bank of the Euphrates, about the second half of the fourth century A.D. Chinese Annals refer to a brisk trade between China and western countries like Arabia and Persia. This trade must have passed through India, and kept up the old trade relations between India and the western countries. The Arabs and Persians sent a large number of vessels to China and these passed through Indian ports. I-tsing left China for India in a Persian ship.[2] We learn from the account of Vajrabodhi's journey to China in A.D. 720[3] that when he reached a port in Ceylon he saw thirty-five Persian vessels there.

There was commercial intercourse between India and Arabia even in pre-Islamic days. The sword made of Indian steel is proverbial in Arabic literature.[4] Aden is mentioned as a centre of the perfumery industry which had markets in Sindh and Hind and all parts of the world. Indian spices were imported in large quantities into Arabia, and Arabic words like *quranful* are derived from Indian names (*Karan-phul*).

We learn from Arab literature that Daba was one of the two major ports of Arabia in pre-Islamic days. It was situated in Oman, in the south-eastern corner of Arabia. There was an annual fair at Daba to which traders came from Sindh, Hind, China, and Greece,—in short from all the countries of the world.

An interesting evidence of a close contact between India and Persia has been preserved by Ṭabari (A.D. 838-923), the Persian historian, on the authority of a Pehlevi work written shortly after the death of Khusru II. We learn from his account that in the 36th year of the reign of Khusru (A.D. 590-628) a king of India sent to the Persian king ambassadors carrying a letter and presents for him and his sons. The letter to one of the princes was marked 'private' and contained the information—a sort of prophecy—that he would be crowned king two years hence. It has been held that the Indian king was Pulakeśin II, and that one of the paintings in the ceiling of cave 1 at Ajaṇṭā portrays not only the Persian king Khusru II and his famous queen Shirin, but also the scene of a Persian embassy at the court of king Pulakeśin. This interpretation of the picture, as well as the identification of the Indian king mentioned by Ṭabari with Pulakeśin, has been questioned,[5] but there is no doubt that

1. XIV. 3. 33. 2. *IRT*, p. XXVIII. 3. See above, p. 610.
4. Schoff, *Periplus*, 70-71.
5. The question has been fully discussed with references to different views by Sastri (*Foreign Notices*, p. 9) and B Ghose (*JBRS*. XXX, 1 ff) Cf. also the author's article "Pulakesi and Khusru II" in *JIH*, Vol. IV. Part II.

both the story and the painting prove an intimate connection between India and Persia. It may be also noted that according to Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsha-charita,* the stable of the emperor Harsha-vardhana was filled with horses from Persia. It appears from the same authority that Harsha's court was familiar with Persia and other kingdoms in the west. For among the boastful expressions, uttered by Harsha's military chiefs, occurs the following: "The land of the Turushkas is to the brave but a cubit; Persia is only a span; Śakasthāna, but a rabbit's track."[1]

We learn from a Pehlevi work that half a century before Harsha and Pulakeśin another Indian king, named Devsaram (Devaśarman ?), sent an embassy to the Persian king Khusru I with rich presents and a set of chessmen with board.[2]

The historian Ṭabari, mentioned above, has preserved a number of anecdotes which, whatever may be their historical value, indicate an intimate intercourse between Indian and western Asiatic countries. According to him Anūshīrvān despatched an expedition to India and conquered some provinces, but the truth of this story may be doubted.[3]

There is a long story describing in detail how an Indian king, with a huge army, including contingents from his vassal states in Turkey and Persia, attacked Palestine. Being defeated by divine intervention on behalf of the king of Palestine, the Indian king fled to the coast with a lakh of soldiers and tried to escape with the help of their boats. But the whole army perished in ship-wreck by a typhoon in the Mediterranean.

The Indian navy is referred to even in historical times. Ubulla, near Basra, was known in those days as the 'gateway of India,' and its governor is said to have "always had to fight against either the Arab Beduins on land or Indian navy on sea."

Many kings of the west are said to have visited India, and some of them conquered, or received tributes from, different kingdoms in this country.

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1. *HC*, 210.
2. The Persian poet Firdausi says in the *Shahnama* that ambassadors from the sovereign of Hind came to Khusru I (Anūshīrvān) with a chess-board and men asking him to solve the secrets of the game Other Persian and Arabian writers state that Shatranj (i e, chess, from Sanskrit *Chaturaṅga*) came into Persia from India and there appears to be a consensus of opinion that may be considered to settle the question. Thus we have the game passing from the Hindus to the Persian and thence to the Arabians (the seventh century) and from them, directly or indirectly to various parts of Europe, at a time which cannot be definitely fixed, but either in or before the tenth century [cf *Encycl. Britannica*—under chess; also H. J. R. Murray: *A History of Chess* (1913)].
3. Sir Percy Sykes. *History of Persia,* p. 456.

(ii) *Influence of India on the West*

We have positive evidence that Indian literature and sciences exerted great influence upon Western countries during the period under review.

That Indian literature was highly valued in these countries and made a deep impression upon their people is proved by the history of a single book *Pañchatantra*[1] which is a collection of fables containing wise maxims. It was translated in the sixth century A.D. from Sanskrit into Pehlevi, and then from Pehlevi into Arabic and Syrian.[2] The Arabic translation made the book well known all over the Western world, and it was rendered into Persian, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Italian and various other languages of Europe and Asia. As Max Müller has remarked, the triumphant progress of this work from India to the west is more wonderful and instructive than the stories contained in it. Other Indian folk-tales also found their way to Europe and can be traced in Mediaeval collections such as the *Gesta Romanorum*, and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparola, Chaucer, and La Fontaine. Jātaka stories and the traditional account of Buddha were also current in Western countries St. John of Damascus (eighth century A.D) wrote *Barlaam and Josaphat* which contained numerous Buddhist legends and portrayed the life of Buddha as a pious Christian saint. As a result of this Gautama, the Bodhisattva, under the guise of Saint Josaphat, was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII (1582) [3]

Like Hindu literature, the Hindu sciences, notably Medical Science and Arithmetic, were highly prized in the West. Many scholars hold that the later Greek physicians were acquainted with the medical works of the Hindus Nearer home Irān also was largely indebted to India for her knowledge of medicine and other sciences It is on record that Barzouhyeh, a subject of the Sassanid king Anūshirvān (Khusru I, A D. 531-579), visited India to acquire proficiency in Indian medicine and other sciences.

It is thus evident that Indian literature and sciences made their influence felt and that the cultural relation with the west was continued throughout the period. The religious influence was also not altogether absent. Hiuen Tsang notes that Lang-kie-lo, a country to the west of India and subject to Persia, had more than 100 monasteries and 6,000 monks, and several hundred Deva (*i.e.* Brahmani-

1. See above, p. 314.
2. Winternitz: *GIL*, III. 294 ff. According to Hitti (*op. cit.* 404), the basis of the famous *Thousand and one nights* was a Persian work containing several stories of Indian origin
3. Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, 142, 180.

cal) temples, mostly of the Pāśupata Sect. Even in Persia itself, according to the same Chinese authority, there were two or three Buddhist monasteries and numerous Deva temples.

Reference may be made in this connection to a picture found at Dandanuliq in the Chinese Turkestān. It presents a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian, with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt in his left hand. The picture shows distinct Indian features, but it is the product of a type of Buddhist art which developed in Irān and thence travelled towards the east. It may be referred to the eighth century A.D., and proves that even up to the sixth or seventh century Buddhism was a living force in Irān and had cultural contact with India and other centres of Buddhism in Asia. The introduction of Persian figures in Ajaṇṭā, mentioned above, considered along with this picture, establishes, in the opinion of some scholars, a close relationship between the arts of India, Persia and Central Asia in the seventh century A.D.[1]

GENERAL REFERENCES

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Do Contributions on the Religion, History, etc. of Tibet (*JASB* 1881, pp. 187 ff; 1882, pp. 1 ff)
2 A H Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part II
3 L. Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh.*
4. S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II. pp. 147, 153-4.
5 F. W. Tomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.*

1. *FAS*. 310.

CHAPTER XXIV

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I. SEA-VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH-EAST

An eye-witness has left us a thrilling account of the perilous sea-voyage to South-east Asia which he made in A.D. 414. This is the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien to whom frequent references have been made before. He embarked in a large merchant-vessel at Tāmralipti (Tamluk in Bengal), and sailing day and night, reached the island of Ceylon after fourteen days. After staying there for two years he sailed for China. The details of this journey may be told in his own words:

"Fa-hien took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastward for three days, and then they encountered a great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and water came in The merchants wished to go into the smaller vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water.

"In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west, only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the

sky became clear, they could tell east and west and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days they arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa (Java)."[1]

The above account vividly describes the risks and dangers of the sea-voyage that confronted Indian colonists. Nevertheless the Hindu colonisation continued to make rapid progress during the period treated in this volume The Hindu kingdoms in Annam and Cambodia, founded as early as the first century A.D.,[2] continued to prosper; other new colonial kingdoms sprang into existence; and we have more striking evidence of the triumph of Hindu culture all over the vast region and in almost every phase of life.

II INDO-CHINA

1. *Cambodia*

The kingdom of Fu-nan passed through great political troubles in the first half of the fourth century A.D. There were several claimants for the throne, one of whom, referred to by the Chinese as Hindu Chan-tan, took the title of the king of Fu-nan and sent an embassy to China in A.D 357 The name of this Indian may be restored as Chandana or Chandra.

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. another Indian, named Kauṇḍinya, was elected king by the people of Fu-nan. He was a Brāhmaṇa and had come direct from India. He probably represents a fresh stream of Indian influence which thoroughly Brahmanised the country.

The Chinese annals tell us a great deal about another king Jaya-varman, a descendant of Kauṇḍinya. Jaya-varman had sent some merchants to Canton for purposes of trade. The Indian monk Nāgasena joined them there, but on the return journey a storm forced them to land in Champā. The Chams plundered all their goods, but Nāgasena returned safely to Fu-nan. Jaya-varman had other grievances against Champā. One of his rebellious subjects had occupied the throne of Champā and had adopted a hostile attitude towards him. Jaya-varman accordingly sent Nāgasena to the Imperial court, with a petition asking for help against the Cham king. Nāgasena arrived in China in A.D. 484 and presented a poem eulogising the god Maheśvara, Buddha, and the Emperor of China The Emperor praised the god Maheśvara whose cult was dominant in Fu-nan, and condemned the king of Champā, but sent no active

1. *FTL*, 111 f.

2 Vol. II, pp. 656-8.

help against him. In A.D. 503 Jaya-varman again sent an embassy to the Imperial court with presents including an image of Buddha, made of coral. He sent two more embassies in A.D. 511 and 514, and two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan settled in China and translated Buddhist texts.

Jaya-varman's queen was named Kula-prabhāvatī and they had a son named Guṇa-varman. We possess two Sanskrit inscriptions of Guṇa-varman and his mother. But Guṇa-varman did not succeed his father. Jaya-varman's elder son Rudra-varman, born of a concubine, succeeded him after killing the younger son, born of the legitimate wife.

Rudra-varman also has left a Sanskrit inscription. He sent no less than six embassies to China between A.D. 517 and 539. During or shortly after his reign the kingdom of Fu-nan was invaded by the rulers of Kambuja which was originally a vassal state but had recently thrown off the yoke of Fu-nan. The struggle went on for some time, but Fu-nan was completely conquered before the end of the seventh century A.D.

The kingdom of Kambuja was situated in North-eastern Cambodia. According to legends current in later times the kingdom was founded by Kambu Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadeśa (India), and named after him. The two earliest rulers of this kingdom, known to us, are Śruta-varman and his son Śreshṭha-varman. The latter threw off the yoke of Fu-nan, and the capital of the independent kingdom was named after him Śreshṭhapura. It was quite close to the Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos. On the summit of this hill, called Liṅga-parvata, was the temple of Bhadreśvara Śiva, the tutelary deity of the royal family.

Bhava-varman, who occupied the throne of Kambuja about the close of the sixth century A.D., was the founder of a new royal family,[1] and he transferred the capital to Bhavapura. He was a great conqueror and considerably increased the extent of the kingdom. His brother Chitrasena, who assumed the name Mahendra-varman on ascending the throne, invaded Fu-nan and conquered nearly the whole of it. He died some time before A.D. 616, and was succeeded by his son Īśānasena or Īśāna-varman. The new king continued the war against Fu-nan and finally conquered it, probably about A.D. 630. He ruled over an extensive kingdom comprising the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China and also the valley of the Mun river to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He founded a new capital

1. According to some scholars Bhava-varman belonged to the royal family of Fu-nan and became king of Kambuja by his marriage with a princess of this country (Coedes, *États*, p. 116).

city, called after him Īśānapura. He sent an embassy to China and had probably diplomatic relations with India as well. He also played a part in the history of Champā as will be related later.

Īśāna-varman died some time about A.D. 635. He was followed by two kings Bhava-varman II and Jaya-varman I of whom nothing is known. Jaya-varman ruled till at least A.D. 681 and is the last known king of the family of Bhava-varman.

The history of Kambuja for the next hundred years is very obscure and will be dealt with in the next volume.

The dynasty of Bhava-varman raised the small principality of Kambuja into a big kingdom. Fu-nan gradually passed into oblivion and Kambuja took its place as the leading state. It established a powerful kingdom, comprising not only the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, but also a part of Laos. In spite of occasional vicissitudes of fortune, Kambuja continued its glorious career for nearly seven hundred years, and attained to a height of splendour and renown not acquired before or since by any other kingdom in Indo-China.

2. *Champā*

The throne of Champā was usurped by Fan Wen, the general of Fan-yi, when the latter died in A.D. 336. He was an able ruler and skilful general. He resolved to extend the kingdom of Champā up to the Hoan Sonh mountains in the north, by annexing the Chinese province of Nhūt-Nam (corresponding to modern districts of Thua-Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh). When he failed to achieve his purpose by negotiations he sent a military expedition and conquered the province in A.D. 347. Two years later he again defeated, a vast Chinese army, but was wounded in the fight and died in A.D. 349.

Fan Wen carried the frontiers of Champā to its furthest limits to the north, but his aggressive policy involved his son and grandson in a protracted war with China for more than fifty years (A.D. 349-413). Both sides claimed occasional successes and even great victories, but the result was indecisive.

The grandson of Fan Wen is called by the Chinese Fan-Hu-ta, but he is probably the king referred to in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champā as Bhadra-varman.[1] He was a great general and scored some successes against the Chinese. His kingdom probably included all the three provinces of Champā, *viz.* Amarāvatī (northern), Vijaya (central), and Pāṇḍuraṅga (southern). He was a great scholar and,

1. Some scholars identify Bhadra-varman with, Fan Fo, father of Fan-Hu-ta (Coedes, *États*, p. 84).

according to the inscriptions, studied the four Vedas. He constructed a temple of Śiva, called after him Bhadreśvara-svāmī, at Myson. This temple became the national sanctuary of Champā, and the later kings followed his example of setting up images of deities named after themselves.

Bhadra-varman was succeeded by his son Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the bank of the sacred Gaṅgā river in India. The departure of the king was followed by anarchy and civil war in Champā which was brought to an end in A.D. 420 by the accession of Fan Yang Mai who founded a new dynasty.

War with China continued under Fan Yang Mai and his son who also bore the same name. Fan Yang Mai II, elated by a temporary success, sent an expedition almost every year against Tonkin. The Chinese emperor thereupon decided to crush this turbulent chief. After three years' elaborate preparations the Chinese army invaded Champā in A.D. 446. Yang Mai suffered a terrible defeat and fled. The Chinese entered the capital city Champā in triumph and secured 100,000 pounds of pure gold by melting the images in temples sacked by them.

After the retreat of the Chinese army Yang Mai II returned to his capital, but died of a broken heart (A.D. 446). He was succeeded by his son and grandson The latter pacified the Chinese Emperor by sending rich tributes in A.D. 455, 458 and 472.

The death of this king was followed by a period of troubles in course of which a man from Fu-nan (according to some accounts the son of Jaya-varman, king of Fu-nan) usurped the kingdom, as mentioned above. But the usurper was defeated and the family of Yang Mai regained the throne Vijaya-varman, the last king of this dynasty, sent two embassies to China in A.D. 526 and 527.

Vijaya-varman was succeeded by Rudra-varman. He was a Brahma-Kshatriya and claimed descent from king Gaṅgārāja, mentioned above, who abdicated the throne and retired to the bank of the Gaṅgā. Rudra-varman received investiture from China on payment of tribute in A.D. 530. The tribute was renewed in A.D. 534.

Rudra-varman was succeeded by his son Praśasta-dharma who took the name of Śambhu-varman at the time of his coronation. He took advantage of the weakness of the Imperial Chen dynasty and stopped the customary tribute. Although he hastened to send tribute in A.D. 595 after the Sui dynasty was established on the Imperial throne, the Emperor decided to teach him a lesson. The

Chinese army invaded Champā in A.D. 605. Śambhu-varman suffered several defeats and fled. The Chinese sacked the city of Champā and carried off an immense booty, including the golden tablets of 18 kings of Champā and 1,350 Buddhist works. It is said that they cut off the left ears of 10,000 Chams who were taken prisoners in the battle.

Śambhu-varman was succeeded in A.D. 629 by his son Kandarpa-dharma. He maintained good relations with China by regular payment of tribute, and his reign was peaceful. But internal troubles broke out shortly after his death. One Satyakauśika-svāmī, descended from the royal family through female line, claimed the throne, but being unsuccessful fled to Kambuja court. But shortly after Prabhāsa-dharma had succeeded his father Kandarpa-dharma, the attempt was renewed and he was killed with all the male members of the family (A.D. 645). The kings of Kambuja, Mahendra-varman and Īśāna-varman, really pulled the strings from behind in order to establish their influence over the neighbouring state This object was fully achieved. Satyakauśika-svāmī ascended the throne of Champā (A.D. 645), and his grandson Jagaddharma was married to Śarvāṇī, daughter of Īśāna-varman. Soon after the death of Satyakauśika-svāmī (A D. 653), Prakāśa-dharma, son of Jagad-dharma and Śarvāṇī, ascended the throne under the title of Vikrānta-varman (A.D. 657).[1] Not much is known of the history of Champā during the next hundred years. The last known king of this family is Rudra-varman II who sent tribute to China in A.D. 749 and died about A.D. 757.

3. *Burma and Siam*

Although we do not possess a continuous history of any other colonial kingdom, we know the existence of several such kingdoms during the period under review. Hiuen Tsang refers to several Hinduised kingdoms in Indo-China, *viz.* Śrīkshetra, with its capital at Prome (Lower Burma); Dvāravatī, comprising a large part of Siam; Īśānapura (Kambuja), and Mahā-champā (Champā), in addition to two other kingdoms which cannot be identified. Hiuen Tsang heard these names while in Bengal, but did not visit these countries. The fact that he refers to Kambuja as Īśānapura, a name associated with his contemporary king Īśāna-varman, shows that there was a regular and intimate intercourse between India and these countries Dvāravatī was inhabited by the Mons or Talaings who had adopted Hindu culture. The Hinduised Mons also occupied the coastal regions of Lower Burma known as Ramaññadeśa. The Hindu

1. This period is very obscure. For a slightly different version, cf. Coedes, *États*, pp. 122-3.

colonists in the Mon country spread their power and influence in the more inaccessible regions in North Siam and Laos. A number of Pali chronicles have preserved the history of many local principalities founded by them. These texts furnish a long list of royal names (mostly in Indian form) and pious foundations of Buddhist monasteries. The discoveries of Buddhist images and inscriptions fully confirm the general picture supplied by the chronicles.

Further north, Hindu colonies were also established among the Thais who occupied the southern and south-eastern part of the country, now called China, and the region intermediate between it and Burma on the west and Siam in the south. Their most important kingdom in Yunnan was known as Gāndhāra and one part of it was also called Videha-rājya.

To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma lived the tribe called Pyu. The Hindu colonists settled among them and founded a kingdom with Śrīkshetra (Prome) as capital. According to local chronicles this kingdom was founded by a member of the Hindu royal dynasty of Tagaung.[1] It is, no doubt, quite possible that the Hindus who had colonised Upper Burma had spread southwards along the Irāvati. It is, however, also not unlikely that different bands of colonists had proceeded to Prome, by way of sea or through Arakan. A number of inscriptions, written both in Sanskrit and Pyu languages, but in Indian script, have been found in this region. A Sanskrit inscription of the seventh century A.D., engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, mentions king Jayachandra-varman. Three other kings Hari-vikrama, Siṁha-vikrama and Sūrya-vikrama ruled in Śrīkshetra at a much earlier period

We possess the record of a Hindu dynasty called Śrī-Dharma-rājānuja-vaṁśa ruling in Arakan from A D. 600 to 1000. The names of kings ended in Chandra, such as Bāla-chandra, Deva-chandra, etc The coins have preserved the names of kings Dharma-chandra, Vīra-chandra, etc. According to local chronicles a Chandra dynasty ruled in Arakan with Vaiśālī as capital, the two previous capitals being Rāmāvatī and Dhanyavatī. The ruins of Vaiśālī (now called Vethali 8 miles to the north-west of Mrohaung) testify to its former greatness. The famous Buddha image, called Mahāmuni, was the tutelary deity of Arakan throughout the historical period.

4. *Malay Peninsula*

The geographical position of the Malay Peninsula made it the centre of carrying trade between India and the Far East. Takkola,

1. Vol. II, p. 655.

modern Takua Pa,[1] was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this port some crossed over the mountain range to the fertile plain on the eastern coast round the Bay of Bandon, and then proceeded by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam and even further east. Others continued the voyage through the Straits of Malacca. Ruins of shrines and images, Sanskrit inscriptions, and other vestiges of Indian settlements are found at Takua Pa, and along the trans-peninsular route to the Bay of Bandon, as well as in the Province Wellesley. These prove that there were Hindu colonies all over the Peninsula as early at least as fourth or fifth century A.D. One of these incriptions, in the northern part of Province Wellesley, records a gift by, and a prayer for the successful voyage of, the great sailor (*mahā-nāvika*) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛittikā. This place has been identified by some with Rāngāmāti, 12 miles south of Murshidābād, in Bengal.[2] This interesting inscription has perhaps preserved the name and memory of one of those mariners of India who carried the pioneers of Indian colonisation across the Bay of Bengal.

The Hindu colonists set up several ḳingdoms in Malay Peninsula. Some details of these have been preserved in Chinese chronicles. Unfortunately many of them cannot be definitely located, and different identifications have been proposed by different scholars. But taken collectively they leave no doubt that there were many Hindu kingdoms in the Peninsula. The Chinese account shows their intimate connection with India. About the state Lang-kia-su, probably in the Isthmus of Ligor, we are told that a relation of the king, on being driven out of the kingdom, went to India and married a princess. When all on a sudden the king of Lang-kia-su died, the high officers called back the prince from India and made him king. He died after a reign of 20 years and was succeeded by his son Bhagadato (Bhagadatta?) who sent an envoy named Āditya with a letter to the emperor of China in A D. 515. The Chinese account adds that this state was "founded more than 400 years ago", *i.e.* in the first or second century A.D.

The court of another state, Pan-pan (Bandon), was frequented by Brāhmaṇas. "They had come from India in order to profit by the munificence of the king who had very high regard for them."

Names of several other states and their kings (Gautama, Subhadra, Vijaya-varman, etc.) are known from Chinese sources.

1. This is the general view, but some scholars locate Takkola a little further to the south, at Trang (*J. Mal. Br. R.A.S.*, XXII. 25).
2. Some scholars, however, locate it on the Gulf of Siam in the region of P'at'alung (Coedes, *États*, p. 89).

Indian literature refers to the kingdoms of Kalasapura and Karmaraṅga which were probably in Malay Peninsula or Lower Burma.

The archaeological discoveries in Malay Peninsula have thrown a flood of light on the Hindu colonisation in this region. The views of two eminent archaeologists on this subject may be summed up as follows:—

'The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takua Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western.

'The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

'The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from the west. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of Brāhmans of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.'[1]

III. EAST INDIES

Many Hindu colonial kingdoms were also established in the various islands of the East Indies which were collectively known as Suvarṇadvīpa. We shall briefly refer to the most important of them.

1. *Sumatra*

The earliest Hindu kingdom known in Sumatra is Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang). It was founded in or before the fourth century A.D. and rose to great eminence towards the close of the seventh century A.D. It had by that time conquered another Hindu kingdom named

1. *BCAI*, 1909, pp. 184-85; *IAL*, IX, 1-31.

Malayu (modern Jambi) and established its political supremacy over the neighbouring island of Banka. In A.D. 684 it was ruled over by a Buddhist king named Śrī-Jayanāśa (or Jayanāga). In A.D. 686 this king (or his successor) sent an expedition against Java and issued an interesting proclamation of which two copies, engraved on stone, have reached us.

It begins with an invocation to the 'gods who protect the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya'. It holds out threats of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śrī-Vijaya, if they revolt, or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt, against the suzerain authority. Punishment was to be meted out not only to the actual rebels, but even to their family and clans. On the other hand, the people who would remain loyal to the government of Śrī-Vijaya, together with their clan and family, would be blessed with all sorts of blessings divine.

I-tsing tells us that Śrī-Vijaya was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and that the king of Śrī-Vijaya possessed trading ships sailing between India and Śrī-Vijaya. We also learn from his memoir that the city of Śrī-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China, and that there was a regular navigation between it and Kwan-Tung.

That Śrī-Vijaya was fast growing into an important naval and commercial power appears clearly from an inscription discovered at Ligor (Malay Peninsula). This inscription, dated in Śaka 697 (=A.D. 775), refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī-Vijaya. He is said to be the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. It shows that the Buddhist king of Śrī-Vijaya had extended his political supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon, before A.D. 775.

The inscriptions thus give clear indication, in broad outline, of a purely aggressive policy pursued by the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya during the century A.D. 675-775. By A.D. 686 it had absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu, conquered the neighbouring island of Banka, and sent a military expedition to the powerful island kingdom of Java. Before a century was over, we find its power firmly established in the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese annals state that several embassies came from Śrī-Vijaya to China during the period between A.D. 670 and 741.

2. *Java*

There were several Hindu kingdoms in Java. Two of these, called Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan by the Chinese, sent regular embassies

to China in the fifth century A.D. The names of kings in both these countries ended in Varman.

Four Sanskrit inscriptions, all found within the Province of Batavia in Western Java, mention a king Pūrṇa-varman. One of them, dated in the twenty-second year of the king, calls his grandfather *rājarshi* (royal sage) and another ancestor, probably his father, *rājādhirāja* (king of kings). The latter is said to have dug the Chandrabhāgā (a canal or a river) which reached the sea after passing by the capital city. Pūrṇa-varman himself dug a similar canal, called the Gomatī river, and paid a fee of a thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas. Pūrṇa-varman's capital city was named Tārumā, and he reigned in the sixth century A D.

There were several other kingdoms in Java in this and the following century. According to two Chinese historical works of the Sui period (A.D. 589-618), there were ten kingdoms in Java. In the history of the T'ang period (618-906) reference is made to 28 feudatory kings acknowledging the supremacy of the king of Java.

The most important kingdom in Java during the T'ang period is named Ho-ling. Ho-ling is generally recognised as a Chinese form of Kaliṅga. The leading kingdom in Java was thus named after the well-known province of India on the eastern coast, and it may be reasonably inferred that colonists from Kaliṅga dominated Java or at least a part of it. This may be due to a fresh stream of immigration from Kaliṅga about this time, as is generally supposed But it is not unlikely that a region or principality in Java was called Kaliṅga from much earlier times, though it did not attain any eminence till the T'ang period. In any case, this name and the tradition that the original colonists of Java came from Kaliṅga[1] indicate a close relation between Java and Kaliṅga country.

It is probable that the kingdoms of Ho-lo-tan and Ho-ling mentioned in Chinese chronicles were situated respectively in Western and Central Java. The predominance of Indian civilisation in Western Java is proved by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Pūrṇa-varman, noted above. An inscription in Central Java, probably belonging to the seventh century A D., shows that this region, too, was thoroughly influenced by Indian culture.

3. *Borneo*

The Hindu colonisation in Eastern Borneo is proved by seven Sanskrit inscriptions found at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river. an important sea-port in old days. They refer to king Mūla-varman, son of Aśva-varman and grandson of king Kuṇḍuṅga. Mūla-varman

1. Vol. II, p. 655.

performed a sacrifice called Bahusuvarṇaka (lit. large quantity of gold), and made gift of 20,000 cows to the Brāhmaṇas in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.[1] These inscriptions were incised about A.D. 400. We may, therefore, hold that Hindu colonists had established kingdoms in Borneo by the end of the fourth century A.D., if not before. The inscriptions testify to the great predominance of the Brāhmaṇas and the Hindu culture in Borneo.

The grandfather of Mūla-varman is called Kuṇḍuṅga, a form of Kauṇḍinya.[2] We have already seen that an Indian Brāhmana of this name was elected king of Fu-nan towards the close of the fourth century A.D. We do not know whether he is identical with the grandfather of Mūla-varman, but this is not unlikely.

The Hindu colonists advanced into the interior of Eastern Borneo along the Mahakam river. A number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images were found at Kombeng, and they probably belonged to one or more temples higher up in the valley of the Mahakam river. Similarly the discoveries of archaeological remains on the banks of the Kapuas river show that the Hindus colonised West Borneo and set up a number of settlements in the valley of this river.[3]

4. *Bali*

The Hindus had colonised the island of Bali and set up a kingdom there before the sixth century A.D. The Chinese history of Leang Dynasty (A.D. 502-557) gives the following interesting account of Bali: "The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya. When asked about his ancestors, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Śuddhodana was a daughter of his country." In A.D. 518 the king sent an envoy to China.

The name Kauṇḍinya is interesting and shows the influence of that family in all the Hindu colonies of Suvarṇadvīpa. The Chinese author gives a detailed account of the manners and splendours of the court, and there is hardly any doubt that in the sixth century A.D. the island of Bali was the seat of a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Hindu colonists professing Buddhism. I-tsing also mentions that Buddhism was dominant in the island of Bali.

1. The inscriptions refer to other sacrifices and various ceremonies called Mahādānas, such as Kalpa-bṛiksha, Bhūmi-dāna, Go-sahasrikā, Jala-dhenu, Ghṛita-dhenu, Tila-dāna and Kapila-dāna (*JGIS*, XII. 14).
2. This view is, however, opposed by Chhabra. "Why should," he asks, "a good Sanskrit inscription use this corrupt form?" It has been conjectured by several scholars that Kuṇḍuṅga is a Tamil name. But N. L. Rao opposes this view (*J. Mal. Br. R.A.S.* XV. Part III, p. 118).
3. Two standing Buddha images of Gupta style have been found at Sambas. It has been suggested that Barhiṇa-dvīpa, mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, refers to Borneo (Sastri, *Śrīvijaya*, p. 23).

IV. HINDU CIVILISATION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

We have so far discussed the history of Hindu colonial kingdoms set up in Indo-China and in the various islands of the East Indies. Of these the kingdoms of Champā and Kambuja are better known than others. The inscriptions, temples, images, and other remains of this period are so plentiful in these two kingdoms that no doubt remains of the thorough-going character of Hindu culture in these regions. But although less plentiful, similar evidence exists in regard to the other colonial kingdoms referred to above. We may, therefore, briefly review the general character of Hindu civilisation in South-east Asia as a whole.

The most important remains of the Hindu colonists are the Sanskrit inscriptions, written in Indian scripts, pure or slightly modified. They have been found all over the region, in Burma, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Annam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java and Borneo. A perusal of these inscriptions shows that the language, literature, religion, and political and social institutions of India made a thorough conquest of these far off lands and, to a large extent, eliminated or absorbed the native elements in these respects. The local peoples mostly belonged to a very primitive type of civilisation, and it was the glorious mission of the Indian colonists to introduce a higher culture among them. In this task they achieved a large measure of success.

These inscriptions, written in good flawless Sanskrit, show that this language was highly cultivated and was used in court and polished society. They hold out before us the picture of a civilisation moulded by, and thoroughly saturated with, Indian elements We have reference to Hindu philosophical ideas, Vedic religion, Puranic and epic myths and legends, all the prominent Brahmanical and Buddhist divinities and ideas associated with them, Indian months and astronomical system, and Indian system of measurement. The well-known habit of colonists to introduce familiar geographical names is also much in evidence. This reached its climax in Burma where we find a deliberate attempt to create a New India by locating there not only numerous places associated with Buddha and Aśoka, but also scenes of subsequent episodes in the history of Buddhism and in the lives of previous Buddhas or holy men referred to in Buddhist literature. Outside Burma, too, we have not only important names like Dvāravatī, Champā, Amarāvatī, Gandhāra, Videha, Kamboja, and Kaliṅga, but also even river-names like Gomatī, Chandrabhāgā and probably also Gaṅgā.

The numerous images of gods and goddesses, found all over this wide region, corroborate the evidence of inscriptions re-

garding the dominance of Indian religion, both Brahmanical and Buddhist. These images and the remains of temples further prove the thorough-going influence of Indian art.

The Chinese chronicles also testify to the dominance of Indian culture in this region. The story of Guṇavarman[1] shows the gradual spread of Buddhism in Java, and I-tsing has left interesting details of the influence of Buddhism in this region. Both on his way to India and back, the pilgrim stayed at Śrī-Vijaya, and he later returned to it, to study Buddhism. "In the fortified city of Śrī-Vijaya," says he, "Buddhist priests number more than 1000 who investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in India." Apart from its position as a great political power and a strong centre of Buddhism, Śrī-Vijaya merits distinction as the earliest seat, in this region, of that Mahāyāna sect which was destined ultimately to play such a leading part in the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa. It was visited by several eminent Buddhists from India, such as Dharmapāla, an inhabitant of Kāñchī and a Professor at Nālandā (seventh century), and Vajrabodhi (eighth century).[2]

On the other hand we have evidence of the colonists maintaining contact with India. Reference has already been made to kings who came to India to spend their last days on the banks of the Gaṅgā, or had fled there for safety. One of them is even said to have married an Indian princess.

The materials for reconstructing the social system and administrative machinery in the colonies are very scanty. But such as we possess show a definite Indian stamp in both. There can be hardly any doubt that a New India had taken shape beyond the sea.

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LIST OF GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

Abbreviations·

B = Buddhist Image.
Br = Brāhmanical Image.
C = Cave.
CP = Copper-plate.
J = Jain Image.
P = Pillar.
S = Stone.

(Unless otherwise stated the year refers to the Gupta Era. The object on which the inscription is engraved is mentioned after the find-place.)

SAMUDRA-GUPTA

Serial No.	Year	Find-place	Reference
1.	5	Nālandā-CP	*EI.* XXV, 50; XXVI, 135.
2.	9	Gayā-CP	*CII.* III, 254; *IC.* X. 77; XI, 225.
3.	—	Allāhābād-P	*CII.* III, 1; *IHQ.* I, 250; *JBORS.* XVIII, 207; *JRAS.* 1935, p. 697; *EI.* XXII, 35.
4.	—	Eran-S	*CII.* III, 18; *JIH.* XIV, 27; XIX, 27
		CHANDRA-GUPTA II	
5.	61	Mathurā-P	*EI.* XXI, 1; *IHQ.* XVIII. 271; *ABORI.* XVIII, 166.
6.	82	Udayagiri-C	*CII.* III, 21.
7.	88	Gadhwa-S	*CII.* III, 36.
8.	93	Sānchī-S	*CII.* III, 29.
9.	—	Mathurā-S	*CII.* III, 25.
10.	—	Udayagiri-C	*CII.* III, 34.
11.	—	Basārh Clay Seals (Govinda-gupta)	*ASR.* 1903-4, p. 107.
		KUMĀRA-GUPTA I	
12.	96	Bilsad-P	*CII.* III, 42.
13.	98	Gadhwa-S	*CII.* III, 40; cf. also pp. 264, 267.
14.	106	Udayagiri-C	*CII.* III, 258.
15.	113	Dhanaidaha-CP	*EI.* XVIII, 347.
16.	113	Mathurā-J	*EI.* II, 210.
17.	116	Tumain-S	*EI.* XXVI, 115; *JOR,* XVII. 205.
18.	117	Karamadanda-Br.	*EI.* X, 71.
19.	120	Kulaikuri-CP	*IHQ,* XIX, 12.
20.	124	Dāmodarpur-CP	*EI.* XV, 129.
21.	128	Dāmodarpur-CP	*EI.* XV. 132; XVII, 193.
22.	128	Baigram-CP	*EI.* XXI, 78.
23.	129	Mankuwar-B	*CII.* III, 45.
24.	129	Gadhwa-S	*CII.* III, 39.
25.	—	Basārh Clay Seals (Ghaṭotkacha-gupta)	*ASR.* 1903-4, p. 107.
		SKANDA GUPTA	
26.	136-8	Junāgadh Rock	*CII.* III, 56.
27.	141	Kahaum-P	*CII.* III, 65; *IHQ,* XXVIII. 298.
28.	141	Rewa-P	*POC,* XII. Vol. III, p. 587.
29.	146	Indore-CP	*CII.* III, 68.
30.	—	Bhitari-P	*CII.* III, 52.
		GOVINDA-GUPTA AND PRABHĀKARA	
31.	V.S. 524 (A.D. 467)	Mandasor Fort Wall	*EI.* XXVII, 12.

NARASIMHA-GUPTA

32.	—	Nālandā Clay Seal	*MASI*. No. 66, p. 65.

KUMĀRA-GUPTA II (OR III)

33.	154	Sārnāth-B	*ASR*. 1914-5, p. 124.
34.	—	Bhitari Seal	*JASB*. LVIII, 89.
35.	—	Nālandā Seal	*MASI*. No. 66, pp. 66-7; *IA*. XIX, 225.

BUDHA-GUPTA

36.	157	Sārnāth-B (Duplicate)	*ASR*. 1914-5, p. 125.
37.	159	Pāhārpur-CP	*EI*, XX, 61.
38.	159	Benares (Rājghāt)	*JRASBL*, XV, 5.
39.	163	Dāmodarpur-CP	*EI*. XV, 134.
40.	165	Eran-P	*CII*. III, 88.
41.	—	Dāmodarpur-CP	*EI*. XV, 138; *IC*, V. 432.
42.	—	Nālandā Seal	*MASI*. No. 66, p. 64; *IHQ*, XIX, 119, 272.

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		Name of the King		
43.	—	(Successor of Pūru-gupta)	Bihar-P	*CII*. III, 47; *JBORS*. XIX, 377; *IC*. X, 170.
44.	169	—	Nandanpur-CP	*EI*. XXIII, 52.
45.	—	Vishṇu-gupta	Nālandā Seal	*EI*. *XXVI*, 235; *IHQ*. XIX, 119.
46.	188	Vainya-gupta	Gunaighar-CP	*IHQ*, VI, 40.
47.	—	Vainya-gupta	Nālandā Seal	*MASI*. No. 66, p. 67; *IHQ*. XIX, 275.
48.	191	Bhānu-gupta	Eran-P	*CII*. III, 91; *EI*. XXII, 16; *IHQ*. XIX, 143.
49.	224	Bhānu-gupta	Dāmodarpur-CP	*EI*. XV, 142; XVII, 193. fn. 1.

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50.	461	(V.S.) Nara-varman	Mandasor-S	*EI*. XII, 315; XIV, 371.
51.	474	(V.S.) Nara-varman	Bihar Kotra-S	*EI*. XXVI, 130; *JBORS*. XXIX, 127.
52.	480	(V.S.) Viśva-varman	Gangdhar-S	*CII*. III, 72.
53.	493 529	and Bandhu-varman (V.S.)	Mandasor-S	*CII*. III, 79; *IC*. III, 379; IV, 110, 262, 361, VI, 110, 339, *S. K. Aiyangar Com. Vol*., p. 69.

54.	156	Hastin	Khoh-CP	*CII.* III, 93.
55.	158	Lashmaṇa	Singrauli-CP	*ASI* 1936-7, p. 88.
56.	158	Lakshmaṇa	Pali-CP	*EI.* II. 364.
57.	163	Hastin	Khoh-CP	*CII* III, 100
58.	167	Subandhu	Barwani-CP	*EI.* XIX. 262; *IHQ.* XXI. 81.
59.	191	Hastin	Majhgwan-CP	*CII.* III, 106.
60.	198	Hastin	Navagram-CP	*EI* XXI, 124.
61.	199	Saṁkshobha	Betul-CP	*EI* VIII, 284.
62.	209	Saṁkshobha	Khoh-CP	*CII* III, 112.
63.	—	Hastin and Sarvanātha	Bhumara-CP	*CII* III, 110; *IHQ.* XXI, 137.
64.	174	Jayanātha	Karitalai-CP	*CII* III, 117.
65.	177	Jayanātha	Khoh-CP	*CII.* III, 121.
66.	191	Sarvanātha	Sohaval-CP	*EI* XIX, 129
67.	193	-Do-	Khoh-CP	*CII* III, 125
68.	197	-Do-	-Do-	*CII.* III, 132
69.	214	-Do-	-Do-	*CII* III, 135
70.	—	-Do-	-Do-	*CII* III. 129.
71.	250	Pṛithivīvigraha	Sumaṇdala-CP	*IHQ*, XXVI. 75; *Orissa Hist. Res. Journal*, I. 66.

(For the era used in Nos. 64-69, cf *EI.* *XXIII*, 171; *Bh List*, p. 159 fn.)

72.	—		Chandra	Meharauli-Iron-P	*CII.* III, 139.
73.	1	(Regnal)	Toramāṇa	Eran-S	*CII.* III, 159.
74.	15	(Regnal)	Mihirakula	Gwālior-S	*CII.* III, 162.
75.	—		Yaśodharman	Mandasor-P	*CII.* III, 142, 150;
76.	589	(V.S.)	Yaśodharman	Mandasor-S	*IA.*, XVIII, 219; XX, 188.

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CHAPTER VII

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510	Eran inscription of Bhānu-gupta (p. 33)
513	Land-grant of Vasantasena of Nepāl (p. 84)
513-22	Kumāradāsa, of Ceylon (p. 286)
515	Bhagadato (? Bhagadatta) of Malay Peninsula sends an envoy to the emperor of China (p. 649)
c. 515-30	Mihirakula (p. 35)
515-35	Vikramendravarman II, Vishṇukuṇḍin (p. 223)
516-43	Prajñāruchi, a Buddhist monk of Banaras, in China (p. 610)
517-39	Rudravarman of Fu-nan sends six embassies to China (p. 644)
518	Empress Dowager of the Great Wei dynasty sends Sung Yun as ambassador to western countries to obtain Buddhist books (p. 615)

518	King of Bali sends an envoy to China (p. 653)
522-24	Upatishya, of Ceylon (p. 286)
524-37	Śilākāla, of Ceylon (p. 286)
c. 525-45	Dhruvasena I of Valabhī (p. 62)
c. 525-75	Gopachandra of Bengal, and his three successors (p. 77)
526-527	Vijayavarman, the last king of the Yang Mai dynasty, sends two embassies to China (p. 646)
530	Rudra-varman of Champā receives investiture from China on payment of tribute (p. 646)
530-40	Rise and fall of Yaśodharman (p. 40)
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535-47	*Christian Topography* composed by Cosmas (p. 36)
535-56	Govindavarman, Vishṇukuṇḍin (p. 223)
c 535-66	Pulakeśin I, Chālukya (p. 231)
535-70	Kumāra-gupta III, and Vishṇu-gupta (p. 43)
c. 535-85	Mādhava-varman I, Vishṇukuṇḍin (pp. 220, 252)
c. 537-47	Hari-varman, Kadamba (p. 273)
537-56	Maudgalyāyana II, of Ceylon p. 287)
c 540-65	Kṛishṇa-varman II, Younger Kadamba (p 273)
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543	Bādāmi inscription of Pulakeśin I (p. 231)
546	Paramārtha from Pāṭaliputra reaches China (p. 611)
c. 550	Raṇabhīta, Śailodbhava (p. 145)
c. 550-75	Siṁhavarman, Pallava (p 283)
c 550-76	Īśāna-varman, Maukhari (p 70)
550-77	Northern Ts'i dynasty (p. 616)
c. 550-640	Harichandra and his three successors (p 65)
551-52	Land-grant of Nandana in Gayā District (p. 44)
553	Maukhari prince Sūrya-varman (p. 220)
556-59	Mahānāga, of Ceylon (p. 287)
556 (or 559)-67	Known dates of Guhasena of Valabhī (p 62)
556-616	Mādhavavarman III, Vishṇukuṇḍin (p 223)
559	Jinagupta and his teachers Jñānabhadra and Jinayaśas reach Ch'ang-ngan (p. 611)
559-92	Agrabodhi, of Ceylon (p. 287)
563-67	Combined forces of Turks and Persians give a crushing blow to the central authority of the Hūṇas on the Oxus (p. 39)
c. 565-606	Aia-varman, Younger Kadamba (p. 273)
565-631	Western Turks conquer Khotān (p. 628)
567-97	Kīrti-varman I, Chālukya (pp 73, 189)
569	Death of Paramārtha (p. 611)
571-90	Known dates of Dharasena II, Valabhī (p 62)
572	Jinagupta and his teachers forced to leave China owing to political trouble (p 611)
574	Grant by Siṁhāditya, a feudatory of Dharasena II, Valabhī (p. 62)

c. 575	Sainyabhīta I Mādhavarāja I, Śailodbhava (p. 145)
c. 575-600	Simhavishṇu, Pallava (p. 283)
c. 576-80	Śarva-varman, Maukhari (p. 70)
c. 580	Accession of Prabhākara-vardhana (p. 95)
c. 580-600	Avanti-varman, Maukhari (p. 70)
580-600	Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan of Tibet (p. 86)
580-603	Śambhuyaśas rules over Orissa pp. 78, 93)
580-606	Prabhākara-vardhana of Thāneswar (p. 97)
581	Musical party goes direct from India to China (p. 626)
581	Jinagupta stays in the country of the Turks doing missionary work and translating Buddhist texts (p. 611)
581-95	Emperor Kaotsu (p. 626)
582	Vinītaruchi, a Brāhmaṇa of South India, reaches the Chinese capital (p. 612)
583-87	Known dates of Indra-varman II, E. Gaṅga (p. 216)
585	Jinagupta returns to China (p. 611)
c. 587	Death of Varāhamihira (p. 317)
589-618	Sui Period (p. 652)
590	Dharmagupta, a Buddhist monk, reaches Ch'ang-ngan (p. 612)
c 590-620	Indra (bhaṭṭāraka)-varman, Vishṇukuṇḍin (p. 210; see p. 223)
c. 590-620	Kaḍuṅgoṇ Pāṇḍya (pp. 266, 267)
590-628	Khusru, Persian king (p. 638)
592-602	Agrabodhi II, of Ceylon (p. 287)
595	Commencement of a Tibetan era, according to Lévi (p. 86)
595	Śaṅkaragaṇa, the Kalachuri king, in possession of Ujjayinī (pp. 74, 195)
595	Śambhu-varman of Champā sends tribute to the Chinese emperor (p. 646)
597-98	Death of Kīrti-varman I, Chālukya (p. 233)
597-98 to 610-11	Maṅgaleśa, Chālukya (pp. 196, 233, 251)
600	Death of Jinagupta (p. 611)
c. 600	Ayaśobhīta I, Śailodbhava (p. 145)
c. 600	*Bṛihatī*, a commentary on *Śābarabhāshya*, by Prabhākara (p. 301)
600	Birth of Hiuen Tsang (p. 618)
c. 600-30	Mahendra-varman I *Vichitrachitta*, Pallava (pp. 238, 259, 283, 432)
602	Accession of Chach on the Sindh throne, according to *Chach-nama* (p. 166)
602-08	Maudgalyāyana III, of Ceylon (p. 287)
605	Chinese army invades Champā (p. 647)
605-17	Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (p. 615)
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606-12	Known dates of Śīlāditya I, Valabhī (p. 62)
606-47	Harsha-vardhana (pp. 95, 113, 119)

608	Vadner grant of Buddharāja, Kalachuri (p. 196)
608-17	Śilāmeghavarṇa, of Ceylon (p. 287)
609	Palm leaf MS at the Horiuzi monastery brought to Japan (p. 637)
610-11	Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indra-varman of Revatīdvīpa (pp. 234, 251)
610-11 — 642	Pulakeśin II, Chālukya (p. 234)
c. 615-19	Sainyabhīta II Mādhavarāja II, Śailodbhava (p. 145)
615-33, 624-41, 633-50	Vishnu-vardhana, E. Chālukya, according to different theories (p 251)
616	Kharagraha of Valabhī (p. 103)
616	Ganjām grant of Jaya-varman, Gaṅga king of Śvetaka (p. 217)
617-32	Agrabodhi III, of Ceylon (p 288)
618-907	T'ang dynasty (p. 617)
619	Last known date of Śaśānka (p. 107)
619-750	Six embassies from Ki-pin to China (p. 623)
c. 620-31	Vikramendra-varman III, Vishnukuṇḍin (p. 210)
620-45	Māra-varman Avaniśūlāmani, Pāṇḍya (p. 267)
623	Dharasena III of Valabhī (p 103)
624	Indra-varman, E Ganga (p 210)
624	Foundation of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, according to some scholars (p 252)
625-26	Khusrū, king of Persia receives an embassy from Pulakeśin II (?), according to Ṭabari (p. 240)
627	Prabhākaramitra from Nālandā reaches China (p. 620)
c. 627	Accession of Durlabha-vardhana, founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty in Kāshmir (p 132)
628	Chāpa king Vyāghramukha, patron of Brahmagupta (p 161)
c 628	Date of composition of *Brahmasiddhānta* (p 323)
627	Hiuen Tsang starts for India (p 618)
629	Kandarpadharma succeeds his father Śambhu-varman (Champā) (p 647)
629-41	Dadda II, Praśāntarāga, Gurjara (pp 66, 236)
c. 630	Īśānasena (or Īśāna-varman) of Kambuja conquers Fu-nan (p 644)
630-44	Hiuen Tsang travels in India (p 100)
c. 630-68	Narasiṁha-varman I, Mahāmalla, Pallava (p. 260)
631	Pṛithivī Yuvarāja (Vishṇu-vardhana), E Chālukya, appointed viceroy by Pulakeśin II (pp. 235, 237)
632	Death of Muhammad, the Prophet (p. 166)
632	Vijitasaṁgrāma, of Khotān, sends an envoy to the Chinese court (p 628)
632-41	Kāśyapa II, of Ceylon (p. 288)

633	Earliest grant of Indravarman IV, E. Gaṅga, according to Hultzsch (p. 216)
633	Death of Prabhākaramitra, monk from Nālandā (p. 621)
c. 633-63	Jayasimha I, E. Chālukya (pp. 208, 252)
634-35	Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakeśin II (pp. 235, 237)
634-44	Caliphate of 'Umar (pp. 167, 245)
c. 635	Death of Īśāna-varman of Kambuja (p. 645)
637	Battle of Cadesia in which the Mahomedans laid low the Persian empire (p. 167)
637	First Arabic naval expedition against India (Thānā) (p. 167)
638	Two Korean monks set out for India (p. 636)
638-51	Aṁśu-varman, of Nepāl (p. 85)
640	Dhruvasena II, of Valabhī (p. 63)
c. 640	Flight of the Simhalese prince Mānavarmā to Kāñchī (p. 261)
640-709	Northern Africa conquered by Mahomedans (p. 167)
640-720	King Tāta, of Gurjaras, and his three successors (p. 154)
641	Harsha sends an envoy to the Chinese Emperor, who in turn sends his envoy (p. 120)
641	Śilāditya assumes the title of "king of Magadha", according to Ma-twan-lin (p. 107)
641, 42	Harsha conquers Magadha, Orissa, and Koṅgoda (p. 110)
641-50	Hastadaṁshṭra (or Damshṭropatishya II), of Ceylon (pp. 288, 289)
c. 642	Pallavas defeat Pulakeśin II, and occupy Bādāmi — Death of Pulakeśin II (pp. 240, 252, 260)
643	Kaira grant of Vijayarāja, Chālukya (p. 236)
643	Harsha convokes the Buddhist Assembly (p. 103)
643	Chinese embassy to Nepāl finds king Narendra-deva on the throne (pp. 85, 137)
643	Second Chinese embassy to Magadha (p. 120)
c. 643	Harsha conquers Utkala and Koṅgoda (p. 95)
c. 643	First Arab invasion of Sindh (p. 169)
c. 644	Accession of Dharasena IV, Valabhī (p. 147)
645	Hiuen Tsang returns to China (pp. 121, 618)
645-70	Śendan, Pāṇḍya (p. 267)
646	Third Chinese embassy to India, under Wang-hiuen-tse (p. 121)
c. 646-47	Death of Harsha (p. 121)
646-50	Known dates of Dharasena IV, Valabhī (p. 103)
647-48	Wang-hiuen-tse's mission to India (p. 137)
c. 648	Kings of Valabhī conquer the Gurjara kingdom of Nāndīpurī (p. 147)
648	Vijitasiṁha of Khotān sends his son to the Chinese court (p. 628)

648	Wang-hiuen-tse returns to China (p. 125)
650	Northern frontiers of the Arabian empire advance to the Oxus (p. 167)
650	Sarvajñadeva, a Korean monk, comes to India through Tibet and Nepāl (p. 636)
c. 650	Guṇasāgara, Governor of Banavāsi, under the Chālukyas (p. 274)
c. 650	Death of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po Tibet (p. 635)
650	Latest known date of Indra-varman IV, E. Ganga (p. 216)
c. 650	*Kāśikā-vṛitti* (pp. 311, 319)
650-66	Agrabodhi IV, of Ceylon (p. 288)
651	Narendradeva, of Nepāl, sends a mission to the imperial court in China (p. 137)
651-53	Dhruvasena III, of Valabhī (p 148)
655	Bagumra grant of Pṛithvīvallabha Nikumbhāllaśakti, Sendraka chief (p 236)
655-81	Vikramāditya I, Chālukya (p. 241)
656	Kharagraha II Dharmāditya, of Valabhī (p. 148)
657	Accession of Prakāśadharma (Vikrānta-varman) of Champā (p 647)
657	Wang-hiuen-tse's third embassy to India (p 621)
c. 660	Great Arab expedition against India (p 169)
661-80	Caliphate of Muāwiyah (p 167)
662-84	Śīlāditya III, of Valabhi (pp. 148, 245)
663	People of Kikān (Sindh) rout the Muslim army, and kill most of the Muslim host including their leader (p 169)
c. 663	Indra-varman, E Chālukya (p 252)
c. 663-72	Vishnuvardhana II, E Chālukya (p 253)
664	Fourth embassy of Wang-hiuen-tse to India (p. 622)
664	Death of Hiuen Tsang (p 620)
666-68	Datta, of Ceylon (p 289)
668	Hastadamshṭra II, of Ceylon (p 289)
c. 668-70	Mahendra-varman II, Pallava (p 261)
668-703	Mānavarman, of Ceylon (p 289)
670-92	Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya (p 245)
c. 670-95	Parameśvara-varman I, Pallava (p 261)
670-710	Arikesari Māravarman, Pāṇḍya (p. 267)
670-713	Śivamāra I, W Gaṅga (p 270)
670-741	Śrī-Vijaya sends several embassies to China (p 651)
671-95	I-tsing's travels in India (p 2)
671	I-tsing leaves for India by sea route (p 620)
c. 672-96	Maṅgi Yuvarāja, E. Chālukya (p 253)
c. 675-700	Chitravāhana I of Ālupas (p 274)
676	Grant of Śīlāditya III, Valabhī (p 148)
676	Accession of Mānavarman, according to Geiger (p 284, n. 1)

679-91	Known dates of Devendra-varman, of Kaliṅga (p. 216)
681	Death of Vikramāditya I, Chālukya (p. 245)
681	Chidivalasa grant of Sāmanta-varman, Gaṅga king of Śvetaka (p. 217)
681-96	Vinayāditya, Chālukya (pp. 197, 245)
683	Kābul revolts against Arabs (p. 167)
684	Śrī Jayanāśa (Jayanāga) rules over Sumatra (p. 651)
684	Chatsu inscription of Dhanika, Guhilot (p. 160)
685	Kings of Valabhī conquer Gurjara kingdom of Nāndīpurī (p. 149)
685	Arabs kill the king of Zābul in war and rout his army (p. 168)
690-735	Rāshṭrakūṭa Nanna of Achalapura (p. 202)
693	Bodhiruchi, an Indian scholar, goes to China (p. 621)
c. 695	Battle of Chālukya Vinayāditya with the "Lord of the North" (? Yaśovarman) (p. 130)
695	Al Hajjāj becomes governor of Iraq (p 168)
c 695-722	Narasiṁha-varman II Rājasiṁha, Pallava (pp. 262, 281)
c. 696-709	Jayasiṁha II, E. Chālukya (p. 253)
696-733	Vijayāditya, Chālukya (p. 246)
699	Abd-ar-Rahmān marches against Zābul, defeats the king and ravages the land (p. 168)
700	Parlakimedi grant of Ananta-varman E Gaṅga (p. 217)
700-40	Yaśovarman, of Kanauj (p 131)
702	Nepāl revolts against Tibet (p. 138)
703-09	Agrabodhi V, of Ceylon (p. 289)
705-55	Mes'ag-tshoms of Tibet (p. 635)
709	Multai grant of Nannarāja Rāshṭrakūṭa (p. 201)
709	Anjaneri grant of Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti (p. 195)
709-16	Kāśyapa III, of Ceylon (p. 289)
c. 709-46	Vishṇuvardhana III, E. Chālukya (p. 253)
710	Narasiṁha-varman Pallava sends an embassy to China (p. 623)
710	King of Kapiśā sends an embassy to China (p. 622)
710-40	Kochchaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra, Pāṇḍya (p. 267)
712	Conquest of Sindh by Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim (p. 457)
713	Inscription of Māna, king of Chitor (p. 162)
713	Spain subjugated by Muhammadans (p. 167)
713	Chandrāpīḍa of Kāshmir sends an envoy to the Chinese emperor (p. 132)
714	Śivadeva, of Nepāl (p. 138)

714	Death of Al Hajjāj (p. 172)
716-19	Mahendra, of Ceylon (p. 289)
717	Santa Bommalı grant of Nanda-varman, E. Gaṅga (p. 217)
717-20	Caliphate of 'Umar II (pp. 172, 460)
719-59	Agrabodhi VI, of Ceylon (p. 290)
720	Vajrabodhi, of Nālandā, reaches China (p. 621)
720	Exchange of embassies between Pallava Narasiṁha-varman and the Chinese emperor (pp. 280, 623)
c. 722-30	Parameśvara-varman II, Pallava (pp. 262, 281)
724-38	Arab raids in Sindh, Rājputāna, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād (p. 173)
724-43	Caliphate of Hisham (p. 172)
c. 724-60	Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (p. 133)
c. 725	Chālukyas occupy temporarily Kheṭaka in Gujarāt (p. 157)
725-35	Yaśovarman conquers W. and E. Bengal (p. 143)
725-88	Śrīpurusha, W. Gaṅga (pp. 270, 281)
727	Death of Bodhiruchi, the Indian scholar (p 621)
728 (or 734)	Bappa occupies Chitor (p. 158)
730—c 800	Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla (p. 262)
731	I-cha-fan-mo (? Yaśovarman) sends an ambassador Saṅghabhadra to China (p. 130)
732	Death of Vajrabodhi (p. 621)
733	Bodhisena from India and Buttetsu from Champā arrive in China (p. 636)
733-34—46	Vikramāditya II, Chālukya (p 197)
735	Jayabhaṭa IV, the last king of the Gurjara family of Nāndīpurī (p 157)
735	First colony of Parsee emigrants said to have settled at Sanjān (p. 245, n. 3)
736	Lalitāditya sends an embassy to China (p. 130)
736	Bodhisena and Buttetsu reach Japan (p. 636)
736	Amoghavajra, disciple of Vajrabodhi, returns to Ceylon (p. 621)
c. 740	Vikramāditya II, Chālukya, captures Kāñchī (p. 263)
740-65	Māravarman Rājasiṁha, Pāndya (p 267)
c. 742-57	Dantidurga, Rāshṭrakūṭa (p 235)
744-45—57	Kīrtivarman II, Chālukya (p. 248)
746	Chāpotkaṭa king Vanarāja founds Anahila Pāṭaka, according to Gujarat chronicles (p 161)
746-64	Vijayāditya I, E Chālukya (p. 254)
746-71	Amoghavajra translates 77 texts (p. 621)
747-50	Devendra-varman, E. Gaṅga (p. 217)
749	Rudravarman II of Champā sends tribute to China (p. 647)

749 — A colossal image of Buddha Vairochana installed in Japan (p. 636)

750 — Bodhisena appointed head of the Buddhist order in Japan (p. 636)

c. 750 — King of Kapiśā sends embassy to China (p. 622)

751 — Chinese emperor sends a mission under Wu-K'ong to escort back the Indian ambassador from Kapiśā (p. 622)

753 (or 764) — Bappa abdicates throne (p. 158)

755-72 — Vijayāditya I, according to B. V. K. Rao (p. 254, n. 2)

757 — Vakkaleri grant of Kīrtivarman II, Chālukya (p. 249)

757 — Death of Rudravarman II of Champā (p. 647)

758 — Caliph Mansūr sends Amru-bin-Jamal with a fleet to Barada hills (p 152)

c. 760 — Death of Lalitāditya (p. 135)

760 — Death of Bodhisena (p. 636)

c. 765-815 — Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, Pāṇḍya (p. 265)

766-67 — Śīlāditya VII, of Valabhī (p. 150)

774 — Death of Amoghavajra (p 621)

783 — Varāha (or Jayavarāha), ruler of Saurāshṭra (p. 151)

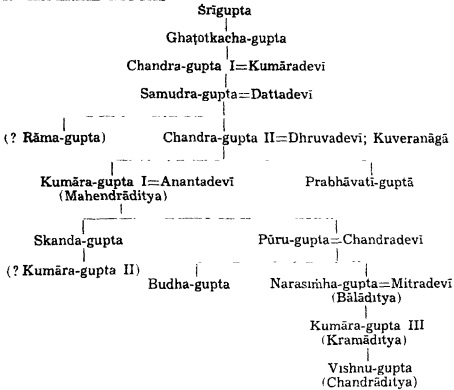
c. 794-814 — Govinda III, Rāshṭrakūṭa (p. 221)

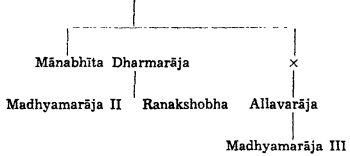
838-923 — Ṭabari, the Persian historian (p. 638)

945-70 — Amma II, Rājamahendra (p. 251)

GENEALOGY

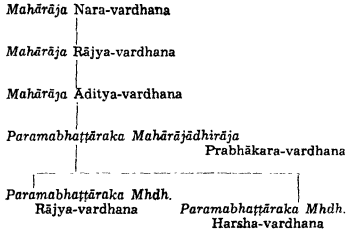
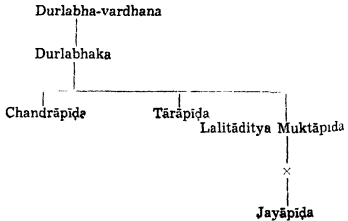
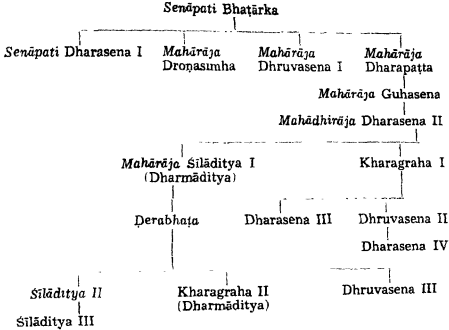
1. IMPERIAL GUPTAS

- Śrīgupta
  - Ghaṭotkacha-gupta
    - Chandra-gupta I=Kumāradevī
      - Samudra-gupta=Dattadevī
        - (? Rāma-gupta)
        - Chandra-gupta II=Dhruvadevī; Kuveranāgā
          - Kumāra-gupta I=Anantadevī (Mahendrāditya)
            - Skanda-gupta
              - (? Kumāra-gupta II)
            - Pūru-gupta=Chandradevī
              - Budha-gupta
              - Narasiṁha-gupta=Mitradevī (Bālāditya)
                - Kumāra-gupta III (Kramāditya)
                  - Vishnu-gupta (Chandrāditya)
          - Prabhāvatī-guptā

2. LATER GUPTAS

1. Kṛishṇa-gupta
2. Harsha-gupta
3. Jīvita-gupta
4. Kumāra-gupta
5. Dāmodara-gupta
6. Mahāsena-gupta
   - Kumāra-gupta
7. Mādhava-gupta
8. Ādityasena
9. Deva-gupta
10. Vishṇu-gupta
11. Jīvita-gupta

9. PUSHPABHŪTIS

10. KĀRKOṬAS

11. MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

Senāpati Bhaṭārka
- *Senāpati* Dharasena I
- *Mahārāja* Droṇasiṃha
- *Mahārāja* Dhruvasena I
- *Mahārāja* Dharapaṭṭa
  - *Mahārāja* Guhasena
    - *Mahādhirāja* Dharasena II
      - *Mahārāja* Śīlāditya I (Dharmāditya)
        - *Derabhaṭa*
          - *Śīlāditya II*
            - Śīlāditya III
          - Kharagraha II (Dharmāditya)
          - Dhruvasena III
      - Kharagraha I
        - Dharasena III
        - Dhruvasena II
          - Dharasena IV

12 GURJARAS OF RĀJAPUTĀNA

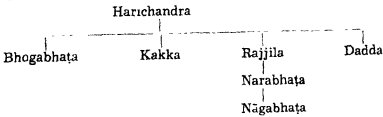
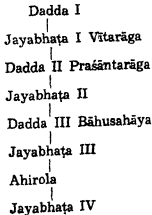
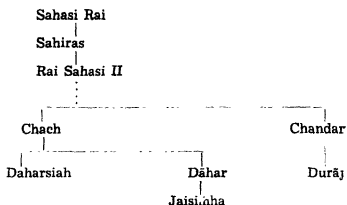
Harichandra
- Bhogabhaṭa
- Kakka
- Rajjila
  - Narabhaṭa
    - Nāgabhaṭa
- Dadda

13. GURJARAS OF NĀNDĪPURĪ

Dadda I
- Jayabhaṭa I Vītarāga
  - Dadda II Praśāntarāga
    - Jayabhaṭa II
      - Dadda III Bāhusahāya
        - Jayabhaṭa III
          - Ahirola
            - Jayabhaṭa IV

14. SINDH

Sahasi Rai
|
Sahiras
|
Rai Sahasi II
:
Chach — Chandar

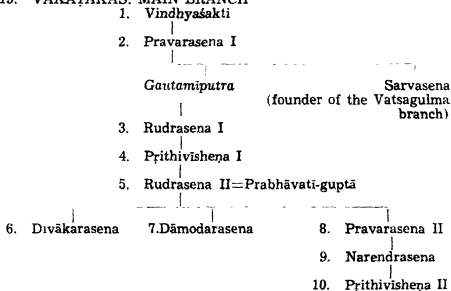
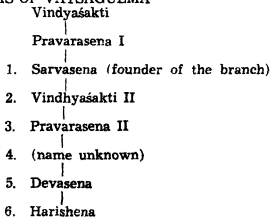
Chach: Daharsiah — Dāhar
Dāhar: Jaisiṁha
Chandar: Durāj

15. VĀKĀṬAKAS: MAIN BRANCH

1. Vindhyaśakti
|
2. Pravarasena I
|
Gautamīputra — Sarvasena (founder of the Vatsagulma branch)

Gautamīputra:
3. Rudrasena I
|
4. Pṛithivīsheṇa I
|
5. Rudrasena II=Prabhāvatī-guptā
|
6. Divākarasena — 7.Dāmodarasena — 8. Pravarasena II

8. Pravarasena II
|
9. Narendrasena
|
10. Pṛithivīsheṇa II

16. VĀKĀṬAKAS OF VATSAGULMA

Vindyaśakti
|
Pravarasena I
|
1. Sarvasena (founder of the branch)
|
2. Vindhyaśakti II
|
3. Pravarasena II
|
4. (name unknown)
|
5. Devasena
|
6. Harisheṇa

17. NALAS

Bhavatta (? Bhavadatta)-varman
|
? Skanda-varman
Arthapati

18. TRAIKŪṬAKAS

Indradatta
|
Dahrasena
|
Vyāghrasena

19. KALACHURIS

Krishnarāja
|
Śaṅkaragaṇa
|
Buddharāja

20 RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS OF MĀNAPURA

1 Mānāṅka
|
2. Devarāja
|
3. Bhavishya — Avidheya
|
4. Abhimanyu

21 RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS OF ACHALAPURA

Durgarāja
|
Govindarāja
|
Svāmikarāja
|
Nannarāja Yuddhāsura

22. VĀSISHṬHAS

Guṇa-varman
|
Prabhañjana-varman
|
Ananta-varman

23. ŚĀLAṄKĀYANAS

Hasti-varman I
|
Nandi-varman I
|
Hasti-varman II — Skanda-varman
Chaṇḍa-varman — Nandi-varman II

24. PITṚIBHAKTAS

Uma-varman
Chaṇḍa-varman
Nanda Prabhañjana-varman

25 RULERS OF PISHṬAPURA

Raṇadurjaya
|
Vikramendra
|
Prithvī-Mahārāja

26 VISHNUKUṆḌINS

1 Vikramahendra (Vikramendra-varman) I
|
2 Govinda-varman Vikramāśraya
|
3 Mādhava-varman I Janāśraya

4. Vikramendra-varman II
|
5 Indra(-bhaṭṭāraka)-varman
|
6. Vikramendra-varman III

Manchyanna-bhattāraka
|
Deva-varman
|
Mādhava-varman II

(For an alternative view, cf p. 223)

27 EASTERN GANGAS

1. Indra-varman I
2. Hasti-varman, Rājasiṁha, Raṇabhīta
3 Indra-varman II, Rājasiṁha
4 Indra-varman III
Dānārṇava
|
5 Indra-varman IV
|
Guṇārṇava
|
6. Devendra-varman
|
7. Ananta-varman
|
8. Nanda-varman (Indra-varman) 9. Devendra-varman II

28 DAKSHIṆA KOSALA (Northern Part)

1. Śūra
2. Dayita I
3. Vibhīshaṇa
4. Bhīmasena I
5. Dayitavarman II
6. Bhīmasena II

29. MAṬHARAS

Śaṅkaravarman
|
Śaktivarman
|
Prabhañjanavarman

Ananta-Śaktivarman

30. SARABHAPURĪYAS

1 Śarabha

2 Narendra

3 Prasanna(mātra)

4 Jayarāja — 5. Mānamātra-Durgarāja

6 Sudevarāja — 7 Pravararāja

31. PĀṆḌUVAMŚĪS OF SOUTH KOSALA

1 Udayana
|
2 Indrabala

3 Nanna — Īśānadeva — Bhavadeva

4. Tivara — 5 Chandragupta
|
6. Harshagupta
|
7. Bālārjuna-Śivagupta

32. PĀṆḌUVAṀŚĪS OF MEKALA

Jayabala
|
Vatsarāja
|
Nāgabala
|
Bharatabala (Indrabala)

33. CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

1. Jayasiṁha
|
2. Raṇarāga
|
3. Pulakeśin I
- 4. Kīrtivarman I
  - 6. Pulakeśin II
    - 7. Vikramāditya I
    - 8 Vinayāditya
    - 9 Vijayāditya
    - 10 Vikramāditya II
    - 11 Kīrtivarman II
  - Kubja Vishṇuvardhana (founder of the Eastern Chālukyas)
- 5 Maṅgaleśa

34 EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS

1. Kubja Vishṇuvardhana I
- 2. Jayasiṁha I
- 3. Indravarman (Indrabhaṭṭāraka)
  - Indravarman (?)
  - 4. Vishṇuvardhana II
    - 5. Maṅgi Yuvarāja I
      - 6. Jayasiṁha II
      - Vinayādityavarman
        - Kokilivarman
      - 7. Kokuli Vikramāditya
        - Maṅgi Yuvarāja II
      - 8. Vishṇuvardhana III
        - 9. Vijayāditya I

35. CHOḶAS OF REṆĀṆḌU

Nandivarman
- Siṁhavishṇu
- Sundarananda
- Dhanañjayavarman
  - Mahendravikramavarman
    - Guṇamudita
    - Puṇyakumāra

36. PĀṆḌYAS

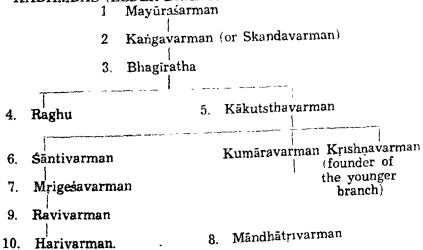
Kaḍuṅgoṇ
Māṛavarman Avaniśūlāmaṇi
Śendan
Arikesari Māravarman
Kochchaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra
Māravarman Rājasiṁha I
Neduñjaḍaiyan

37 WESTERN GAṄGAS

1. Koṅguṇivarman (Mādhava I)
2 Mādhava II
3 Harivarman
3A. Vishnugopa
4 Mādhava III
5 Avinīta
6. Durvinīta
7 Mushkara
8. Śrīvikrama
9 Bhūvikrama
10. Śivamāra I
11. (name unknown)
12. Śrīpurusha

(For a different view, cf *Early Gaṅgas of Talakād* by S. S. Sastri, p. 22)

38. KADAMBAS (ELDER BRANCH)

1 Mayūraśarman
2 Kaṅgavarman (or Skandavarman)
3. Bhagīratha
- 4. Raghu
- 5. Kākutsthavarman
  - 6. Śāntivarman
    - 7. Mṛigeśavarman
      - 9. Ravivarman
        - 10. Harivarman.
  - Kumāravarman
    - 8. Māndhātṛivarman
  - Kṛishṇavarman (founder of the younger branch)

39. KADAMBAS (YOUNGER BRANCH)

1. Kṛishnavarman I
2. Vishnuvarman
3. Siṁhavarman
4. Kṛishṇavarman II
5. Ajavarman
6. Bhogivarman

40. PALLAVAS (See pp. 282-3)

41 CEYLON

1 Mahāsena
2 Śrīmeghavarna
3 Jyeshthatishya II (Br or Br's S of 2)
4 Buddhadāsa
5. Upatishya I
6 Mahānāman (Br. of 5)
7 Mitrasena
8—13 *Pāndya and five Damila successors*
14 Dhātusena
15 Kāśyapa I
16 Maudgalyāyana I (Br. of 15)
17 Kumāradāsa
18 Kīrtisena
19 Siva (maternal uncle of 18)
20 Upatishya II (husband of the sister of 16)
21. Śilākāla
22. Daṁshṭrāprabhūti
23. Maudgalyāyana II (son of 21)
24. Kīrtiśrīmegha
25. Mahānāga

26. Agrabodhi I (sister's son of 25)

27. Agrabodhi II (sister's son of 26)

28. Saṅghatishya (? Br. of 27)

29. Maudgalyāyana III

30 Śilāmeghavarna
|
31 Agrabodhi III, Śrīsanghabodhi

32. Jyeshṭhatishya III (son of 28)

33. Agrabodhi III (again)

34 Daṁshtropatishya I

35. Kāśyapa II (Br of 31)

36 Dappula (sister's husband of 35)

37 Hastadaṁshṭra I or Daṁshṭropatishya II (sister's son of 34)

38. Agrabodhi IV (Br of 37)

39 Datta

40. Hastadaṁshṭra II

41 Māna or Mānavarman (son of 35)
|
42. Agrabodhi V

43 Kāśyapa III (Br of 42)

44. Mahendra (Br. of 43)
|
45. Agrabodhi VI

INDEX

MAP 1

INDIA
GUPTA AGE
Miles
0
100
200
300
400
Hindu Kush
UDYANA
GANDHARA
KASHMIR
Nagarahara
KUSHANA
Takshasila
Sulaiman Range
Sindhu
MADRAKA
Lahore
KARTRIPURA
YAUDHEYA
Bahawalpore
Karnal
ARJUNAYANA
Ahichhatra
Mathura
Kanyakubja
MARU
R. Sindhu
SINDHU
ABHIRA
MALAVA
NAGA
Padmavati
SANAKANIKA
Vidisa
Ujjayini
Valabhi
Bharukachha
MAHAKOSALA
MEKALA
Nandivardhana
Ajanta
Ellora
Vatsagulma
Pratishthana
Mahendragiri
Devarashtra
Amaravati
Vengi
Pishtapura
Kudura
Kantakasaila
Nagarjunikonda
Srisailam
KUNTALA
Vaijayanti
Palakka
Kanchi
PALLAVA
CHOLA
Kaver pattanam
Muziris
Kottayam
PANDYA
Korka
Cape Camorin
SIMHALA
Sravasti
Kusinagara
Ayodhya
KOSALA
Vaisali
Pataliputra
Prayaga
Kasi
Nalanda
Gaya
MAGADHA
Mrigadava
Ganga
Yamuna
DABHALA
Pushkarana
Tamraliptis
VANGA
SAMATATA
PUNDRAVARDHANA
KAMARUPA
DAVAKA
Brahmaputra R.
Mahanadi R.
HIMALAYA
NEPALA

MAP 2

INDIA
As described by
HIUEN TSANG
(629 - 645 A.D.)
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN

MAP 3

SOUTH INDIA
320 - 1000 A.D.
Miles
0 40 80 120
Tapti
Godavari
Krishna
Bhima
Tungabhadra
Kaveri
Palar
N. Pennar
Vaigai
W. CHALUKYAS
AND
RASHTRAKUTAS
E. CHALUKYAS
KADAMBAS
ALUPAS
NOLAMBAS
VAIDUMBAS
RENANDU
BANAS
W. GANGAS
PALLAVAS
TONDAMANDALAM
KONGUDESA
PANDYAS
VENAD
Kalyani
Manyakhet
Batapipura
Banavasi
Udayavara
Talagunda
Mangalore
Sravana Belgola
Manne
Kolar
Talakad
Nellore
Takkolam
Kanchi
Mayilai
Mahabalipuram
Tellaru
Pataliputra
Nandipura
Uraiyur
Tanjore
Sittannavasal
Madura
Anuradhapura
Polonnaruva

PLATE I

Fig 1 *Ajantā, Cave XIX Façade*

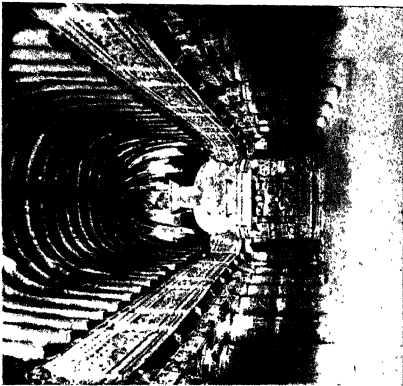



Fig. 2 *Ajantā, Cave XXVI Interior*

PLATE II

Fig 4 *Ellora, Viśvakarmā cave Interior*

Fig 3 *Ellora, Viśvakarmā cave Façade*

PLATE III

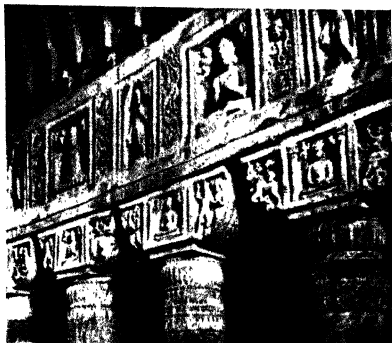



Fig 5 *Ajantā, Cave XIX Detail of Interior*

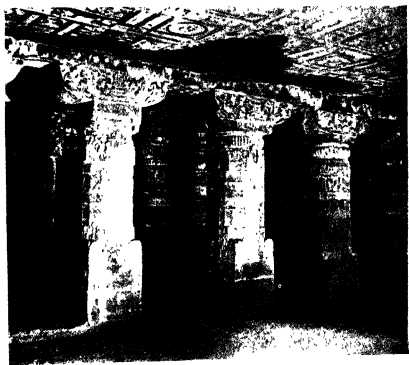



Fig 6 *Ajantā, Cave I Interior*

PLATE IV

Fig. 7. Ajantā, Cave 1· Façade

Fig 8 Ajantā, Cave XXIV Pillar

PLATE V

Fig 9 *Aurangābād, Cave I Interior*

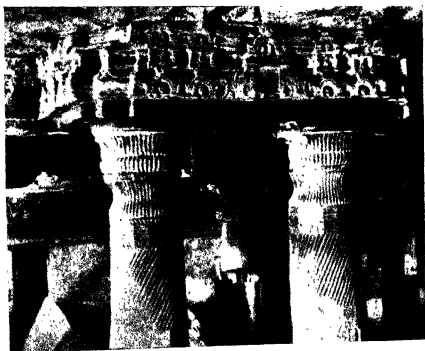



Fig 10 *Bāgh, Cave IV Interior*

PLATE VI

Fig 11 *Bagh, Cave V Interior*

Fig 12 *Ellora, Cave II Interior*

PLATE VII

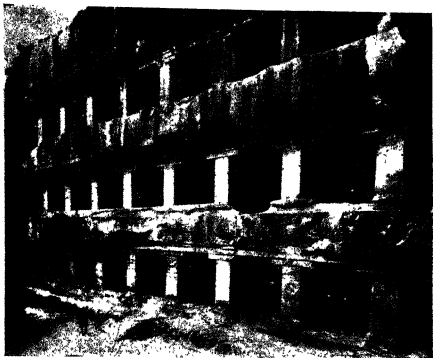



Fig 13 *Ellora, Tin Thal cave Facade*

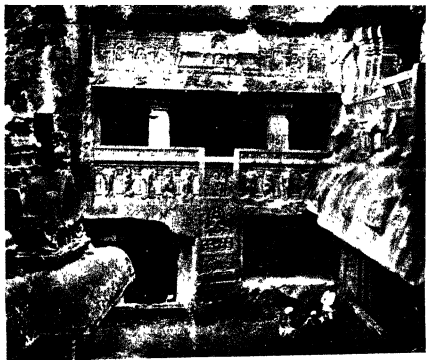



Fig 14 *Ellora, Indra Sabhā cave Facade*

PLATE X

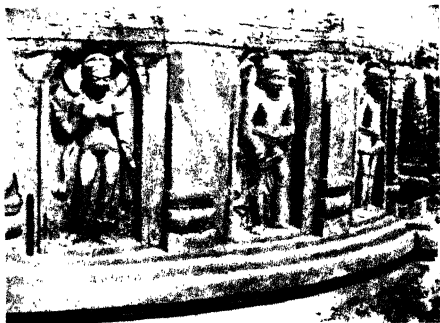
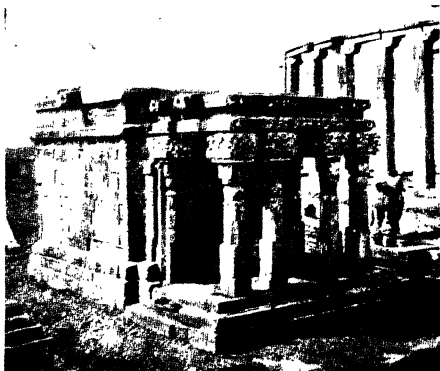



Fig 19 *Rajgir Maniyar Math A segment of circular shrine*

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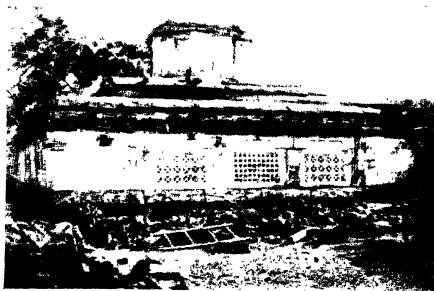
Fig 24 *Aihole, Lad Khan temple View from a side*

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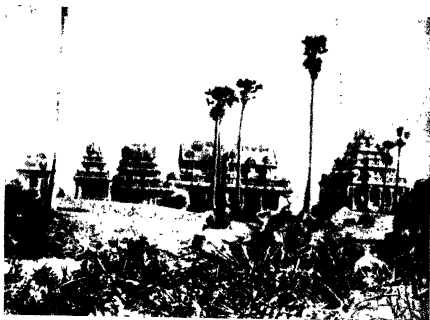
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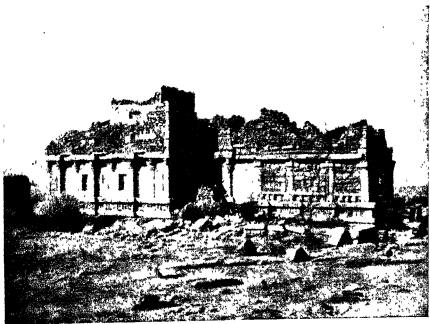
Fig 26 *Aihole, Meguti temple View from a corner*

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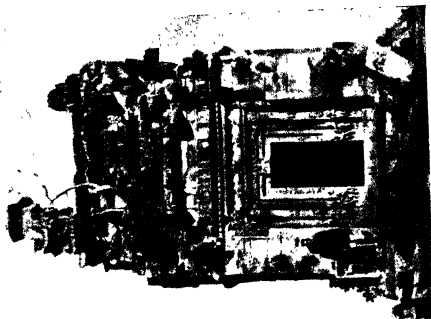
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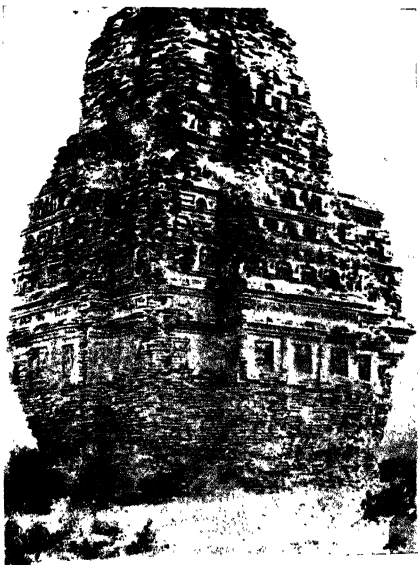
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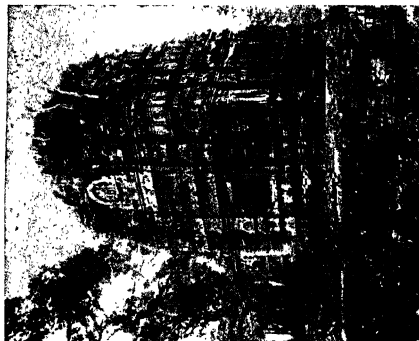
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Fig 39 *Mathurā Siva head*

Fig 40
Garhwā Pillars

Fig 41
Garhwā Pillars

Fig. 42
Garhwā Pillars

PLATE XX

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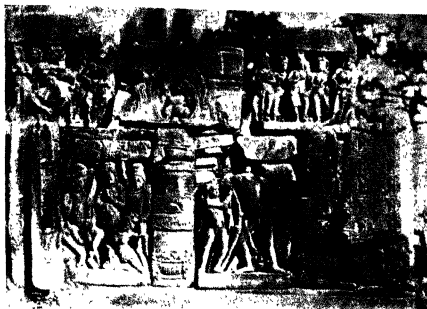
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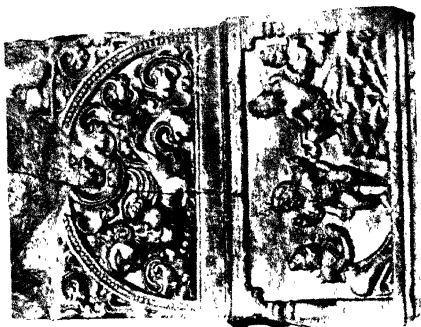
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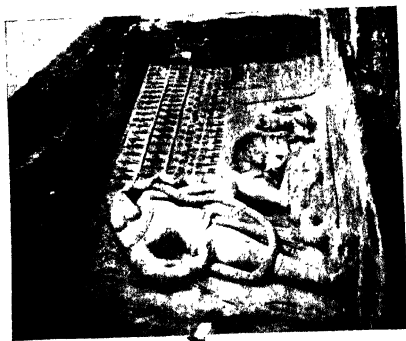
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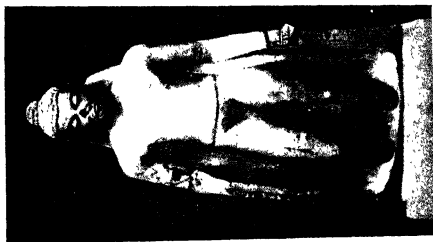
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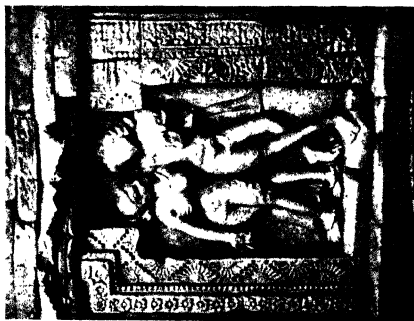
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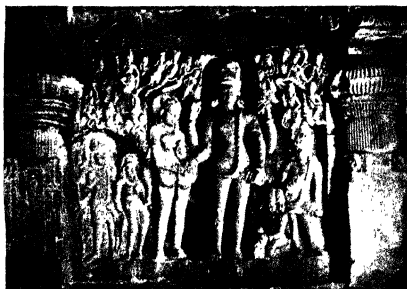
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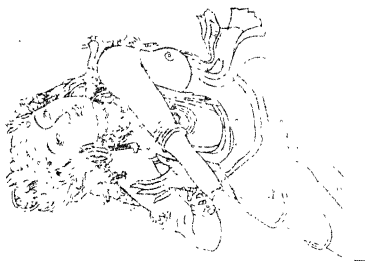
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Fig 102 *Plaster of Paris cast from above*

Fig 103 *Basārh Inscribed clay sealing*

Fig 104 *Bhitā Inscribed clay sealing*

Fig 105 *Basārh Inscribed clay sealing*